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1939

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

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

(TOOK OFFICE MAY 28, 1937.)

CABINET MINISTERS.

<i>Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury</i>	<i>Mr. Neville Chamberlain.</i>
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	<i>Viscount Hailshara</i>
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	<i>Lord Maugham.</i>
<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	<i>Sir John Anderson.</i>
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	<i>Sir John Simon.</i>
<i>Secretaries of State:—</i>	
<i>Home</i>	<i>Sir Samuel Hoare.</i>
<i>Foreign</i>	<i>Viscount Halifax.</i>
<i>Colonies</i>	<i>Mr. Malcolm MacDonald.</i>
	<i>Mr. Malcolm MacDonald (till Jan. 28).</i>
<i>Dominions</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Inskip (from Jan. 25).</i>
<i>War</i>	<i>Mr. Leslie Hore-Behsha.</i>
<i>India and Burma</i>	<i>Marquess of Zetland.</i>
<i>Air</i>	<i>Sir Kingsley Wood.</i>
<i>Scotland</i>	<i>Lt.-Col. D. J. Colville.</i>
<i>Presidents:—</i>	
<i>Board of Trade</i>	<i>Mr. Oliver Stanley.</i>
<i>Board of Education</i>	<i>Earl De La Warr.</i>
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	<i>Earl Stanhope.</i>
<i>Minister of Health</i>	<i>Mr. Walter Elliot.</i>
	<i>Mr. W. S. Morrison (till Jan. 28).</i>
<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	<i>Sir R. H. Dorman-Smith (from Jan. 28)</i>
<i>Minister of Labour</i>	<i>Mr. Ernest Brown.</i>
<i>Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Inskip (till Jan. 28).</i>
	<i>Mr. Lord Chatfield (from Jan. 28).</i>
	<i>Mr. Leslie Burgin (till Apr. 21).</i>
<i>Minister of Transport</i>	<i>Captain D. Euan Wallace (from Apr. 21).</i>
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.</i>	<i>Earl Winterton (till Jan. 28).</i>
	<i>Mr. W. S. Morrison (from Jan. 28).</i>
<i>Minister without Portfolio</i>	<i>Dr. Leslie Burgin (from Apr. 21 to July 14)</i>
<i>Minister of Supply</i>	<i>Dr. Leslie Burgin (from July 14).</i>

MINISTERS NOT IN THE CABINET.

<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>	<i>Sir Philip Sassoon (till June 3).</i>
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	<i>Mr. Herwald Ramsbotham (from June 8).</i>
	<i>Major G. C. Tryon.</i>
	<i>Mr. Herwald Ramsbotham (till June 8).</i>
<i>Minister of Pensions</i>	<i>Sir W. J. Womersley (from June 8)</i>
<i>Attorney-General</i>	<i>Sir D. B. Somervell.</i>
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	<i>Sir Terence O'Connor.</i>
	<i>Mr. Hutchison (till Jan. 28).</i>
<i>Paymaster-General</i>	<i>Lord Hutchison (till Jan. 28)</i>
	<i>Mr. Lewisellin (till July 14)</i>
<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i>	<i>Captain A. U. M. Hudson (from July 14).</i>

xii MB. CHAMBERLAIN'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

<i>Financial Secretary to the Treasury</i>	{ Captain D. Euan Wallace (<i>till Apr. 21</i>).
<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	{ Captain F C Crookshank (<i>from Apr 28</i>).
	Sir Victor Warrender.
<i>Secretary for Mines</i>	{ Sir H. F. C. Crookshank (<i>till Apr. 21</i>).
	Mr Geoffrey Lloyd (<i>from Apr. 21</i>).
<i>Under-Secretaries of State:—</i>	
<i>Air</i>	Captain H. H. Balfour.
<i>Colonies</i>	The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava.
<i>Dominion Affairs</i>	Lord Hartington.
<i>foreign</i>	{ Mr. R. A. Butler.
	{ Lord of Plymouth (<i>till May 12</i>).
	{ Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd (<i>till Apr. 21</i>).
<i>India and Burma</i>	{ Captain Osbert Peake (<i>from Apr. 21</i>),
<i>Scotland</i>	{ Lt.-Col. A. J. Muirhead.
	{ Mr. H. J. S. Wedderburn.
<i>War</i>	{ Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal (<i>till Jan. 28</i>)
	{ The Earl of Munster (<i>from Jan. 28</i>).
<i>Parliamentary Secretaries:—</i>	
<i>Admiralty</i>	Mr. G. H. Shakespeare.
<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	Lord Feversham (<i>till Aug. 3</i>).
<i>Education</i>	Mr. K. M. Lindsay.
<i>Home</i>	{ Mr. R. H. Bernays (<i>till July 14</i>).
	{ Miss Florence Horsburgh (<i>from July 14</i>).
<i>Labour</i>	Mr. A. T. Lennox-Boyd.
<i>Post and Telegraphs</i>	{ Mr. W. J. Womersley (<i>till June 8</i>).
<i>Post and Telegraphs</i>	{ Mr. William Mabane (<i>from June 8</i>).
<i>Board of Trade</i>	Mr. R. H. Cross.
<i>Overseas Trade</i>	Mr. R. S. Hudson.
<i>Supply</i>	Mr. J. J. Llewellyn (<i>from July 14</i>).
<i>Transport</i>	{ Mr. A. U. M. Hudson (<i>till July 14</i>).
	{ Mr. Bernays (<i>from July 14</i>).
<i>Treasury</i>	Mr. H. D. Margesson.

SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary of State</i>	Lt.-Col. D. J. Colville.
<i>Under-Secretary of State</i>	Mr. H. J. S. Wedderburn.
<i>Lord-Avocate</i>	Mr. T. M. Cooper.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Mr. J. S. C. Reid.

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN'S WAR ADMINISTRATION.

(APPOINTED SEPTEMBER 3, 1939.)

WAR CABINET.

<i>Prime Minuter and First Lord of the Treasury</i>	Mr. Neville Chamberlain.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	Sir John Simon.
<i>Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs</i>	Lord Halifax.
<i>Minister for Co-ordination of Defence</i>	Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Mr. Winston Churchill.
<i>Secretary of State for War</i>	Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha.
<i>Secretary of State for Air</i>	Sir Kingsley Wood.
<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	Sir Samuel Hoare.
<i>Minister without Portfolio</i>	Lord Hankey.

MINISTERS NOT IN THE WAR CABINET.

<i>Lord President of the Council</i> .	Lord Stanhope.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Sir Thomas Inskip (Viscount Caldecote).
<i>Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security</i>	Sir John Anderson.
<i>Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs</i>	Mr. Anthony Eden.
<i>Secretary for India and for Burma</i> ,	Lord Zetland.
<i>Colonial Secretary.</i>	Mr. Malcolm MacDonald.
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Minister of Food</i>	Mr. W. S. Morrison.
<i>Secretary for Scotland</i> .	Lt.-Col. D. J. Colville.
<i>President of the Board of Trade</i>	Mr. Oliver Stanley.
<i>President of the Board of Education</i>	Lord De La Warr.
<i>Minister of Health</i>	Mr. Walter Elliot.
<i>Minister of Labour and Minister of National Service</i>	Mr. Ernest Brown.
<i>Minister of Supply</i>	Mr. Leslie Burgin.
<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	Sir R. H. Dorman-Smith.
<i>Minister of Transport</i> .	Captain D. Euan Wallace.
<i>Minister of Information.</i>	Lord Macmillan.
<i>Minister of Economic Warfare</i>	Mr. R. H. Cross.
<i>Minister of Pensions</i>	Sir W. J. Womersley.
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i> .	Mr. Herwald Ramsbotham.
<i>Attorney-General</i>	Sir Donald Somervell.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Sir Terence O'Connor.
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	Major G. C. Tryon.
<i>Paymaster-General</i>	Lord Winterton (till Nov. 24).
<i>Minister of Shipping</i>	Sir John Gilmour (from Oct. 13).
<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Captain A. U. M. Hudson.
<i>Financial Secretary to the Treasury</i> .	Captain H. P. C. Crookshant
<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	Sir Victor Warrender.
<i>Secretary for Mines</i>	Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd.

xiv ME. CHAMBERLAIN'S WAR ADMINISTRATION.

Under-Secretaries of State :—

<i>Air</i>	Captain H. H. Balfour.
<i>Colonies</i>	The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava.
<i>Dominion Affairs</i>	The Duke of Devonshire.
<i>Foreign.</i>	Mr. R. A. Butler.
<i>Home</i>	Mr. Osbert Peake.
<i>Home Security</i>	fMr. A. T. Lennox-Boyd (till Oct. 11).
	[Mr. William Mabane (from Oct. 24).
<i>India and Burma</i>	Sir Hugh O'Neill, Bart.
<i>Scotland</i>	Captain J. H. F. McEwen.
<i>War</i>	Viscount Cobham.

Parliamentary Secretaries :—

<i>Admiralty</i>	Mr. G. H. Shakespeare.
<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	Lord Denham.
<i>Education</i>	Mr. Kenneth Lindsay.
<i>Food</i>	Mr. A. T. Lennox-Boyd {from Oct. 11}.
<i>Health</i>	Miss Florence Horsborough.
<i>Information</i>	Sir Edward Grigg.
<i>Labour</i>	Mr. Ralph Assheton.
<i>Post-Office</i>	fMr. William Mabane (till Oct. 24).
	tCaptain Charles Waterhouse (from Oct. 24),
<i>Board of Trade</i>	Major G. Lloyd-George
<i>Overseas Trade</i>	Mr. R. S. Hudson.
<i>Shipping</i>	Sir Arthur Salter.
<i>Supply</i>	Col. J. J. Llewellyn.
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SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary of State</i>	Lt -Col. D. J. Colville.
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ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1939.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE END OF "APPEASEMENT."

AT the beginning of 1939 the question of foreign policy, which had been so much in the foreground during the whole of the preceding year, continued to dwarf all other political issues in Great Britain. By this time it had become clear that the so-called settlement of Munich had destroyed the previous equilibrium of Europe without creating a new one. Though Germany was for the time being quiescent, it was more than doubtful whether her appetite for territorial acquisition had been satisfied, and her success at Munich had stimulated Italy to put forward claims affecting the Mediterranean. The totalitarian Powers, in fact, were still in an aggressive mood, and it was obvious that the issue of peace and war in Europe would depend largely, if not wholly, on the relations of Great Britain to the Rome-Berlin axis.

Nominally the policy of the Government in this matter was still governed by the principle of "appeasement," which had been introduced by Mr. Chamberlain on his taking over the conduct of foreign affairs after the resignation of Mr. Eden. But in reality a marked change had come over the Government's attitude in the closing weeks of 1938. Up to the time of the Munich settlement, "appeasement" had meant in practice an attempt to keep on good terms with the German and Italian Dictators by taking care not to offend their susceptibilities and by making to them all kinds of concession—chiefly at the expense of other parties—without obtaining anything tangible in return. To such a point had this process been carried that it had been roundly stigmatised by the Opposition—not, in the opinion of many people, without good reason—as "surrender to blackmail." Towards the end of

1938 a reverse tendency had shown itself. Cabinet Ministers, and even Mr. Chamberlain himself, had criticised the Nazi regime with great freedom. The Government had peremptorily rejected Germany's claim for colonies, and proclaimed its readiness, if provoked, to enter on a trade war with that country ; and it had declared Britain's solidarity with France in the face of Italian menaces.

If, in spite of these signs of defiance, Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy could be described as one of " appeasement," it was because its first object was still to create the most friendly relations possible between Great Britain and the totalitarian States under their existing regimes. Nor were the Opposition at all convinced that in the name of this " appeasement " he would not be ready, if the need arose, to go through a second Munich. Mr. Chamberlain on his side was convinced that the need never would arise, for he appeared to place implicit confidence in the document which he had brought back with him from Munich, containing the assurance of the Fuhrer that Germany would never go to war again with England, and that all future disputes between the countries would be settled by means of consultation and not by a resort to arms.

Mr. Chamberlain's belief in the pacific intentions of Germany was not shared by the bulk of the people, or even by the Conservative Party ; it was for this reason that they insisted on vast and speedy rearmament. Mr. Chamberlain did not hesitate on more than one occasion to stigmatise Britain's arms race with Germany as the most outrageous folly, as indeed it was from his point of view ; none the less he supported it with as much zest as any militarist could have desired. By satisfying the Unionist Party on this matter he was able to reconcile it to points in his policy which many of his followers viewed with misgiving, and to prevent any uprising against his leadership, in spite of one or two abortive movements in that direction. His hold on the party, in fact, seemed to be stronger than ever, and the subservience shown to him by the bulk of the members, in the field of foreign policy at any rate, was such as to earn for them from the Opposition the unflattering designation of " yes men."

In the country, too, Mr. Chamberlain retained much of the popularity which he had won at Munich, in spite of the complete falsification of his predictions that the settlement made there would inaugurate an era of more peaceful relations and of disarmament for Europe as a whole. In the early days of his post-Munich triumph it had been freely prophesied by his opponents that disillusionment would soon come upon those who were now extolling him, bringing in its wake a revulsion of feeling which might cause his overthrow. Some of his own associates shared this **view**, and had in consequence advised him to hold an early

General Election—a suggestion which he had steadily resisted. The disillusionment had indeed come, but it had not materially weakened his position. The Government had received one nasty knock at Bridgwater {*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 106), but in the later by-elections it had more or less held its own, and at the beginning of the year its majority in the country still seemed to be secure. Many people still thought that the "appeasement" policy had prevented a European war, and hoped that what Mr. Chamberlain had done once he would be able to do again, if need arose.

Mr. Chamberlain enhanced his popularity by a statement issued on January 5 in which, in a few well-chosen words, he gave a warm welcome to the sentiments expressed by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on the previous day. The message with its vigorous defence of democracy had of course been enthusiastically acclaimed by the whole British Press, but no one had expected Mr. Chamberlain to respond to it, as he was thought to be none too sympathetic to the ideas which it contained. The fact that he did so, and apparently on his own initiative, made an excellent impression.

The Premier's "appeasement" policy was based to no small extent on a belief—not widely shared even among his own followers—in the virtues of "personal contact" between heads of Governments, especially if he himself was one of the parties. It was for this reason above all others that he was anxious to carry out the visit to Rome which he had promised to Signor Mussolini at Munich, and which had been fixed for January 11. Although he had given every guarantee that he would enter into no new commitments, the Opposition, who found him much too partial to the Duce for their liking, were still deeply suspicious of his intentions, and did not cease to urge him to cancel the engagement. Naturally he paid no attention to these promptings, although many of his own followers also were doubtful whether any positive gain could accrue from the visit.

Mr. Chamberlain duly left London on January 10, accompanied by Lord Halifax and a small Foreign Office contingent. After breaking his journey at Paris in order to have a short talk with M. Daladier and M. Bonnet, he arrived at Rome on the afternoon of the next day. The chief purpose of the visit, it had been announced, was to continue the personal contact established between Mr. Chamberlain and Signor Mussolini at Munich, and in fact it accomplished little more than this. The lengthy conversations which Mr. Chamberlain had with the Duce were described as being purely exploratory and explanatory; no decisions were reached, and Mr. Chamberlain made no promises with regard to the two subjects in which the Italian Dictator was particularly interested—the granting of belligerent rights to General Franco, and support, direct or indirect, for Italian claims

on France. As far as Anglo-Italian or other international relations were concerned, the visit left things exactly where they were. This purely negative result was as much as most people had hoped for, and a sigh of relief was raised in many quarters that no perceptible mischief had been done, though some Opposition speakers were ungracious enough to complain that the evacuation of the Italians from Spain had been brought no nearer.

While the Prime Minister was trying to conjure away the danger of war by his diplomatic activity, the work of rearmament was going on with undiminished vigour. Since the appointment of Sir John Anderson as Lord Privy Seal in November, increased attention had also been given to the subject of civilian defence, especially the protection of non-combatants against air-raids. A marked change had come over the attitude of the public in this matter since the September crisis. At that time it had taken a somewhat detached or even fatalistic view of this danger, being sceptical as to whether a war would really take place, and doubtful whether in that event any effective protection could be given. War was now regarded as by no means unlikely, while on the other hand there was a widespread idea, based largely on reports from Spain, that the possibilities of protection were much greater than had been supposed. Anxiety that these possibilities should be realised with all speed led to a growing impatience with the slow progress of air-raid protection work, an impatience which showed itself, among other things, in complaints against the Lord Privy Seal for going away to Switzerland for his Christmas holiday. Immediately on his return Sir John Anderson on January 9 assured the public that rapid progress was indeed being made. In respect of fire brigades, the material originally intended for 1941 would have been substantially provided by the end of 1939, while with regard to evacuation plans, all the arrangements for transport, as far as London was concerned, were completed down to the last detail. Local authorities, he said, would soon have all the equipment they required for training, and the steel shelters which had been promised would soon be ready.

Similar assurances were given a few days later (January 17) by Sir Auckland Geddes, who was acting as adviser to Sir John Anderson, and who declared confidently that, as far as Government preparations were concerned, the country was ready to face a war. There was an idea in certain quarters, he said, that if a sufficiently severe punch were to be delivered on Great Britain at the very outset of war, it would collapse. In fact it would not do so, and, owing to the arrangements made by the Government, it would not have a chance of doing so. It was the will of the other side which was more likely to collapse. He assured the public that there was organisation, that the weapons were coming through, and that if the Government did not do more for air-raid precautions, it was because it did not desire to encroach on the sphere of the local authorities.

A sign that something was being done was the announcement on January 16 that an order had been placed for 120,000 tons of steel sheets, channels, and accessories sufficient to make 400,000 steel shelters which, as Sir John Anderson had announced on December 21, were to be provided by the Government for the protection in their own homes of occupants of small houses against blast and splinters from bombs and the falling debris from damaged buildings. The shelters, it was stated, had been subjected to rigorous tests to ensure that their strength could resist the weight of debris that might fall upon them. On the next day it was announced by the Minister of Transport that a national plan for the organisation of road transport of goods in war time had been drawn up, the essence of the plan being that all operators of goods vehicles should be brought together voluntarily in working groups in peace time, under their own leaders. The Minister also said that it was intended to compile and keep up to date a complete record of all licensed goods vehicles, and that the records would be used by the Traffic Commissioners to facilitate the earmarking of vehicles for defence purposes, and to prevent their being earmarked for more than one purpose.

In order to ensure the collaboration of the local authorities with the Government, the Air-Raid Precautions Department of the Home Office on January 26 issued a circular to them urging them to intensify the training and organisation of volunteers in all A.R.P. services. The Lord Privy Seal, it was stated, regarded the carrying through of these tasks as a matter of first urgency ; and a reminder was given that in the event of a war and air-raids, " the safety of the people would be largely dependent upon the thoroughness of the preparations that had been made by their local authorities." They were told that all their responsible officers must be assigned their specific parts in A.R.P. work, and it was recommended that each authority should have its own general co-ordinating officer to whom should be entrusted the preparation of a scheme. They were also urged to provide training centres for volunteers, and even to foster social activities among them so that they might acquire the feeling of belonging to a corporate body.

The defence preparations of the Government required a vast personnel which was still far from complete in many branches. At the same time, there was every reason to believe that large numbers of people in the country could be induced to offer their services if they were suitably appealed to and were given proper guidance. Already before the end of the previous year the Government had decided to undertake a campaign for the enrolment of volunteers for National Service, and had ordered the preparation of a handbook which should serve as a guide. The handbook was now ready for distribution, and the campaign was launched by the Premier with a broadcast address on January 23.

The object of the Government's scheme of national service, he said, was to make the nation ready for war. This did not mean that war was coming, Britain would never begin a war. But they might be forced to take part in a war begun by others, or they might be attacked themselves if the Government of some other country were to think that they could not defend themselves effectively. The better prepared they were to defend themselves the less likelihood was there of their being attacked. Another point was that owing to the development of air forces civilians would be the victims of attack as much as sailors, soldiers, and airmen—in fact, they might be the first victims—and for that reason, if they wished to protect their civilian population in time of war, they had to prepare the necessary organisation in time of peace. They must also train it in peace, since there would be no time to train it after war had started. Their scheme, therefore, was one of common prudence, just as necessary for safety as battleships or guns, though not meaning that war was bound to come soon, or even at all. After recommending his hearers to study the handbook, the Premier emphasised the fact that the scheme was a voluntary one, and that the Government desired to avoid compulsion as not being in accordance with the democratic system under which they lived or consistent with the tradition of freedom which they had always striven to maintain. The Prime Minister's appeal was reinforced by a great rally held next day at the Albert Hall, which was addressed by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Herbert Morrison, and Sir John Anderson.

On the same day (January 24) was commenced the distribution of the handbook to which the Premier had referred, and a copy of which was eventually sent to every householder in the kingdom. The object of the handbook was to enable men and women to decide how they could best assist the effort of the Government to effect a rapid and thorough organisation of national service on a voluntary basis ; and for this purpose it gave complete details, within a compass of some forty-five pages, of all the services for which volunteers were needed. These included, besides the military services and their auxiliaries and reserves, the A.R.P. services, the police forces and fire brigades and their reserves, the nursing and first-aid services, the mercantile marine, and the coastguard service. Concurrently with the handbook there was published—but not distributed broadcast—a Schedule of Reserved Occupations, giving a complete list of occupations which would be regarded as essential in war-time, and from which therefore persons should not be recruited, at any rate beyond a specified age. This Schedule affected between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 men between 18 and 64, of whom 3,000,000 were above the age of 45. Between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 men between 16 and 64 were not protected by the Schedule, either because they were in

occupations not included or because they were below the age of reservation for their occupation. The restrictions imposed by the Schedule were to apply only to service outside a volunteer's trade or professional capacity which would involve whole-time duty in the event of war ; nor was there to be any bar on those who wished to enter regular services which offered a whole-time career in peace-time, such as the fighting services, the regular police forces, or the regular fire brigades.

At the beginning of the year the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, having received satisfactory assurances from the Minister, had advised Labour members of local government bodies and Labour groups and organisations to assist in the formation of the local committees which were required for the national service scheme. On January 25 the Council received a report that an overwhelming majority of the trades councils concerned had nominated representatives at the Council's request. Five unions, however, had expressed their dissent from the scheme—the National Union of Railwaymen, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, the National Union of Shop Assistants, the National Union of Clerks, and the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association.

On January 6 it was announced that gold to the value of 350,000,000*l*. (at the current market price) had been transferred from the Bank of England to the Exchange Equalisation Fund, the resources of which had on September 30 fallen to 151,800,000*l*., and had been subject to some further drain since. The chief object of this step was to provide means for maintaining the exchange value of sterling, and it thus formed a logical sequel to the reimposition of the unofficial restrictions on speculative gold dealing and foreign exchange transactions which had been effected at the end of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 113). The measures taken were so far successful that in the next few months sterling did in fact show a slight upward trend as compared with the dollar.

The Board of Trade returns for 1938, issued on January 15, showed that there had been a large all-round reduction in the values of British overseas trade for that year as compared with the previous year. Imports had declined by 107,386,842*l*. to 920,437,585*l*. ; exports by 50,508,005*l*. to 470,883,489*l*. ; and re-exports by 3,525,686*l*. to 61,607,985*l*. A few days before, the Association of British Chambers of Commerce had issued a report in which it was pointed out that the unsatisfactory state of British export trade and world trade in general was not only or mainly a reflection of a temporary state of depression in world economic activity, but was a result, which might well become permanent, of new conditions and new policies which were to be observed in practically every country of the world. The principal of these were the determination of many countries formerly

concentrating on primary production to cultivate secondary industries irrespective of need or suitability and regardless of cost ; the competition of countries with a low standard of living ; and the use by certain States of such methods as State control, **bulk** bargains, barter, and subsidies. These three factors alone demanded new methods in the development of external trade relations by means of trade agreements ; it could not be said that present methods were capable of prevailing against these adverse factors. A number of suggestions were made by the report, of which the most striking was that the tariff quota should be substituted for the most-favoured-nation treatment in dealing with countries which were not prepared to give Britain acceptable treatment.

On January 18 Mr. Attlee sent a letter to the Prime Minister requesting him to summon Parliament at once because of " the gravity of the situation in Spain," where the Republican troops were again being hard pressed by General Franco. In view of the fact that the attack was being carried out with the help of troops and munitions from Italy and Germany, he demanded that the Spanish Government should be accorded the right to buy arms and supplies, and also asked the Premier to concert measures with other Powers for the relief of famine in Spain. In reply, Mr. Chamberlain, in spite of his having declared at the time of bringing into force the Anglo-Italian Agreement that the Spanish situation no longer constituted a menace to European peace, asserted that in the view of the Government compliance with Mr. Attlee's request to allow the Spanish Government to buy arms would inevitably lead to an extension of the conflict and could not be considered. An international scheme for the relief of famine in Spain was, he said, impracticable, but the Government would continue to finance the work of unofficial organisations. Mr. Attlee renewed his request a couple of days later, and again met with a refusal.

At the same time the National Council of Labour sent to the Prime Minister a letter making the same demand and setting forth in vigorous language Labour's opinion of the Government's attitude. The position of the Government in the matter, it said, was indefensible. The continued refusal by the democratic Governments of the right, under international law, of the Spanish Government to purchase arms, while the dictator Governments continued to assist the Spanish Insurgents, constituted a flagrant and one-sided benevolence to the Spanish rebels, and the false description of this procedure as " non-intervention " was repugnant to democrats throughout the world. Under international law the Spanish Government was entitled to purchase arms, and they demanded that the British Government should recognise international law. No reply was made by the Government, and when the demand was repeated a few days later by the Executive

Committee of the Labour Party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress it was again ignored.

While the Conservative Party as a whole had made up its mind to retain Mr. Chamberlain as its leader, it was far from satisfied with the composition of his Ministry in certain respects. The mistakes of the Ministers responsible for defence and of the Minister of Agriculture had by no means been forgotten, and a reconstruction of the Cabinet was awaited with some impatience. In a speech on January 6 Mr. Hore-Belisha made an able defence of his conduct as Minister for War, and he at any rate was reckoned to have justified the confidence placed in him by the Prime Minister in spite of the charges brought against him by Mr. Hudson (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 110). Mr. W. S. Morrison, however, proved unable to produce the scheme which he had promised for redressing the grievances of the agricultural community. Discontent among the farmers became very vocal, and it might have cost the Government a safe seat in the constituency of East Norfolk had not the Premier given them very positive assurances that their complaints would soon be attended to.

The long-expected changes were at last made by the Prime Minister on January 29, with the same boldness and disregard for precedent which he had shown in appointing Sir John Anderson. Sir Thomas Inskip retired from the Ministry for the Co-ordination of Defence to become Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, and his place was taken by Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield, a former First Sea Lord, who was just completing his work as chairman of the Committee on Indian Defence. Mr. Morrison left the Ministry of Agriculture to become Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and he also was succeeded by a man comparatively unknown to Parliament—Sir Reginald Hugh Dorman-Smith, a "back-bencher" whose chief recommendation was the fact that he had once been President of the National Farmers' Union. Mr. Morrison was to represent the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence in the House of Commons, displacing Earl Winterton, who had also been the target of criticism, and who now became Paymaster-General, a post which did not carry Cabinet rank. Subsequently (April 8) Mr. Morrison was also placed in charge of the Food Department under the Defence Plans.

At the beginning of 1939 there was a general expectation in political circles that, barring the outbreak of a war, it would be the year of a General Election in England. The sitting Parliament was now in its fourth year, and even in the ordinary course of things would hardly outlast the twelvemonth, while in the unsettled state of affairs something might easily occur to precipitate a dissolution. In order to be betimes with its preparations, the Labour Party at the beginning of the year organised, in conjunction with the Co-operative Party, a "pre-election campaign"

which was to be kept going from the middle of January till Easter, and in the course of which many delegate conferences and special area demonstrations were to be held, and millions of leaflets distributed. The reason announced for the campaign was "the widespread anxiety and distrust aroused by the National Government's policy," and propaganda was to be specially directed against the Government's foreign policy, and particularly its handling of the Spanish problem.

Before the campaign could be launched, the Labour Party found itself faced with a serious split in its own ranks. The culprit was again Sir Stafford Cripps, now as ever the *enfant terrible* of the party, who once more did not see eye to eye with his colleagues on the tactics to be adopted. But whereas formerly he had always threatened to break away to the Left, he now took a position on the Right wing of the party and revived the project of a "popular front" which had been decisively rejected by it only two months before. On January 14 the National Executive of the party considered a memorandum drawn up by him which proposed that the Labour Party "should take the initiative in forming a combined opposition, not on the Socialist programme of the Labour Party but on an agreed programme of social reform." The proposal was rejected by 17 votes to 3, and the Committee "reaffirmed its opposition to an arrangement with other parties, or dissident Tories, and to watering down its immediate programme for electoral purposes." Instead of accepting this rebuff as final, Sir Stafford immediately after the meeting circulated copies of his document to members of the party throughout the country with the object of securing support for his proposal.

In a speech at Dundee on January 21, Sir Stafford Cripps defended his action on the ground that the Labour Party could not hope to obtain a victory in the next General Election unaided or even in combination with the Co-operative Party, and that therefore the proper course for it was to accept and organise the assistance of all genuinely pro-democratic forces in the country, even if for this purpose it was necessary to tone down somewhat its Socialist doctrine. If the National Government obtained another five years of office, then in his view Socialism was out of the question for at least a generation. Therefore to insist in the present political situation on a pure doctrine of Socialism and nothing but Socialism would be a great disaster.

To the National Executive Sir Stafford's action was not a little disconcerting, as it threatened to interfere seriously with the success of the campaign which it was about to launch. At a meeting on January 18 it decided to refer the question of his political conduct to the Organisation Sub-Committee. This body on January 25 recommended that in view both of the past heresies of Sir Stafford Cripps and his present "organised effort to change

party direction and leadership fundamentally," he should be requested to reaffirm his allegiance to the Labour Party and to withdraw his memorandum; failing compliance with which requests he should be expelled from the party.

At the meeting of the National Executive on January 25, appeals were made to Sir Stafford "to call a halt to action which could only have a harmful and weakening effect upon the party." Sir Stafford, however, remained obdurate. The report of the Organisation Sub-Committee was thereupon adopted, and Sir Stafford ceased to be a member of the Labour Party. Nothing daunted he resolved to continue his campaign. He immediately issued a statement in which he called upon his many friends in the Labour Party, trade unions, and co-operative movement to convince these movements of the urgent necessity for combining with the anti-Fascist forces in the country for the overthrow of the present Government. At the same time he disclaimed any intention of splitting the party, and made it clear that his difference with the Executive was purely on the question of tactics and not of principle.

In the early morning of January 16 members of the Irish Republican Army in England brought about a number of bomb explosions at places in the central districts of London and Manchester, causing considerable damage and the loss of one life. This marked the beginning of a campaign designed to intimidate the British Government into consenting to the incorporation of Northern Ireland into Eire. For several months scarcely a week passed without one or more bomb outrages being attempted by Irish extremists in London and other large towns, most of them on a small scale, but some aiming at larger objectives, such as the destruction of an electricity supply or the blowing up of a bridge. Most of the bombs failed to explode, but nevertheless the aggregate damage caused was considerable, and a certain uneasiness was created among the general public. The police succeeded in bringing large numbers of the malefactors to justice, but others were always ready to take their place.

In a speech at Swansea on January 26, Sir S. Hoare depicted the Government as hoping for peace and at the same time preparing for war. He reprimanded both the panic-mongers who insisted that war was inevitable and the defeatists who proclaimed that Britain was decadent and unable to endure a conflict. He bade the former trust Mr. Chamberlain and advised the latter to survey the resources and the spirit of the British Empire; and he called for national unity in a determination to be secure in the face of possible danger. The Opposition showed itself nothing loth to respond to this appeal, but could not forbear from expressing its opinion that the Government itself had so far been largely responsible for creating panic by its policy and defeatism by its inefficiency.

In a speech at Birmingham just before the reassembling of Parliament (January 28), Mr. Chamberlain described Britain's rearmament as a grim necessity which he trusted was only a preliminary to a return to sanity in Europe. The air, he said, was full of rumours and suspicions which ought not to be allowed to persist. Peace could be endangered only by such a challenge as had been envisaged by the President of the United States in his New Year message—namely, a demand to dominate the world by force. That would be a demand which the democracies must inevitably resist. But he could not believe that any such challenge was intended, since the consequences of war for the people on either side would be so grave that no Government which had their interests at heart would lightly embark upon them. Three days later, in the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain referred approvingly to the passages in Herr Hitler's speech of the previous day regarding his wishes for mutual confidence and co-operation between their two peoples, and said that a willingness to enter into arrangements for the limitation of armaments would be concrete evidence of a desire for peace on Germany's part.

The House of Commons reassembled after the Christmas recess on January 31, and Mr. Chamberlain immediately gave it a report of his visit to Rome. He expressed his gratification at the spontaneous enthusiasm evinced by the Roman populace, which he thought demonstrated both their pleasure at the renewal of the Anglo-Italian friendship and their approval of their efforts for the maintenance of peace. His conversations with Signor Mussolini had been conducted in an atmosphere of complete frankness, and had left each side with a clearer insight than before regarding the other's standpoint. While they did not produce any definite result, they had left certain impressions on his mind, the first of which was that the policy of Italy was one of peace. Signor Mussolini had also made it clear that the Berlin-Rome axis was an essential point of Italian foreign policy, but this did not imply that it was impossible for Italy to have the most friendly relations with Great Britain and with other Powers when circumstances were favourable, or that good relations were not possible between Germany and France. They on their side had made it equally plain that close co-operation between Great Britain and France was the basis of British policy. Signor Mussolini had repeated his assurances that when the Spanish conflict was over Italy would have nothing to ask from Spain, and had declared his readiness to discuss arms limitation when circumstances were more favourable.

In the debate which followed, Mr. Attlee said that the Prime Minister had returned from Italy with his conviction of the good faith and good will of Signor Mussolini strengthened, but it was difficult to see on what facts his conviction was based. The test

was the continued intervention of Italy in Spain. He warned the Premier of the danger of allowing Spain to fall under the domination of the Axis, and once more pleaded that the Spanish Government should be allowed to purchase arms. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, repeated his conviction that this would mean an extension of the conflict beyond the borders of Spain. He twitted the Opposition with their habit of always taking the worst possible view of the motives and intentions of other people, and declared that, if the worst came to the worst, the country had resources with which to meet any emergency. The motion for the adjournment was finally defeated by 258 votes to 133.

In his reply to Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister expressed his agreement with him on what he called the humanitarian aspect of intervention in the Spanish conflict, and informed the House that the Government had placed 40,000l. at the disposal of the International Commission for the assistance of child refugees from Spain and was willing to contribute more. He also attributed in part to British representations the fact that no sanguinary reprisals had followed General Franco's capture of Barcelona. A few days later the British Government was again instrumental in averting bloodshed. General Franco having announced his intention of bombing Minorca, the Republican commander of the island informed the British authorities that he would be willing to surrender if he could get in touch with the enemy. The British Government thereupon allowed an emissary of General Franco to proceed to the island in the British cruiser *Devonshire*, which also took off four hundred and fifty refugees after terms had been arranged. The fact that by this action the island was prevented from falling into the hands of the Italians was an added cause of satisfaction to all parties in England.

By this time General Franco was in possession of at least three-quarters of the Spanish peninsula, with a prospect of complete victory in the near future. It was clear, therefore, even to the Opposition, that recognition could not be withheld much longer from the Burgos Government. The only question was whether such withholding could not be made a bargaining counter for obtaining certain advantages, such as the withdrawal of foreign troops from Spain and the granting of reasonable terms to the Republicans. For a time the Government—acting in close conjunction with the French Government—toyed with the idea, but meeting with a firm refusal from General Franco it decided to recognise him without conditions, merely accepting his assurances that he was determined to secure the traditional independence of Spain and to take proceedings only in the case of those against whom criminal charges should be laid. The Premier announced the Government's decision to the House of Commons on February 28, mentioning as an additional reason the fact that it was impossible to regard the Spanish Republican Government,

scattered as it was and no longer exercising settled authority, as the Sovereign Government of Spain.

On the next day (February 28) this decision was attacked by the Opposition in a motion which stigmatised it as constituting a deliberate affront to the legitimate Government of a friendly Power, as a gross breach of international traditions, and as marking a further stage in a policy which was steadily destroying in all democratic countries confidence in the good faith of Great Britain. Since there was no denying the fact that the Republicans were hopelessly beaten the attack was somewhat unreal, and its main purpose was obviously to provide the Opposition with an opportunity of telling Mr. Chamberlain what they thought of him and his policy. The Premier had little difficulty in showing, by quotations from standard works, that recognition was fully justified in accordance with international law ; and the bulk of the Ministerialists warmly welcomed it, partly out of sympathy with General Franco, partly because it would prevent the Republicans from cherishing any false hopes and so prolonging a hopeless struggle. The motion was in the end rejected by 344 votes to 137.

In view of the strained relations between Italy and France, members of the Opposition were apprehensive lest the strengthening of Britain's ties with the former country might have been achieved at the expense of her friendship with the latter. These fears were set at rest by a statement made by the Prime Minister on February 6, in which he fully endorsed a statement made by M. Bonnet in the French Chamber on January 26, that in the case of a war in which the two countries were involved all the forces of Great Britain would be at the disposal of France just as all the forces of France would be at the disposal of Great Britain. Any threat to the vital interests of France, added Mr. Chamberlain, from whatever quarter it came, must evoke the immediate co-operation of Great Britain. This statement was confirmed two weeks later (February 23) in the House of Lords by Lord Halifax, who declared that it was accompanied by no mental reservation whatever, and that it was equivalent to a "halt" sign to any country which might be harbouring aggressive intentions.

On January 31 the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House of Commons that persons injured in time of war would be compensated by the Government on the scale appropriate to the private soldier recruited for the Army. He said that such compensation could properly be paid out of public funds because civilians and their property would be exposed to a common danger which the State would be trying to resist and counteract. In regard to property, the suggestion of an insurance scheme was impracticable, because the actuarial risks could not be calculated. It had therefore been decided to pay compensation on the highest scale which the country was found able to afford after a war was over. Compensation would also be paid for loss of or damage

to stocks of commodities, in order to secure the continued flow of necessary supplies.

On February 1 Sir P. Hurd, a Conservative member, called attention in the House of Commons to the condition of agriculture and moved a resolution urging that there should be an extended use of the principle of assuring such a level of remuneration to producers as would cover the costs of efficient production. To this a Labour amendment was moved advocating the method of guaranteed prices for restoring prosperity to agriculture. The new Minister for Agriculture, who received a very cordial welcome from the Conservative benches, defined the object of the Government as being the completion of their task of safeguarding the health of the land and with it the prosperity of all those who were concerned with the production of food. Beyond, however, rejecting an Opposition proposal that the Government should control imports, he refused to commit himself to any definite step till the inquiry which his predecessor had set on foot should have been completed. The Labour amendment was negatived by 203 votes to 96, but the motion itself did not come to the vote.

On February 1 the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented a Bill under which the Bank of England's gold reserve, which had hitherto been valued in the Bank Return at the old statutory price of 855. an ounce, would in future be valued weekly at the current market price. The same was to apply to other assets held in the Bank of England's Issue Department; and any difference between this valuation and the amount of Bank of England notes then outstanding was to be made up by a transfer from the Equalisation Exchange Account to the Bank or *vice versa*. The immediate effect of this measure was to regularise the position created by the transfer at the beginning of the year of gold to the value of 200,000,000/. nominal (or about 350,000,000/. at market price) from the Bank of England to the Account, with the consequent increase in the fiduciary note issue from 230,000,000/. to 400,000,000/.; it was also meant to have the further effect of making the amount of the note issue independent of fluctuations in the value of the gold reserve.

On February 2 the House of Commons, on a free vote, expressed by 204 votes to 103 its approval of a scheme which had been drawn up by a Departmental Committee for granting pensions to its members, and its desire that legislation should be introduced for this purpose. In the course of the debate it was pointed out that the growing exactions of Parliament demanded almost the whole time of members, and that even on £600 a year members without private incomes could not save enough for retirement if when they left the House they were too old for other employment. Cases were mentioned of an ex-member who was compelled to subsist on a war pension of *lis.* a week,

and of the widow of an ex-Cabinet Minister who had had to apply for Poor Law relief.

On January 27 arrangements were completed between the British, French, and Czechoslovak Governments for providing Czechoslovakia with the financial assistance which had been promised to her after the Munich agreement. It was decided that Britain and France should each make a free gift of 4,000,000l. to that country, and should between them guarantee a loan of another 8,000,000Z. The loan was to be used largely for repaying to the Bank of England the money which had been advanced to Czechoslovakia in October. The rest of the money was to be used chiefly for helping refugees, regardless of their religious faith, political opinions or racial origin. Something might also be spent on productive employment on public works, particularly roads, but not roads for a military object. In introducing a Bill to give effect to the arrangement on February 7, the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that the long delay in coming to an arrangement was due to the difficulty of ensuring that the money should reach those for whom it was intended and not be diverted to "a third party." A number of speakers—including Mr. Duff-Cooper—took the opportunity of giving the Government a piece of their mind on the Munich agreement, while practically no voice was raised in its defence; and it was generally admitted that England and France were making only a tiny reparation to Czechoslovakia for the wrong they had inflicted on her.

On January 8 a deputation from the National Union of Journalists, the National Council for Civil Liberties, and other organisations, acting on a suggestion made by the Home Secretary in December (*vide* ANKUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 111), submitted to him a memorandum setting forth their objections to the Official Secrets Act and their suggestions for amending it. The Government responded by introducing into the House of Lords, on February 14, a Bill confining the use of the special powers of police interrogation conferred by the notorious Clause Six strictly to cases of espionage. The Bill was passed by the House of Lords, but lack of time prevented it from being considered forthwith by the Lower House.

In view of the magnitude of the country's war preparations, the House of Commons was not surprised to hear from the Chancellor of the Exchequer on February 15 that he proposed to seek Parliamentary authority to extend the limit of borrowing powers for defence from 400,000,000/. to 800,000,000Z. At the same time a White Paper was issued reviewing the progress of rearmament and foreshadowing greatly increased Defence Estimates for the forthcoming financial year. From this it appeared that while the expenditure of the three Defence Departments for 1937 was approximately 262,000,000Z. and for the current financial year 388,000,000Z., for the financial year opening on

April 1 it would be some 523,000,000*l.* Thus the total expenditure on defence for the first three years of the quinquennium for which 1,500,000,000*l.* had been originally assigned was already 1,173,000,000*l.* This did not include expenditure on air-raid precautions which in 1937 was 3,500,000*l.*, in the current year was estimated to be 9,250,000*l.*, and for the coming year was estimated at 42,000,000*l.*, exclusive of 9,000,000*l.* for assistance to vital public utility services and water for fire-fighting purposes.

In asking the House of Commons to sanction the increased borrowing powers (February 20), the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the same time announced that they would be used to cover not only the three Defence services, but also what was known as Civil Defence, that is, Air-Raid Precautions Services and the Essential Commodities Reserve Fund. Thus for the first time Civil Defence was formally put on the same footing as the Navy, Army, and Air Services as an essential part of defence as a whole. He said that the reason for the increased borrowing was that the financial strain involved in the reorganisation of defence was greater than could have been met solely out of revenue ; while the fact that the precautions now being taken were for the benefit of the future as well as of the present justified the resort to borrowing. At the same time he admitted that the taxpayer was doing his full share. The loans, being repayable over a period of thirty years, would not be added to the dead-weight of the National Debt, but would be chargeable to the votes of the Departments concerned. The Chancellor informed the House that of the 580,000,000*l.* required for defence, approximately 230,000,000*l.* would be available from revenue—however raised—and 350,000,000*l.* from loan. He subsequently justified his action in thus anticipating the Budget statement on the ground that it would serve to reduce uncertainty and anxiety in financial circles.

Although the Labour Party moved a reduction in the limit of borrowing of 1,000,000*l.*, the resolution was not seriously opposed, criticism being directed rather against the policy which had rendered it necessary. Commenting on the unity displayed in the debate, the Prime Minister recalled that a year before the Labour Party had expressed the opinion that it was only by collective security through the League of Nations that the safety of the country could be ensured, and suggested that they had now changed their view, an aspersion which was hotly resented by subsequent speakers from the Labour side. Nor did he have much better cheer for his own followers. He agreed with the opinion expressed by Mr. Pethick-Lawrence that in all probability the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to ask for a further increase in borrowing powers before the last two years of the five-year period had elapsed, and he admitted that if they had to go on borrowing after the end of the quinquennium there

would be very little significance in the finding of the sinking fund which was contemplated in the original proposal of the Government. He was not even certain that the annual cost merely of maintaining their increased armament, together with the cost of interest and sinking fund, might not be more than it would be possible to extract from the taxpayers out of current revenue. This, he said, was a serious prospect to which no one could look forward with a light heart. He admitted that it would be criminal to allow the situation to go on developing as it had been developing without making some determined effort to stop it. But he had no practical suggestion for bringing this about ; and, as after Munich, he rejected the proposal for a disarmament conference which had been put forward by one speaker, on the ground that there was not yet the proper basis of goodwill to ensure its success, and a conference that failed would be worse than no conference.

At the end of his speech Mr. Chamberlain declared emphatically that Britain's armaments were for defence and defence alone. At the same time he repeated his conviction that Germany on her side had no more intention of aggression than Britain ; nor did he shrink from the logical conclusion to be drawn from this that for Britain to rearm on so vast a scale was an act of folly—not that he saw in this the slightest reason for relaxing their efforts until he should have persuaded the other side also to desist from its folly.

Though the Government did not immediately adopt any of the suggestions made by the Chambers of Commerce in their report on January 12 on the export trade (*vide* p. 7), it none the less showed itself alive to the need for taking active steps to promote that trade. For this purpose Mr. Hudson, the Under-Secretary to the Board of Trade, early in the year planned a tour which, starting at Berlin, should take him to Warsaw, Moscow, Helsinki, and Stockholm. His visit to Berlin was meant to pave the way for one by a delegation of the Federation of British Industries, and it was arranged that Mr. Oliver Stanley should visit Berlin about the same time for the same purpose. The visits of the two Ministers to Berlin were eventually cancelled, but Mr. Hudson duly carried out the rest of his tour, leaving England on March 18 and returning about a month later.

While the Secretary of the Overseas Department of the Board of Trade was labouring to increase the export trade, the President of the Board, Mr. Oliver Stanley, was busy with the reorganisation of the cotton industry. The need was urgent. The year 1938 had been the worst year for exports of cotton piece goods since 1850 and the worst year for yarn exports since the early 1860's, while the fall of production from 1937 to 1938 had been one of the most serious ever experienced by the industry. By the beginning of the year the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organisations

had worked out proposals for combined action in the industry which they believed would enable it to recover, if statutory authority could be obtained for enforcing them throughout the industry. On January 24 a deputation representing both employers and workers waited on the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade to urge the immediate passing of an enabling Bill which would confer the requisite powers. The Joint Committee of the Cotton Trade Organisations had already announced that "a substantial body of opinion throughout the industry" supported the revised proposals for an enabling Bill. Mr. Stanley, however, resolved to proceed cautiously, and insisted on another ballot. The result of this was to show a considerable majority in favour of the proposal in the producing side of the industry, on a total poll of about three-quarters, and a considerable majority against in the merchanting side. Mr. Stanley considered that this warranted him in going on with the scheme, and on March 27 he moved the second reading of the Cotton Industry Reorganisation Bill, which was essentially an enabling Bill designed to secure the enforcement of the Joint Committee's plan. The chief feature of this was the creation of a Cotton Industry Board which should keep a register of firms in the industry and exercise a certain jurisdiction in the matter of redundancy and price-fixing schemes, and also promote research. Though sharply criticised, the Bill was given an unopposed second reading.

Early in the year proposals formulated by the different sections of the shipping industry, and designed to "secure the maintenance of the British Mercantile Marine in the face of severe and increasing foreign competition, largely State-aided or artificially fostered," were submitted to the Government. They were sympathetically considered, and on March 28 the President of the Board of Trade announced in the House of Commons certain proposals, chiefly in the nature of subsidies, which the Government would shortly lay before Parliament for the purpose of assisting shipping and shipbuilding. The purpose of the preliminary-announcement, he said, was to relieve the industry of anxiety, and so stimulate shipbuilding.

In spite of the feverish prosecution of rearmament there was a sharp rise in the unemployment figures in January, and on February 16 the Labour Party went back to the time-honoured subject of unemployment in place of foreign policy as the ground of a vote of censure on the Government. The debate followed familiar lines, Labour speakers dwelling on the magnitude of the figures, while the Government pointed to its efforts for amelioration. In the course of the debate the Minister of Labour in defending the Government took exception to the description of the unemployed as a "standing army of two millions," pointing out that of this number only 289,000 had been without work for

a year or more, while 1,436,000 had been unemployed for less than six weeks ; in fact, the amount of long-term unemployment was now smaller than it had been for years. The motion was defeated by 344 votes to 146.

On February 7 the Palestine Conferences opened at St. James's Palace. The delegates were addressed by the Prime Minister, who repeated the statement made by Mr. MacDonald in November, that the Government would enter the discussions bound by their obligations under the Mandate, but that it would not seek to prevent either the Arab or the Jewish representatives from presenting arguments as to why the Mandate should be changed. It soon became clear that the views of the Jews and the Arabs—who never even met at the same table—were irreconcilable. The British Government thereupon submitted proposals of its own, which did not satisfy either side, and which neither side was willing to make even a basis of discussion ; and on March 17 the conference broke up leaving matters exactly as they had been before.

On February 2 the Lord Privy Seal announced his intention of designating twelve " regional commissioners " who in case of war should assume supreme control in their respective regions for such time as communication with the central Government might be interrupted. For this purpose they were to be provided with deputy commissioners and with a staff consisting of the A.R.P. regional officers and representatives of all Government departments concerned with civil defence, such as the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Transport, and the Food Department. In peace they were to be supplied with full details of the war plans of all the departments concerned with civil defence and to keep in touch with their war staff, so that the whole " shadow " organisation should be in a position to function as soon as an emergency arose. The names of the Commissioners were announced on April 18 : they were all Lords-Lieutenants or men of similar standing.

On February 8 a circular was issued by the A.R.P. Department of the Home Office to a number of large cities and boroughs asking them to prepare lists of the householders who would be eligible to receive free of cost the steel shelters which the Government was having made as a protection against air-raids. These would be persons whose occupations were compulsorily insurable under the Health Insurance Act and others whose income did not exceed 250l. It was these who would be provided with the shelters in the first instance ; those who wanted to purchase them would have to wait till the free distribution was practically completed. The actual distribution commenced at the end of February.

In the matter of evacuation the Lord Privy Seal worked in close conjunction with the Minister of Health and the Minister

of Transport. At the time of the September crisis, provision had already been made for conveying all school children away from London, but the arrangements for their accommodation at the end of their journey were still in a very rudimentary state, and it was fortunate indeed that they were not put to the test. This defect was now remedied. A survey was made in the areas which were considered safe, and on March 2 the Minister of Health reported to the House of Commons that so great a readiness had been shown by householders to help that the most difficult problem, that of the unaccompanied school children, was already solved. Previously to this—on February 13—the Lord Privy Seal had announced that the Government contemplated the erection at an early date of fifty holiday camps, each capable of accommodating about 350, which would serve as a useful supplement to private billeting.

In the matter of shelters, great public interest had been aroused by a book published early in the year which professed to demonstrate that deep underground shelters capable of accommodating hundreds if not thousands of people, and safe against a direct hit from a bomb of 500 lb., could be built at a cost of less than 10Z. per head. The Finsbury Borough Council, in particular, actively took up the idea, and organised an exhibition to popularise it, besides laying a definite scheme before the Government. A large number of people became convinced that complete protection against air bombing was possible, and on February 16 in the House of Lords, Lord Teynham urged the Government to construct a number of such shelters. The Earl of Birkenhead, in reply, said that these designs were being carefully studied by the Government's experts, and they were not satisfied of their utility. The Government preferred to rely on the steel shelters they had ordered, which, as already announced, would provide complete protection against debris and splinters, and which would soon be available in large quantities. Sir John Anderson also dealt with the subject in his speech on March 1, and while not absolutely rejecting the deep shelters, he said that many questions connected with them required further investigation before they could be adopted. Meanwhile he could promise the public nothing more, in addition to the steel shelters, than the strutting of basements.

Public opinion was greatly shocked by certain statements contained in the report, issued on March 14, of a Committee which had been inquiring into the prevalence of tuberculosis in Wales and Monmouthshire. The report revealed the existence of terrible malnutrition and housing conditions in certain parts of the Principality, and laid the blame without hesitation at the door of the local authorities. The matter was discussed in the House of Commons on March 22, when it was pointed out that poverty was the ultimate cause both of the incidence of tuber-

culosis and the breakdown of local government. One speaker declared that Wales was paying the penalty for the too narrow foundations of its economic life, depending as it did on a few very big industries. The Minister of Health admitted that the facts were profoundly unsatisfactory and could not be whitewashed, and he said that he would visit the affected areas and confer with the local authorities.

The Estimates for the forthcoming financial year which were published at the beginning of March placed expenditure on the Army at 161,133,000*l.*, an increase of 46,714,000*l.* on the previous year ; on the Navy at 147,779,000*l.*, an increase of 22,471,500*z.*, and on the Air Force at 205,951,000*z.*, an increase of 96,449,000*l.* For the Civil and Revenue Departments the Estimate was 446,000,000*z.*, an increase of 4,000,000*l.* over the corresponding Estimate for the previous year, which, however, had been supplemented in the course of the year by an additional 10,000,000*l.* The Civil Estimates did not include the Post Office or Civil Defence expenditure, which had already been fixed at 57,000,000*l.* Thus the total expenditure of the coming year was expected to exceed that of the current year by about 222,000,000*l.*

In introducing the Army Estimates in the House of Commons on March 8, Mr. Hore-Belisha, the Minister for War, explained the disposition of Britain's land forces in accordance with the new strategic conceptions which had recently been adopted. In 1905, he said, Mr. Balfour had laid down that the protection of the British Isles against invasion was to be effected principally by the Navy, the Army being left free for service abroad ; and it was on this basis that Mr. Haldane had made his dispositions. Now that invasion was possible from the air, they could no longer rely on the Navy to protect their shores, and had to find their chief bulwark in anti-aircraft and coast defence. The section of the Army which they utilised for this purpose was drawn entirely from the Territorial force ; and he assured the House that it was thoroughly organised and equipped and could be rapidly expanded in case of emergency. Similarly, in the case of oversea garrisons, the idea of Mr. Haldane that they should be provided only with a minimum force which could be rapidly enlarged in case of emergency by supplies from home had been given up, and they were now to be kept permanently at full strength. Yet this, too, was achieved without any drain on the Regular Army, by the utilisation of local and native recruits. Thus it came about that in spite of the added demands on the Army, the whole of the Regular force, or the so-called " strategic reserve," was still available for field service abroad, as contemplated by Mr. Haldane. The Regular forces kept in England for this purpose consisted of four Infantry divisions and two Armoured divisions ; there were in addition available for the same purpose thirteen Territorial divisions—nine Infantry, three Motorised, and

an Armoured division, besides two Cavalry brigades. The field force projected in the Haldane plan had consisted only of six Regular divisions and one Cavalry division, the Territorial Army not having been then equipped for a European war. Another difference was that now there was a second strategic reserve consisting of two divisions in Palestine, which could be held for use anywhere within the radius of British interests in that part of the world.

In introducing the Air Estimates on March 9, Sir K. Wood, the Minister for Air, stated that by April 1 the number of first-line aircraft at home would be 1750, and there were good prospects that the programme of a Metropolitan Air Force of approximately 2370 aircraft would be completed by the end of the coming financial year. There were now thirty squadrons overseas, and the overseas strength would be eventually increased to approximately 500 first-line aircraft. The strength of the Royal Air Force was now practically 100,000 officers and men, and both the men and the machines were of the highest quality. The balloon squadrons in London were now practically up to establishment, and the barrage could be operated should occasion demand it. In other parts of the country also barrage defences were being actively organised, and recruiting was proceeding well at most centres. The Minister satisfied the House that Britain was really obtaining a tremendously powerful air force, though Opposition speakers expressed doubts as to whether too much of the expenditure was not going into the pockets of contractors.

One point on which the Minister laid stress was that they were building up a "balanced" air force, that is, one in which there was a proper proportion between fighting planes which would be used for warding off an attack and bombing planes which would be used for the offensive. This matter was discussed by the House of Lords on March 15, when Lord Trenchard pointed out that victory could be obtained only by attack, and suggested that perhaps attention was being unduly diverted from this object to the protection of the civilian population. This view was supported by Lord Hankey and other speakers. Lord Chatfield, in replying for the Government, approved the spirit of Lord Trenchard's speech, but pointed out that the first necessity for the whole Empire was the security of the United Kingdom, and nothing could be worse for the morale of the fighting forces than anxiety for the safety of those they left at home. Hence not only active defence, by means of fighting planes and anti-aircraft guns, but even passive defence, by means of air-raided precautions, could contribute to victory.

An equally encouraging account of the Fleet was given by Mr. Shakespeare, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, in introducing the Navy Estimates on March 16. During the current financial year 53 warships had been added to the Navy,

and during 1939 another 60 would have joined the Fleet. The annual tonnage output to be completed in 1940 and 1941 would exceed by nearly 30 per cent, the annual tonnage completed in 1912-14. In the past three years the producing capacity of the country in all branches of armament had been immeasurably increased. There was every reason to believe that the Navy could guarantee the continued supply of essential imports. The Admiralty believed that it could resist a direct challenge in battle by any probable combination of foes ; and it was well equipped to ward off attacks both from submarines and from aircraft.

Though admittedly all these vast military preparations envisaged Germany as Britain's principal enemy, they did not prevent certain questions at issue between the two countries from being amicably settled, or at least discussed. Foremost among these was the increase in the German Navy. On December 13, 1938, the German Government had given notice of its intention to build more submarines and certain cruisers in accordance with the rights accorded to it in the Anglo-German Naval Agreements of 1935 and 1937. The British Government, fearing that British interests might be threatened, at the end of the year sent a mission to Berlin to make further inquiries. As a result of the mission's report, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty stated on February 8 that Germany was acting perfectly within her rights, and that Britain could take no exception to the increase, which he did not think constituted a threat to themselves or to any other country.

In the economic sphere also progress was made towards a better understanding. It is true that a visit of Mr. Montagu Norman to Berlin on January 4 which, though ostensibly private, had aroused considerable expectations, produced no results. But at the end of the month an agreement was made by British and German coal-owners for sharing markets and stopping undercutting by the Germans ; and early in March a delegation of the Federation of British Industries went to Berlin and within a few weeks came to an agreement with the Reichsgruppe Industrie which was meant to eliminate causes of friction between the two bodies.

Speaking at Blackburn on February 22, Mr. Chamberlain said that Herr Hitler's speech in the Reichstag at the end of January had eased international tension, and had paved the way for an improvement in trade ; and he gave a warm welcome to the Anglo-German Coal Agreement and the efforts of the Federation of British Industries to establish contact with Germany. The Opposition, and with it the bulk of the public, did not feel the same satisfaction. The eagerness of " big business " to come to an understanding with Germany seemed to it only part of the " appeasement " policy which it so deeply suspected ; and the agreement actually made by the F.B.I. with the Reichsgruppe

Industrie was criticised in some quarters as being unduly favourable to Germany and as conflicting in some particulars with the Anglo-American Trade Agreement. Nor were there many who shared Mr. Chamberlain's belief that tension in Europe had eased. Looking more to Herr Hitler's deeds than to his words, the ordinary citizen saw that he was fomenting trouble in Czechoslovakia by encouraging the Slovak separatist movement, and had a strong presentiment that he was bent on mischief. At the beginning of March there was a widespread feeling throughout the country that by the middle of the month some sinister development would have taken place.

The heads of the Government, and the Press which supported them, tried to laugh away these fears. On March 10, when German troops were already being massed on the frontiers of Czechoslovakia, Sir S. Hoare, in a speech at Chelsea, declared that there was now an opportunity to discover the road to peace, the greatest that had ever been offered to the leaders of the world, and he envisaged a co-operation between five men in Europe—the three Dictators and the Prime Ministers of England and France—which might create a Utopia in Europe in an incredibly short space of time. The Prime Minister on the same day issued a statement, ostensibly from the Foreign Office but in reality from 10 Downing Street, declaring that the international outlook was quite serene and that there was no cause for anxiety. Within a week German troops had overrun Czechoslovakia, and Herr Hitler had declared Bohemia to be a German Protectorate.

To the Opposition this latest stroke of Herr Hitler, however distressing, caused little surprise. They saw in it only the natural consequence of the Munich settlement. Speaking in his constituency on the night of Herr Hitler's entry into Prague, Mr. Winston Churchill affirmed that the events in Czechoslovakia provided the justification for the speech he had made in the House of Commons debate on the Munich settlement, which had given umbrage in many quarters as being "inconvenient." He had pointed out in that speech that Munich sealed the ruin of Czechoslovakia, and he had been told in answer that the Czechs were to have a German, British, and French guarantee of their reduced frontiers. He had declared at the time that those guarantees were worthless, and the event had proved him right.

To the Government this new act of aggression, so completely at variance with their predictions, was disconcerting in the extreme, and their first endeavour was to minimise its significance as much as possible. The report of the event which was made on the next day by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons and by Lord Halifax in the House of Lords was so worded as to give the impression that Czechoslovakia had disintegrated of its own accord, that the President had asked Germany to intervene, and that Herr Hitler had been graciously

pleased to take the country under his protection and would respect its autonomy. The report went on to state that the Government now regarded themselves as being definitely released from the guarantee which had been given to Czechoslovakia at Munich and which had never yet been properly defined ; but no suggestion was made of putting anything in its place. It was further stated that no more payments would be made for the present out of the 10,000,000Z. grant which had been voted to Czechoslovakia, and of which so far only 3,250,000Z. had been withdrawn ; and that the present moment was judged inappropriate for the intended visit to Berlin of the President of the Board of Trade and the Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade.

Having made their report, both Lord Halifax and Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to comment on Germany's action in a tone rather of sorrow than of anger. They were, they said, unable to regard it as other than inconsistent with the spirit of the Munich agreement. It was also in conflict with Herr Hitler's repeated statement that he desired to incorporate in the Reich only people of the German race. Such events could not fail to be a cause of disturbance to the international situation, and were bound to administer a shock to confidence, all the more regrettable since confidence was beginning to revive and to offer the prospect of concrete measures which would be of general benefit. Recalling what he had said in his speech at Birmingham on January 30, that it was now time for others to make their contribution to the cause of peace, Mr. Chamberlain declared that he " bitterly regretted " what had occurred, but all the same he would not be deflected from the course on which he had embarked of substituting the method of discussion for the method of force in the settlement of differences.

The tone of the Premier's statement was not at all in harmony with the sentiment of the House, and he was immediately taken severely to task by Mr. Grenfell, a Labour speaker, for the lack of feeling displayed in his speech, for his failure to pay one word of tribute to the Czechs, and for the detached and academic attitude he was taking up to the new problem created in Europe. In the debate which ensued, two constructive suggestions were made. One—first put forward by Mr. Eden—was that, to promote national unity, the Government should be made representative of all parties ; the other was that Britain should unite with Russia and other East European countries to form a common front against aggression. Labour speakers, however, showed little inclination to join a Government of which Mr. Chamberlain should be the head, while Sir John Simon at the close of the debate poured cold water on the idea of co-operation with foreign Governments, preferring to rely on the hope that the totalitarian States would in some way themselves discover that expansion was not to their advantage.

By their speeches on this occasion the Government spokesmen showed that they were completely out of touch with the general public, which was seething with indignation at the latest Nazi outrage. But their isolation did not last long. Within two days they had to all appearance undergone a change of heart as remarkable as any religious conversion. In a speech at Birmingham on March 17 Mr. Chamberlain altered his tone completely, and gave utterance to sentiments the reverse of those which hitherto had characterised his references to Herr Hitler and the Nazi regime.

He began with an apology for his statement in the House of Commons. At that time, he said, the Government were at a disadvantage because the information that they had was only partial, much of it unofficial, and they had had no time to digest it, much less to form a considered opinion on it. Consequently he had been obliged to confine himself to a very restrained and cautious exposition, which gave the impression that he did not feel strongly on the subject. He now set out to correct that mistake. At Berchtesgaden and Godesberg, he said, Herr Hitler had assured him categorically that the Sudetenland represented the last of his territorial ambitions in Europe, and that he had no wish to include in the Reich people of other races than German ; and this assurance had been confirmed at Munich. It was on the strength of these assurances that he himself had founded the hope that, once the Czechoslovakian question was settled, it would be possible to carry further the policy of " appeasement." But how could the events which had just happened be reconciled with those assurances ? Surely as a joint signatory to the Munich agreement he was entitled, if Herr Hitler thought it ought to be undone, to that consultation which was provided for in the Munich declaration. Instead of that he had taken the law into his own hands, and had annexed Bohemia and Moravia to the German Reich. What was particularly sinister, they heard of the appearance of the Gestapo, followed by the usual tale of wholesale arrests, with consequences with which they were all familiar. They were told that this seizure of territory was rendered necessary by disturbances in Czechoslovakia, but no one outside Germany could take seriously the idea that this could provide any justification for what had happened. The question must inevitably arise in their minds, if it was so easy to discover good reasons for ignoring assurances so solemnly and so repeatedly given, what reliance could be placed on any other assurances from the same source ? The events which had taken place that week, in complete disregard of the principles laid down by the German Government itself, must cause them all to be asking themselves : " Is this the end of an old adventure or is it the beginning of a new ? Is this the last attack upon a small State or is it to be followed by others ? Is this, in fact, a step

in the direction of an attempt to dominate the world by force ? " These were grave and serious questions which required the grave consideration not only of Germany's neighbours but of others perhaps even beyond the confines of Europe. And Mr. Chamberlain concluded by declaring that even his love of peace might not be proof against a threat to British liberty.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech was received by his Unionist audience with an enthusiasm which made it appear strange that they should have tolerated and even applauded his previous pronouncements. His change of tone was indeed entirely to the taste of the bulk of the Conservative Party, and the Press organs which had so far most ardently supported the policy of " appeasement " lost no time in following suit. In fact, many Conservatives expressed relief at having at length recovered their liberty to say what they thought, thereby revealing the extent to which they had allowed party loyalty to over-ride their zeal for the national interest.

Even before Mr. Chamberlain's Birmingham speech the Government had already taken two steps to show the displeasure with which it regarded Germany's action. One was to recall from Berlin the British Ambassador, nominally for consultation. The other was to address to the German Government a sharply worded Note expressing the Government's view that the annexation of Czechoslovakia represented a complete repudiation of the Munich agreement and of the undertakings of peaceful co-operation exchanged at the time between the heads of Government, and that they must regard as without legal basis the changes effected by the German military action.

On March 20 the House of Lords took its turn to discuss the affair. The debate was opened by Lord Snell, who voiced the general feeling of sympathy with the Czechs and disgust with the " Teutonic defamation " to which they were subjected. Lord Halifax, in reply, made a statement much on the lines of the Premier's Birmingham speech, but he was able to give some further indication of the direction in which the Government's mind was moving. Since the war, he said, there had, broadly speaking, been two conflicting theses as to the best method of avoiding conflicts and creating security for the nations of the world. One favoured the system which was generally known as collective security, the basis of which was that an attack on one should be treated as an attack on all. The other was upheld by those who considered that systems of collective security involved dangerously indefinite commitments quite disproportionate to the real security which they gave, and who therefore maintained that States should not combine themselves to intervene in conflicts unless they themselves were directly attacked. So far, Lord Halifax indicated, Britain's interest had inclined her to the latter thesis. But when it became plain that States had no apparent

guarantee against successive attacks directed in turn on all who might seem to stand in the way of ambitious schemes of domination, the scale tipped the other way, and there might be greater readiness to consider whether the acceptance of wider mutual obligations was not dictated by the necessities of self-defence, if for no other reason.

The first sign of a turn-round in the Government's foreign policy such as Lord Halifax had indicated was the opening of consultations with Russia ; and it was remarked that in the next fortnight there was more intercourse between the Russian Ambassador and the Government than there had been in the previous six months. Both Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax had declared that Britain could not be indifferent to the fate of South-Eastern Europe, and obviously German aggression in this quarter could not be stayed without Russian help. The Russian Government proposed that a Six-Power Conference of States interested should be held at some place in South-Eastern Europe. The British Government rejected this on the ground that it would involve too much delay, and suggested instead consultations between Britain, France, Russia, and Poland with the object of framing a joint statement declaring their common attitude to acts of aggression, and expressing their desire both to continue consultations and to consult together immediately in the interests of mutual defence should any further acts of aggression be believed to be imminent.

In taking this step, the British Government was acting in the closest accord with the French, and the friendship between the two countries was further strengthened by the State visit which the French President paid at this time to London in return for the visit paid by the King and Queen to Paris in the previous summer. During the three days that they were in London (March 21-3) M. and Mme. Lebrun were welcomed by the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace and Windsor, by the Lord Mayor at Guildhall, and by Parliament in Westminster Hall, and the public also gave them a most cordial reception. Concurrently, M. Bonnet, the French Foreign Minister, who had accompanied the President, had long conversations with Lord Halifax on the subject of co-operation with Russia, which had meanwhile been rendered more urgent by the German seizure of Memel.

By this time the Labour Party, which naturally was strongly in favour of a pact with Russia and still retained much of its old mistrust of Mr. Chamberlain, was already becoming impatient, and on March 23 a deputation representative of Labour waited on him to urge the necessity of united action with France, Russia, and other countries in order to resist German aggression. On the same day the Premier made a statement in the House of Commons in which he said that while Britain did not wish to impede the

legitimate expansion of German trade, and while she had no desire to set up any ideological bloc, she could not look on idly while States were obliged to yield up their independence under threat of force, and was determined by all means in her power to oppose attempts to carry out such a purpose. This seemed to pacify the Labour Party for the time being.

Meanwhile the air was full of rumours of German designs on Poland, and on March 28 another attempt was made to hasten matters by Lord Davies, a Liberal Peer, who in the House of Lords moved that a Commission of experts should be set up forthwith to prepare measures of mutual defence between the co-operating nations. The proposal was severely frowned on by other speakers, and by Lord Plymouth on behalf of the Government. On the same day in the House of Commons, Mr. Greenwood—in the absence through illness of Mr. Attlee—asked the Premier whether he could not remove the apprehensions which were present in the minds of members in all parts of the House by being somewhat more explicit, and in response Mr. Chamberlain stated that what the Government had in mind went much further than mere consultation with other Powers. He also promised to bring matters to a head as soon as possible.

To the opponents of the " appeasement " policy it seemed that Mr. Chamberlain was still shuffling, and on the same night a resolution was tabled by the Ministerialist Opposition in the House of Commons calling for the vigorous prosecution of the new foreign policy and the formation of a National Government on the widest possible basis with full powers over the nation's industry, wealth, and man-power. The resolution was signed by Mr. Eden, Mr. Duff-Cooper, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery, and thirty other members, of whom all but three were Conservatives. Before the resolution could be discussed, however, the Government had brought its hesitation to an end ; and when it did at last move, its action proved to be nothing less than momentous. In the House of Commons on March 31 the Prime Minister, in answer to a question from Mr. Greenwood, stated that the consultations with other Governments were not yet concluded, but in the meanwhile Britain had determined that in the event of any action which threatened Polish independence and which the Polish Government accordingly considered it vital to resist with their national forces, the Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend to the Polish Government all support in their power, and they had given the Polish Government an assurance to that effect. In answer to further questions from Mr. Greenwood, the Premier stated that this was but a first step in an endeavour to accumulate the maximum amount of co-operation in any efforts that might be made to put an end to aggression, if aggression were intended, and to substitute for it the more reasonable and orderly method of discussion.

Before Mr. Chamberlain had made his statement, it had been arranged, at the request of the Opposition, that a debate on foreign affairs should take place on the following Monday, April 3. Lord Cranborne, hitherto one of the sharpest critics of the Government policy, now suggested that the debate was unnecessary. Mr. Greenwood, however, although satisfied with the Premier's statement as far as it went, insisted on the debate being held in order that he might have an opportunity of defining the course which Labour would like to see adopted. Accordingly a full discussion of the subject took place in the House. Mr. Greenwood, in opening, said that their hope was that out of the narrow and limited agreement which had been reached there might grow a much more broadly based scheme of mutual protection and insurance. Now that the chapter of "appeasement" had been closed and the first words of a chapter which he would entitle "mutual aid" had been recorded, it was for them to say how they believed the rest of the chapter should be written. The Prime Minister had given a warning that, should Poland become the next victim of aggression, immediately and without further parley Britain and France would come to her aid. But Poland was not the only possible object of attack. It was part of Herr Hitler's strategy to take his victims by surprise and swiftly. Who knew where he might strike next? In recent months and weeks there had been in Europe a more widespread feeling of uncertainty, uneasiness, and apprehension than before the days of Munich. Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, and other small countries all felt that they might suddenly be struck down without warning. The declaration regarding Poland must therefore without delay be fully clothed with meaning and made capable of instant application. The Three-Power Agreement was clearly not enough to meet the needs of the present situation. It might, however, be made the nucleus of a much wider understanding. What was needed now was to get as close as they could to collective security, to the maximum of co-operation with the object of deterring, or in the last resort resisting aggression. He urged therefore that steps should be taken now to build up a clearly defined system of mutual aid. All nations should be invited to enter, and the one they could least afford to ignore was Soviet Russia, which since her entry into the League of Nations had been more loyal to its principles and decisions than Great Britain, and might well prove to be the final and decisive factor in keeping the world on the side of peace.

Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, soon showed that he was now in full sympathy with the sentiments expressed by Mr. Greenwood, though, in view of the conversations on which he was about to enter, he was not at liberty yet to say in public what exactly were the lines on which the Government wished to go. The declaration he had made three days before might, he said, be

aptly described as a cover note issued in advance of the complete insurance policy. The fact that the country was about to issue such a complete insurance policy (which he refrained from defining more closely) was a tremendous departure from anything which it had undertaken hitherto and constituted a new point—even a new epoch—in the course of their foreign policy. The commitments of Great Britain, actual or potential, had been stated some time before in a well-known speech by Mr. Eden, and if at that time it had been suggested that they should add to those commitments something affecting a country in the eastern part of Europe, such a suggestion would certainly not have commanded the approval of the great majority in the country. To have departed from their traditional policy so far constituted nothing less than a portent in British policy.

Mr. Chamberlain went on to explain the reasons which had induced him to make this change. He recalled that in his broadcast message on September 27 and again in his statement on President Roosevelt's message at the beginning of the year, he had declared that, man of peace as he was, he firmly held that any attempt at world domination must be resisted, even by force of arms. There were some who thought that the claims made by Germany in September were already the first steps towards such a challenge. Against this he was able to quote the assurances given by the Führer that he desired only to assimilate Germans living in territory adjacent to the Reich and that when that was done there were to be no more territorial ambitions to be satisfied. These assurances had now been thrown to the winds, and doubts had been raised as to whether reason might not presently be found for further expansion. The Government therefore had been forced to consider the situation afresh and to undertake new commitments, which could not stop with Poland, since every State adjacent to Germany was anxious, unhappy, and uncertain about Germany's intentions. Mr. Chamberlain did not specify the Governments with which they might consult on the situation, but he did assure the House that no ideological differences would be allowed to stand in the way of their co-operating with Russia.

Mr. Chamberlain's statement won the approval of those who had hitherto been his severest critics—of Sir A. Sinclair, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eden, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Hugh Dalton. At the end of the debate Sir John Simon also fell into line; and naturally no opposition was forthcoming from the docile rank and file of the Ministerialists, accustomed as they were to turn whichever way they were directed. Thus the House presented the astonishing spectacle of the majority, while still retaining all the attributes of a majority, coming over headlong to the view of the minority; and in this strange way it came about that for the first time since Mr. Eden's resignation, or even earlier, there was once more unity on the question of foreign policy.

Before Parliament rose for the Easter recess on April 6, the first step had already been taken towards translating into action the new-found intentions of the Government. On April 3, in accordance with arrangements which had been made some time before, Colonel Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, arrived in London on what proved to be a most opportune official visit. In reporting the results of the visit to the House of Commons on April 6, the Prime Minister stated that the conversations had covered a wide field and had shown that the two Governments were in complete accord on certain general principles. It was decided that they should eventually enter into an agreement of a permanent and reciprocal character to replace the present temporary and unilateral assurance given by Britain to Poland. Pending the completion of the permanent agreement, the Polish Government was to consider itself under obligation to render similar assistance to Britain. Like the temporary assurance, the permanent agreement would not be directed against any other country, and neither Government would be precluded from making agreements with other countries in the general interests of the consolidation of peace.

In view of the expressed intention of the Government to intervene more actively in the affairs of the Continent, no surprise was caused when the Prime Minister on March 29 announced in the House of Commons that the armed forces of the country were to be materially increased. The Territorial Field Army, which was on a peace footing of 130,000 men, would be raised forthwith to War Establishment, which would involve the addition of about 40,000 to that figure; and the Territorial Field Army so brought up to War Establishment would be doubled and so be allotted an establishment of 340,000 men. In answer to questions, Mr. Chamberlain expressed his belief that it would be quite possible to raise the men without resort to compulsion.

On March 24 the text was published of a Civil Defence Bill, bringing together a number of recommendations which the Government had made for the purpose of protection against air-raids, and giving the Government and local authorities power to enforce their performance. Industrial establishments employing more than 50 people would *be* required to see that all their workpeople knew what to do in the event of an air-raid, and, in vulnerable areas, would also be required to provide shelters designed to give protection against blast, splinters, and the fall of debris. The Exchequer would be prepared to make grants in respect of shelter accommodation up to a sum of about 8,000,000Z., this figure being based on the assumption that the average cost of providing shelter for workpeople did not exceed 4*tl.* a head. A sum of 9,000,000Z. was also assigned for public utility undertakings which, in addition to their "good employer" obligations, were taking special measures to ensure the functioning of their

services in the event of war. The Bill gave local authorities powers to acquire land which might be needed for shelters, and gave statutory authority to the plans for the organisation of hospitals and for the evacuation of the population. It also announced the duty of providing adequate means to obscure lights and to camouflage buildings, and foreshadowed the compulsory inclusion of shelters in new buildings. One of its provisions was to regularise the position of the Lord Privy Seal, who had so far lacked constitutional or legal powers of any kind. The total expenditure contemplated under the Bill was about 25,000,000Z., which was additional to the 20,000,000/. to be spent in providing steel shelters free of charge.

In moving the second reading of the Bill on April 4, the Lord Privy Seal said that it sought to capitalise the great volume of goodwill and readiness to collaborate which existed in all sections of the community. If they had sought to define the obligations of every one in precise terms and then relied on penal provisions for their enforcement they would have produced a measure foredoomed to fail. The Bill contained penal sanctions, but they were there to be held in reserve. They were putting the yoke on a willing horse. The Bill was welcomed in all parts of the House, though Labour members thought that too great a part of the expenditure was placed on the local authorities, and it obtained its third reading on June 14.

On March 4 the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party sent to all constituency parties and candidates, as well as to all Labour members of Parliament, a declaration designed to combat the "subversive campaign" which was being carried on by Sir Stafford Cripps. The Committee declared that it was in duty bound to enforce the constitution, standing orders, and rules of the party, and to take any action it deemed necessary for that purpose whether by way of disaffiliation of an organisation, or expulsion of an individual, or otherwise. In virtue of this function it desired to announce that, having now dealt with the leader of the "Popular Front" campaign, it could not avoid taking similar action against others who associated with that campaign and thereby violated the conditions of their party membership.

In accordance with this declaration, the Executive warned a number of the most prominent supporters of Sir Stafford Cripps, and threatened a number of candidates with a withdrawal of the party's endorsement and trade union officials with various kinds of discipline. Yet while thus attempting to stifle discussion on the subject of the "Popular Front," it allowed to appear on the agenda of the Party Conference to be held at Whitsuntide a large number of resolutions dealing both with this subject and with Sir Stafford's expulsion in a sense favourable to the latter. On March 23 Sir Stafford wrote to the Executive pointing out this inconsistency and suggesting an accommodation of some kind until the con-

ference should have decided ; but his plea was disregarded. Shortly afterwards (March 31) the Executive expelled from the party five of its best-known members, including two members of Parliament, Mr. Aneurin Be van and Mr. George Strauss.

On March 31 the report was published of the House of Lords Select Committee on the prevention of road accidents, presided over by Lord Alness. The report stated that there was still a holocaust on the roads which was nothing short of appalling, but which nevertheless seemed to be contemplated by the public in general with complacency. The Committee criticised the Ministry of Transport as showing a lack of vision, of initiative and driving force in these matters. They also expressed regret that the Road Fund was merged in the Exchequer. They were of opinion that the most important contributions to a lessening of accidents were the education of all road users in road behaviour and the segregation from each other of motorists, cyclists, and pedestrians. The restriction of speed was regarded as less important. The Committee concluded by expressing the hope that their report would not be simply pigeon-holed, like those of so many other Departmental Committees.

The national accounts for the year ending on March 31 closed with a surplus of 505,315/., if no allowance was made for sinking fund, or with a deficit of 12,713,871/. after providing 13,219,181?. for sinking funds. Ordinary revenue, at 927,285,000/. was 55,000,000/. more than that of the previous year, while expenditure at 926,780,000/. was 93,530,000/. more. National defence borrowings (including 28,785,427/. from the surplus revenue of the previous year) had amounted to 128,050,000/. against 64,867,000/. in the previous year. Income tax receipts at 335,901,000/. were 37,915,000/. above those of the preceding year, though over 5,000,000/. below the estimate. Surtax was also 5,410,000/. more than in 1937, but Estate duties were 11,550,000/. less. Customs and Excise were 5,000,000/. more, but 3,500,000/. below the estimate.

CHAPTER II.

THE NEW PEACE FRONT.

No sooner had the Government taken the first step for resisting aggression from the side of Germany than the other party to the Axis copied the example set by that country in Czechoslovakia. On April 7 (Good Friday) Italian troops invaded Albania, and within two days they had occupied the capital Tirana and installed there an Italian Government. Indications that Italy was planning such a move had not been entirely

wanting, and Lord Halifax had taken the precaution of postponing his holiday and remaining in London. He immediately sent for Signor Crolla, the Italian Charge d'Affaires, and conveyed to him an emphatic protest against Italy's lawless action. The Prime Minister also, who had gone to Scotland for a holiday, at once returned to London, and a Cabinet meeting was held on the morning of April 10—Bank Holiday—at which it was decided that energetic action should be taken, and that Parliament should meet on the 13th. In the meanwhile great diplomatic activity went on in London, the representatives of Greece and Turkey being in especially frequent consultation with the Government.

In reporting the event to the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain was studiously careful to give both the Italian and the Albanian versions, but the House by its scornful laughter showed how little credence it attached to the former. Whatever were the exact facts, Mr. Chamberlain continued, the effect of the Italian action was clear ; it had profoundly shocked public opinion, which considered that Albania had been inexcusably bullied. In England they had to ask themselves the question how far the proceedings in Albania could be made to accord with the Anglo-Italian Agreement. The answer was that they ran counter to it in two ways. So far from contributing to the general cause of peace and security, which was the ultimate object of the agreement, they must inevitably be a cause of further uneasiness and increased international tension ; and they could hardly fail to modify the *status quo* in the Mediterranean area which it had been the object of the agreement to preserve. The explanations so far offered by Italy of her action had caused the Government profound misgivings, and would not satisfy public opinion; and already Greece was seriously apprehensive of an attack on Corfu.

Mr. Chamberlain then went on to announce a second momentous change which he proposed to make in British policy in order to meet the new situation. The Government, he said, attached the greatest importance to the avoidance of disturbance by force or the threat of force to the *status quo* in the Mediterranean and the Balkan Peninsula. Consequently they had come to the conclusion that in the event of any action being taken which clearly threatened the independence of Greece or Rumania, and which the Greek or Rumanian Government considered it vital to resist with their national forces, the Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend them all the support in their power. This declaration, he added, was being communicated not only to the Governments immediately concerned, but also to others, especially Turkey. The Prime Minister went on to express his disappointment at the Italian Government's action, which had "cast a shadow over the genuineness of their intentions to carry out their undertakings." Nevertheless, he did not see in it

sufficient ground for bringing the Anglo-Italian Agreement to an end, though he indicated that it would render him more insistent on the fulfilment of the other provisions of the agreement, especially the early withdrawal of the Italian troops from Spain.

The Premier's statement was warmly applauded by the Ministerialists, nor could the Opposition find fault with a decision to resist aggression in a new field. The latter, however, were disappointed that he had not gone further still in the same direction and brought Russia more clearly into the picture. Mr. Churchill, while declaring himself satisfied with the statement as far as it went, proceeded to cast doubts on the Government's competence—or, alternatively, its sincerity—by asking why at the critical moment the British Fleet in the Mediterranean had been scattered, and suggesting that if it had been collected in the Adriatic and the Government had given a hint, the invasion of Albania might never have happened. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in closing the debate, explained why so far there had been no direct approach to Russia. He admitted that the risks of the new policy were at their maximum unless it was carried through, and assured the House that on the part of the Government, as of Britain as a whole, there was no desire to exclude Russia or to fail to take full advantage of the help of Russia in the cause of peace. But—for some reason which he did not explain—it had unfortunately proved impossible to realise the Soviet project of a Four-Power declaration, and they were obliged to adopt a different course, though not a different object.

In the House of Lords, Lord Halifax made a statement on similar lines to that of Mr. Chamberlain, and here also the announcement of the Government's new departure was received with loud applause. Not a voice was raised in favour of "appeasement," and here too the debate made it obvious that, as far as Parliament went, resistance to aggression was henceforth to be the keynote of British foreign policy. Having thus speeded the Government on its new course, members resumed their interrupted holiday.

A couple of days later the Prime Minister and Lord Halifax issued a statement expressing their cordial approval of the appeal made by President Roosevelt to the German and Italian Dictators that they should pledge themselves to abstain from aggression for ten years. They declared their entire concurrence with the President's estimate of the international situation, and their belief that the statesmanlike step taken by him offered a real opportunity of averting the catastrophe which overhung Europe and which was feared in every country. At the same time, the Government continued its close consultation with other interested Governments, including the Soviet, and when Parliament re-assembled on April 18, Lord Halifax affirmed once more that the basis of the Government's policy was to resist aggression, adding

that this did not in any way involve an attempt to " encircle " Germany.

On April 13 the report was issued of the Committee which had been appointed to consider the question whether steps should be taken to relieve the Speaker, during his term of office, of the necessity of taking part in a contested Parliamentary Election (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 112). The Committee recognised the undesirability of the Speaker's having to go through an electoral contest, but it came to the conclusion that all the methods proposed for eliminating this necessity were only partial solutions and would create even greater ills than the one they sought to cure. They therefore recommended that no change should be made.

The scheme for deep air-raid shelters submitted by the Finsbury Borough Council (*vide* p. 21) was finally rejected by the Lord Privy Seal on April 19, on the strength of a report of three engineers whom he had appointed to examine it. The report stated that while it was not beyond the capacity of engineers to construct a shelter which would ensure safety to those within it, the real difficulty was to guarantee speedy and sufficient access to those who wanted to make use of it. Other objections were the length of time that would be needed for the construction of such shelters and the diversion of materials, effort, and money which they would cause from active to passive defence. On the next day, in the House of Commons, Sir John Anderson declared that an attempt to provide bomb-proof shelters on any general scale would be a mistaken policy, though there was a case for providing heavily protected shelters for certain key points and vital interests. He maintained that no ground had been shown for departing from the policy of blast and splinter-proof protection, while the tests of methods for strengthening suitable basements had demonstrated the soundness of the proposed device.

The House of Commons gave a third reading to the Access to Mountains Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 100) on April 21. In its passage through the House the Bill had been considerably altered from its original character by the insertion of a clause inflicting penalties for trespass at certain times and under certain conditions. This provision had met with a great outcry from pedestrians and ramblers and had been vigorously contested in the House, but its retention was finally approved by 86 votes to 70.

On April 25 the report was published of the Committee which had been appointed in the previous summer to inquire into the applicability of the Official Secrets Act to members of the House of Commons in the discharge of their Parliamentary duties (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 101). The Committee came to the conclusion that disclosures by members in the course of debate or proceedings in Parliament could not be made the subject of proceedings under the Act; and the same applied to any dis-

closure which might be held to form part of the business of the House even though it did not take place in the House. On the other hand, a casual conversation in the House could not be said to be a proceeding in Parliament and a member who disclosed information in the course of such conversation would not be protected by privilege. The Committee thought it would be inadvisable to attempt by legislation or otherwise to define with precision the extent of the immunity to which members of Parliament were or ought to be entitled ; the House had disciplinary powers over its members and could inflict suitable punishment. The Committee considered that its inquiry had been useful both in bringing home to members the need for discretion in framing questions or asking for information regarding matters which affected the safety of the realm, and in impressing on Ministers that the powers conferred on the Executive by the Official Secrets Act must not be used in such a way as to impede members in discharging their Parliamentary duties.

The Budget was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on April 25. Referring to the difference of seventeen and a half millions between the Budget estimate of the previous year and the revenue actually obtained, he said that this was not surprising in view of the uncertainty which arose out of the international position, and that some of the component figures indicated a great power of resilience as soon as confidence was restored. The shortage of 10,500,000*l.* under the head of death duties was due to some extent to the heavy fall in security values. Surtax, on the other hand, at 62,500,000*l.*, was 500,000*l.* more than the estimate, and 5,000,000*l.* more than the previous year's receipts ; and he had little doubt that the increased yield was largely due to the effectiveness of recent legislation against various devices for avoiding tax. The National Debt in the course of the year had been increased from 8,026,000,000*l.* to 8,163,000,000*l.*, chiefly on account of borrowing for defence.

With regard to the expenditure for the coming year, the Chancellor stated that the estimated cost of the Debt Services would be raised 5,000,000*l.* to 247,000,000*l.*, because of liabilities under last year's agreement with Eire. This, however, would be offset by a corresponding decrease in the provision for Civil Supplementary Estimates. The other Supply Estimates already published brought the total to be found out of revenue to 922,444,000*l.*—on the supposition, that was, that the total expenditure on defence would be 580,000,000*l.*, and that of this 350,000,000*l.* would be found by borrowing, as he had forecast a few weeks before. But in fact it was now certain, in view of the fresh commitments which had been entered into since then, that expenditure on defence would in the coming year amount to at least 50,000,000*l.* more than the figure he had mentioned. He thought it only fair that out of this sum 20,000,000*l.* should be

raised by taxation and not by borrowing. This brought the total to be found out of revenue to 942,444,000Z. On the existing basis the revenue yield for the coming year might be estimated at 918,330,000Z. This left him with 24,000,000Z. to find from new taxes. An increase in income tax, which already stood at 55. 6d. in the pound, he considered undesirable, but he proposed to increase surtax by from 10 to 15 per cent, on incomes between 2,000Z. and 8,000Z., and by 20 per cent, on those above 8,000Z., while the death duty on estates over 50,000Z. would be increased by 10 per cent. In the field of indirect taxation, the principal change was an increase in the tax on private motor-cars from 155. to 255. a unit of horse-power. The tax on tobacco was also increased by 1|d. an ounce and the duty on imported foreign sugar by a farthing a pound. The Chancellor also abolished the archaic medicine stamp duty and made the entertainment tax lighter for the "living theatre," obtaining compensation by means of a new Excise duty on films and plates and an increase in the import duty on blank film.

Though dealing in figures of a magnitude without parallel in time of peace, the Budget excited only a languid interest, partly because men's minds were preoccupied with even graver matters, partly because its substance had been to some extent anticipated in the Chancellor's statement on the Defence Loan. In the debate on the Budget resolutions there was some grumbling at the increase of the tax on motor-cars, which it was feared might bring hardship both to small owners and to the motor industry, and the Labour Party protested against increased taxes on tobacco and sugar; nor was anyone deceived by the pretence of the Budget being balanced. In the main, however, it was generally recognised as being about the best that could be hoped for in the circumstances.

The decision announced on March 29 to increase the Territorial Army, along with the prospect of further increases of the military forces in the near future, caused Mr. Chamberlain to revise his opinion on the question of a Ministry of Supply, an office which hitherto he had repeatedly declared to be unnecessary. On April 20 he announced in the House of Commons, without giving any reasons, that the Government had decided to set up a Ministry with somewhat limited powers for the time being, but capable of being made into a Ministry of Supply "in the full sense" at any time it was thought desirable. As legislation would be necessary for conferring the powers with which it was intended to invest the new Minister, Mr. Leslie Burgin, the Minister of Transport, was appointed Minister without Portfolio in the interval with the task of dealing with the problem of supply. Captain Euan Wallace, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, became Minister of Transport with a place in the Cabinet, Captain Crookshank, the Minister of Mines, succeeded

Captain Wallace, and Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, the Under-Secretary of the Home Office, succeeded Captain Crookshank. The changes were not at all popular, as even Ministerialists would have preferred to see the opportunity used to bring some new blood into the Cabinet.

Another matter on which the Prime Minister changed his mind at this time was that of compulsory military training. A large part of the Conservative Party had long regarded this as a good thing in itself, but so far Mr. Chamberlain had always set his face steadily against the introduction of conscription in peace-time. From the recruiting point of view it could not be said that there was as yet any need for it ; the response to the War Minister's constant appeals for more and still more men had so far been highly gratifying, and there was no reason to suppose that the possibilities of the voluntary system had by any means been exhausted. It was, however, well understood that the Government's intention was to introduce conscription on the outbreak of war ; and Mr. Chamberlain, under strong pressure from within the Conservative Party, but without consulting the Opposition parties, now came to the conclusion that the country was near enough to war conditions to justify the step being taken at once. In the House of Commons on April 26 he stated that the Government had of late been considering the new liabilities which they had incurred in Europe and the means they had at their disposal for discharging them effectively. They could not but be impressed with the view, shared by other democratic countries, that despite the immense efforts England had already made in the way of rearmament, nothing would so impress the world with its determination as its acceptance of the principle of compulsory military service. Further, there was an obvious weakness in the voluntary system which allowed one man to devote himself to pleasure or gain while another devoted his leisure to training himself to fight for his country. It was true that he had himself given a pledge not to introduce compulsory service in peace-time. But in view of the prevailing conditions, no one could pretend that there was peace-time now in any sense in which the term could be fairly used. The Government therefore intended to introduce a Bill which would give it power to call up for military training all men of the ages of 20-21 for a period of six months, after which they would either enter the Territorial Army for a period of three and a half years or pass into a special reserve of the Regular Army. Provision would be made for enabling individuals in special cases to anticipate or postpone their calling up, and for the exemption of conscientious objectors. At the same time, further steps would be taken to limit the profits of firms mainly engaged on the rearmament programme. A similar statement was made at the same time by Lord Stanhope in the House of Lords.

At the same time that he announced the coming of conscription,

the Prime Minister gave notice of another Bill dealing with war preparations which the Government had in contemplation. They had, he said, recently investigated the procedure for the mobilisation of the forces, and found that it was antiquated in character and quite unsuited to modern conditions, being based on the hypothesis that war could only come after such a period of warning as would give time to change from a peace to a war footing. Broadly speaking, it could take place only after a Proclamation, which was different in the case of each Service, declaring that a state of emergency existed. Originally no doubt such Proclamations were intended to be made when the outbreak of war appeared imminent. But in present times war might not appear to be imminent, and yet the general conditions might be so unsettled that it would be desirable to take certain precautions without the publicity and the shock to public confidence which would be caused by the issue of Proclamations. The Government had therefore decided to introduce a Bill, entitled the Reserve and Auxiliary Forces Bill, which would simplify the order of procedure and enable His Majesty by Order in Council to authorise the various Service Departments to call up any class or description of Reserve and Auxiliary Forces. At the same time (April 27), in order to afford further facilities for recruiting, the Ministry of Labour made certain modifications in the Schedule of Reserved Occupations which had the effect of releasing about 1,500,000 men during peace-time from restrictions on recruiting.

The Government's decision to introduce compulsory military service was received with satisfaction by the Ministerialists, but aroused great indignation among both sections of the Opposition. The Labour Party, which had lent its support to the national service movement on condition that it should be on a voluntary basis, considered that it had been tricked, and charged the Prime Minister with having broken the pledge which he had given not to introduce conscription in peace-time, and which, according to them, he had repeated as recently as March 29, when he had said that in the Government's opinion they had not yet by any means exhausted what could be done by voluntary service. The Liberals were angry at not having been consulted. Both sections therefore determined to oppose the project.

Before proceeding to actual legislation, the Government determined to test the feeling of Parliament, and on April 27 the Prime Minister brought forward a resolution asking the House to approve the proposal to introduce compulsory military training, as announced on the previous day. He first explained why before making his decision he had not consulted with the other parties. The reason, he said, was that it was important that the statement should be made before the speech which the German Chancellor was expected to deliver the next day, and the pressure under which the Government were working had therefore not left them

time for a proceeding which they would otherwise gladly have taken. Dealing next with his own pledge, he justified himself in disregarding it on the ground that circumstances had materially altered since it was given. Even as late as March 29 no one in the Government had any idea that they would be introducing such proposals. Since then they had undertaken commitments which made it impossible for them to believe that the need of the country could be met by the voluntary system, if it stood alone. If they were not to be allowed to change their mind in the lifetime of the present Parliament, it would be necessary for them to appeal to the country, and it was obvious that a General Election at the present juncture would be a disaster.

Mr. Chamberlain again laid stress on the fact that one great object of the measure was to allay the doubts felt abroad whether Britain was in earnest, mentioning as a sign of such doubts the jibes which were current about Britain being ready to fight to the last Frenchman. Extracts from the foreign Press, he said, already showed that the statement of the Government's intentions had brought comfort, relief, and encouragement to all their friends in Europe. He once more promised the Opposition that proper measures would be taken to restrict profits on armaments and to prevent profiteering in the event of war, and he pointed out that there was not to be a substitution of a compulsory for a voluntary system, and that the measure to be taken by the Government was limited and temporary.

Mr. Attlee moved an amendment which emphasised the readiness of the Labour Party to take all necessary steps to provide for the safety of the nation and the fulfilment of its international obligations, but charged the Government with a breach of their pledges, and maintained that there was no need to abandon the voluntary system, which could provide all the man-power needed for defence. It was evident, however, from his speech and those of other Labour members that what weighed chiefly with them was the fear that military compulsion might be enlarged into industrial compulsion. Mr. Churchill, while supporting the resolution, criticised the Government from the opposite angle, maintaining that it ought immediately after Munich to have introduced a compulsory national service register so as to accustom the country to the idea of conscription instead of changing its mind at the last moment without warning. The amendment was finally defeated by 380 votes to 143 and the resolution was carried by 376 to 145, a number of Liberals voting with the Government while some Labour members abstained.

The text of the new Military Training Bill was issued on May 1. Its main provisions were as already stated by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on April 26. It also contained a clause requiring employers to reinstate in his previous employment or in some employment not less favourable any person

called up for compulsory military training, and it permitted the making of regulations by the authorities to prevent the discharge of men in anticipation of their being called up. Powers were also taken in the Bill to simplify the procedure for taking possession of such buildings and land as might be required by the War Office in connexion with the expansion of the Army. It was provisionally estimated that the Bill would involve 30,000,000Z. of capital expenditure spread over two years, and a maintenance cost for the current year of 10,000,000Z., rising to 25,000,000Z. in 1941. It was expected that the number of men who would be registered would be 300,000 in the first year, of whom 200,000 would be called up for training, and that in the second and third years the numbers would rise by 50 per cent. The new recruits were to be called militiamen, and the medical examination was not to be of an exacting standard. The question whether the Bill should be made applicable to Northern Ireland caused no small perplexity to the Cabinet, as Lord Craigavon, the Premier of Northern Ireland, was most anxious that it should, while Mr. de Valera insisted that it should not. A solution was found by embodying in it a provision that the King might, by Order in Council, direct that the Bill should extend to Northern Ireland and the Isle of Man, subject to such modifications and adaptations as might be specified in the Order.

The attitude to be adopted by the Labour Party to the Bill was the subject of anxious deliberation by the principal bodies of the Labour movement. It was ultimately defined in a declaration issued on May 4—just before the second reading of the Bill—by the three Executives of the political and industrial Labour organisations. The Labour Party, it was here stated, having regard to the admitted success of voluntary recruiting, the economic and industrial considerations involved, the unreadiness of the Government in respect of equipment and supplies, the repeated pledges of the Prime Minister and his predecessor not to introduce conscription in time of peace, and the precipitate manner in which the measure was decided on and introduced to Parliament, must and would oppose the Bill. This opposition, however, would not prevent the party from seeking to amend the Bill on the Committee and Report stages in accordance with certain considerations which had greater importance than ever in view of the determination of the Government to make conscription the law of the land. These considerations included the making a reality of the Ministry of Supply for all purposes on a comprehensive basis and the prevention of profiteering ; fundamental reforms in the appointment and promotion of officers in the armed forces in order to stimulate efficiency and the right spirit in the higher ranks ; the breaking down of class privileges in the armed forces and the establishment of full facilities for promotion from the ranks ; safeguards against the use of the

armed forces in trade disputes, further guarantees for the employment of men called to the Colours, and proper provision for their dependents ; and full and fair safeguards for conscientious objectors.

In moving the second reading of the Bill on May 4, Mr. Chamberlain claimed that the safeguards and limitations contained in it had gone a long way to remove the doubts and fears of those who had always objected to conscription, and in particular that the case of conscientious objectors had been dealt with in a very broad-minded manner. With regard to pay and allowances, which had not been put into the Bill but were to be put into force by Order, he informed the House that all the men called up would receive a shilling a day during the initial six months, and that when they passed into the Auxiliary Forces they would receive the same as the men who had enlisted voluntarily. Allowances for dependents would be at the rate of 17s. a week for total dependency and 12s. a week for partial dependency.

The Labour amendment for rejecting the Bill was duly moved by Mr. Lees-Smith, but Sir A. Sinclair now stated that while he could not vote for the Bill, in the present critical situation he thought it unwise to aggravate the cleavage of opinion in the country. Sir H. O'Neill, a member for Antrim, made a bitter protest against the exclusion of Northern Ireland from the Bill. Mr. Eden maintained that by this new departure they were not showing any disrespect for the voluntary system, and Mr. Brown, the Minister of Labour, went further and affirmed that the Government were not abolishing the voluntary system but only supplementing it, as the vast majority of the national defence needs would continue to be met on a voluntary basis. When the debate was resumed on May 8, Mr. Wedgwood Benn and Mr. Attlee spoke against the Bill, while Mr. Lloyd George not only supported it, but declared that it ought to have gone much further. The Labour amendment was finally defeated by 387 votes to 145. On the next day a second reading was given to the Reserve and Auxiliary Forces Bill without a division, after the Government had given an assurance that there would be no calling up of Reserves and Auxiliaries except when there was a state of " external danger."

In order to expedite the progress of the Military Training Bill, the Premier, on May 10, proposed a guillotine resolution, which was passed by 283 votes to 133. This did not prevent the Labour amendments from receiving full consideration, and a number of modifications were made to meet the Labour point of view ; the chief was that the pay of militiamen should be 1s. 6d. a day instead of 1s. as originally proposed, and that allowances should be made for dependents on a fairly liberal scale. With regard to the cost of the scheme, the Minister for War stated that, apart from 30,000,000(M. of capital expenditure on accommodation and

equipment, the maintenance of the militiamen, including pay, was estimated at 10,500,000Z. for the current year, rising to 26,500,000Z. in 1941, and to this had to be added for the Army the cost, estimated at 400,000Z., of reducing to twenty the age at which in the case of Regular soldiers family allowances would be paid. The third reading of the Bill was carried on May 18 by 283 votes to 133.

On May 19 the General Council of the Trade Union Congress convened a meeting of a thousand representatives of affiliated unions for the purpose of deciding finally the attitude to be taken by the trade unions to conscription and national service. A report was presented by the General Council defending its action in co-operating with the Government so far in the work of national defence. After some discussion this was adopted by 3,923,000 votes to 550,000. A resolution was then laid before the meeting which, after condemning compulsory military service and the "violation" of the Prime Minister's pledge, nevertheless authorised trade unionists to serve on the Committees and Tribunals to be set up under the Militia Training Bill and sanctioned the continuation of negotiations with the Ministry of Labour on the war-time problems of industry.

On April 24 M. Gafencu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, came to London, and in the course of the next two days received from the Government confirmation of the pledge which had been given to his country, and also assurances of financial and economic help. While he was in England, a British trade mission, led by Sir F. Leith-Ross, was in Bucharest, chiefly with the purpose of saving Rumania from falling entirely under the economic domination of Germany. The negotiations were brought to a successful termination on May 10, with the signing of a Protocol containing a number of measures for promoting trade between the two countries, and making available to the Rumanian Government guarantee facilities up to 5,000,000l., the British Government at the same time promising to purchase 200,000 tons of Rumanian wheat from the next harvest. About the same time a credit of some 2,000,000l. was advanced to Greece.

Having given guarantees to Rumania and Greece, the Government were not slow to realise how important, if not indispensable, would be the assistance of Turkey for carrying them out, should need arise. The traditional friendship between Britain and Turkey, interrupted for a period during the Great War but since renewed, predisposed them further to enter into closer relations with that country. Accordingly, negotiations were at once set on foot with the object of securing Turkish co-operation with Great Britain in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea. It was not long before these led to a definite result. On May 12 the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that the two countries after discussions which had "revealed their

customary identity of view," had agreed to conclude a definitive long-term agreement of a reciprocal character. Some time would be required yet to work out the details of this definitive agreement, but in the meanwhile the two Governments declared that in the event of an act of aggression leading to war in the Mediterranean area, they would be prepared to co-operate effectively and to lend to each other all the aid and assistance in their power. The two Governments, he added, recognised that it was also necessary to ensure the establishment of security in the Balkans, and they were consulting together with the object of achieving this purpose as speedily as possible.

Mr. Chamberlain reviewed and justified the new policy which was being pursued by the Government in an address to Conservative women at the Albert Hall on May 11. So long, he said, as Germany's actions were confined within the limits which she herself had laid down, and sought only to promote the interests of Germany without threatening the independence of non-German countries, Britain was not necessarily concerned with them. But when Germany commenced to absorb non-German populations, the suspicion was created that she was aiming at world domination. It might be that the Nazi leaders had no such ambitions, in which case Britain would not stand in the way of the natural and legitimate expansion of Germany's trade in Central and South-Eastern Europe. But they were not prepared to sit by and see the independence of one country after another successively destroyed; and it was because there could be no rest or security in Europe until the nations were convinced that no such attempt was contemplated that they had given their assurances to various countries in those parts.

For the completion of the new "peace front," the Government recognised that it was requisite to secure the adhesion of Soviet Russia. On the surface this appeared an easy matter, as the Soviet Government had long been showing its readiness to co-operate in such an endeavour. In practice, however, the task proved unexpectedly difficult. Immediately after giving its assurance to Rumania in April, the British Government inquired of the Russian Government whether it would join the anti-aggression front, and suggested that it should give guarantees to Poland and Rumania similar to those already given by Great Britain. The Russian Government, however, had something much more ambitious in view, and suggested a Pact between itself, Great Britain, and France which all the smaller nations would be at liberty to join. This was much further than the Government was prepared to go, and at any rate it was doubtful whether Poland and Rumania would care to ally themselves with Russia. Accordingly, while adhering to its own proposal, it tried to remove Russian objections by giving an assurance that if Russia should find herself engaged in hostilities on account of

her commitments, she would on no account be left in the lurch by Great Britain and France. Russia, however, continued to insist on her original proposal, and consequently negotiations dragged on without producing any result.

The Prime Minister had shortly before this incurred the displeasure of the Opposition by allowing Sir Nevile Henderson, the British Ambassador to Germany, who had been recalled after the invasion of Bohemia, to return to his post on April 24. The delays in the Anglo-Russian negotiations, coupled with a persistent refusal on his part to give any information as to their course, now caused them to suspect that he was not in earnest.

On May 5 he was asked point-blank whether it was not time that the Government should make up their minds to enter into co-operation with the Soviet Government. He replied that the Government could not acquiesce in the view that they should give up altogether their own opinions and accept without question the views of some other Government. He also protested against the imputation, constantly made by the Opposition, that if there was any fault it must be the fault of the Government, and he said that he had no reason to suppose that a satisfactory conclusion would not be reached, though he could not say when.

It was at this juncture that M. Litvinoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, resigned, and Colonel Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, in a notable speech, affirmed Polish determination not to be intimidated by Germany. Nothing daunted by the former event, and greatly encouraged by the latter, the Government sent out fresh proposals to Moscow, and on May 10 the Prime Minister for the first time gave the House of Commons some definite information about the course of the negotiations. Contrary to expectations, the new proposals, though coupled with a repeated assurance that if Russia intervened she would not be left in the lurch by Britain and France, seemed to bring a decision no nearer, and on May 19 the Liberal Party sought to quicken matters by means of a debate in Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George, who opened, expressed apprehensions that the Axis Powers were meditating some new stroke, and blamed the Government for procrastination in organising resistance to aggression. He maintained that without the help of Russia Britain could not redeem her pledges to Poland and Rumania, and he wanted to know why there was such delay in coming to an understanding with the Soviet Government. The Prime Minister, in his reply, stated that the immediate object of the Government was to introduce a stabilising factor into the European situation, and that they fully realised the importance for that purpose of the assistance of the Soviet Union. He showed that the Government had gone a considerable way in seeking that assistance, and put down their want of success so far to the existence of a kind of veil or wall between the two Governments which it was exceedingly difficult to pene-

trate. Being asked why the Government did not accept the Russian proposals, he replied that there were other Governments also to be considered. This answer did not satisfy Mr. Churchill, who declared roundly that the Russian proposals ought to be accepted; and Mr. Eden took the same view. To show the Liberal disapproval of the Premier's handling of the affair, Sir A. Sinclair moved a reduction in the Foreign Office Vote, but the motion was defeated by 220 votes to 96.

Almost immediately afterwards (May 22) Lord Halifax went to Geneva to attend the League of Nations meeting, and there he had further conversations with M. Maisky. Speaking at the session of the Council on May 23, Lord Halifax said that the action recently taken by Great Britain, though it had not been carried out through the League, which was impossible in the circumstances, had been in strict conformity with the Covenant of the League, and when the negotiations were complete the Government would take the opportunity to communicate the results to the League, since it held strongly to the ideal of international collaboration, of which the League was the symbol. On the next day, in Parliament, the Prime Minister stated that as a result of Lord Halifax's conversations all relevant points of view had been made clear, and he had every reason to hope that on the basis of the proposals which the Government were now in a position to make it would be found possible to reach agreement at an early date.

A Note containing the new proposals was despatched to Moscow on May 26. These did indeed go much further than all which had preceded in assurances of mutual aid. The Russian reaction was, however, not as favourable as had been expected. A speech made by M. Molotoff, the Premier of the Soviet Union, on May 31 showed that Russia was still hesitating and still doubtful of Britain's good faith. Further discussion soon elicited the fact that what Russia chiefly desired was a guarantee for the Baltic States. To this Britain was not opposed in principle, but a difficulty arose from the fact that these States themselves were averse to receiving a guarantee which they were afraid might impair their neutrality. As the British Ambassador in Moscow proved unable to find a satisfactory formula, the Government on June 7 decided to send out Mr. William Strang, a distinguished Foreign Office official and an expert on Russian affairs, to assist him.

The choice of Mr. Strang for this mission did not meet with the entire approval of the Opposition, which, while not questioning his abilities, would have preferred to see a responsible Minister entrusted with so important and delicate a task. However, they did not raise the matter in Parliament, having other bones to pick with the Government at this juncture in connexion with foreign affairs. Shortly after the passing of the Act blocking the Czech assets in London (*vide* p. 26), the Bank of England had

been called upon by the Bank of International Settlements in Geneva to hand over a sum of five to six million pounds which had been deposited with it by that body in the name of the Czech National Bank. As this institution was now under German control, it was obvious that the money in question, if handed over, would eventually find its way into the coffers of the German Reich, a prospect which many members of Parliament naturally viewed with strong disfavour. The fact that Mr. Montagu Norman and Sir Otto Niemeyer, two Governors of the Bank of England, were on the governing board of the B.I.S. aroused suspicions in certain quarters that the Government was in some way implicated in the transfer, and questions were asked on the matter in the House of Commons on May 22, and on several occasions subsequently. In reply it was pointed out that the assets held to the order of the B.I.S. did not fall within the recent legislation on the Czech moneys, and that the Governors of the Bank of England on the board of the B.I.S. in no way represented the Government. The suggestion was put forward that the Bank of England would be entitled to refuse to obey the instructions of the B.I.S. in this matter, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer promised to look into the matter, but on June 5 he reported that according to advice he had received from the Law Officers of the Crown the Bank was precluded from doing this and the Government had no means of compelling it. Regretfully therefore they had to allow Germany to make this additional profit from her annexation of Czechoslovakia.

The Chancellor's statement silenced the Opposition without completely satisfying them ; and they immediately found similar but much stronger cause for bringing the Prime Minister himself under fire. It had become known by this time that while most, if not all, of the Italian troops had been withdrawn from Spain in accordance with the Anglo-Italian Agreement, the bulk of the German and Italian war material had been left in that country. The Opposition pointed out that this was contrary to the Anglo-Italian Agreement, which expressly stipulated that on the conclusion of the Spanish conflict all foreign war material as well as troops should be withdrawn. In reply, the Premier stated on June 7 that the object of the agreement was only to insure against the possibility that at the end of the war the Spanish Government might be induced to afford bases where quantities of war material might remain under Italian military control. He admitted also that the possibility of material being sold or given to the Spaniards after the war had actually been mentioned during the discussions, and when asked on June 12 why he had not told this to the House, he replied that he had not thought it of sufficient consequence ; the Opposition, however, maintained that he had misled the House. A similar difference of judgment showed itself with regard to the speeches recently made by the heads of

the German and Italian Governments in which they openly boasted that from the start they had lied incontinently to the Non-intervention Committee about their participation in the Spanish conflict. Opposition speakers professed to be greatly shocked, but the Government spokesman and some at least of the Ministerialists would see nothing amiss.

On May 17 a White Paper was issued setting forth the policy which the Government intended to pursue in respect of Palestine. When the Jews and Arabs proved unable to agree at the conference a few weeks before, the Government had announced its decision to propound its own solution, and had even indicated the general lines of its plan, but it had delayed publication till now in order to have further consultation with the heads of non-Palestinian Arab States. Dealing first with the Mandate, the White Paper maintained that the framers of that document did not intend that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population, while on the other hand the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was excluded from Sir H. McMahon's pledge to the Arabs. Palestine, it said, could not for ever remain under Mandatory tutelage, and the objective of the Government was the establishment within ten years of an independent State bound by treaty to the United Kingdom. Arabs and Jews were to share in the government of this State "in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of each community were safeguarded," and in the intervening years before the State was created Jews and Arabs were by degrees to become the heads of Administrative Departments. As a safeguard against Jewish domination, the Jewish population was not to be allowed to exceed one-third of the total, and in consequence Jewish immigration was to be restricted to 75,000 in the next five years, after which it would cease altogether save with the consent of the Arabs. The High Commissioner was also to be given general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land.

The Government's plan was immediately denounced by the Zionists and their friends as a flagrant breach of the undertaking given in the Balfour Declaration, and embodied in the Mandate, to create for the Jews a national home in Palestine. They especially objected to the restrictions placed on Jewish immigration and to the condemnation of the Jews to the status of a permanent minority in the country. In asking the House of Commons to approve the Government's policy on May 22, the Secretary of State for the Colonies set himself particularly to deal with this question. He admitted that in 1931 it had been laid down that "economic absorptive capacity" should be the sole criterion for measuring immigration, but he denied that there was anything sacred in that principle, and he maintained that it could, consistently with the Mandate, be abandoned if it prejudiced the rights and position of the Arab population, as was indeed the

case. On the other hand, he maintained that the Jewish settlement, even with this restriction, but with the rights to be granted to it under the British plan, might be held to constitute a "national home" in accordance with the terms of the Mandate.

On behalf of the Labour Party, Mr. T. Williams moved an amendment declaring that the Government's proposals were inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the Mandate and not calculated to secure the peaceful and prosperous development of Palestine, and asking that Parliament should not be committed pending their examination by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. In the two-day debate which followed the Government was reproached with showing bad faith to the Jews by Mr. Amery, Mr. H. Morrison, Sir A. Sinclair, and above all Mr. Churchill, who as the chief author of the 1922 White Paper defining the Mandate claimed to speak with special authority. On the other side the support given to the Government was feeble by comparison. The voting also showed how strong a feeling existed even on the Ministerialist benches against the proposals; although a three-line Whip had been sent out, the amendment was defeated only by 281 votes to 181, and the motion was carried only by 268 to 179. In the House of Lords also the Archbishop of Canterbury joined with Labour and Liberal speakers in criticising the Government proposals, but a division was not taken.

The Finance Bill, the text of which was issued on May 16, contained clauses designed to strengthen existing statutory provisions for defeating schemes of tax avoidance, especially the ingenious use for this purpose of one-man companies; and since these were often deliberately devised to get round the legislation of 1936 and 1937, some of the provisions were made retrospective. Another clause required employers to give particulars of sums paid to employees as "expenses," in order to ensure that an increase in salary was not concealed under this title. When the Bill came up for its second reading on May 25, the Labour Party proposed an annual tax on wealth to be levied during the period of emergency, but this was defeated, and the second reading was carried by 228 votes to 110.

In the Committee stage of the Bill strong protests were made in all quarters of the House against three of the Budget proposals—the repeal of the medicine stamp duty, the higher tax on films and plates, and the increase of ten shillings in the horse-power tax on motor vehicles. On the first two points the Chancellor judged it prudent to give way, but he steadily refused to accept a suggestion to reduce the increase in the motor tax from ten to five shillings.

On April 18 questions were asked in the House of Commons about the recent sale of three British merchant ships to German owners, and the President of the Board of Trade stated that the

Board of Trade had tried to prevent the transfer, but in vain, being without the necessary legislative powers. In view of the feeling shown on the matter in the House, the Government decided to acquire such powers, and as a preliminary on May 17 obtained a Supplementary Estimate of 2,100,000L to be used by the Board of Trade for buying ships if it desired.

The Alness Report on Road Accidents (*vide* p. 35) was the subject of a debate in the House of Lords on May 3, when Lord Newton brought forward a motion urging that it should be taken into consideration as soon as practicable. The appeal was supported by a number of speakers, many of whom complained that the Ministry of Transport was too complacent and not sufficiently susceptible to public pressure. Lord de la Warr, in reply, assured the House that the report would not be pigeon-holed, but as he mentioned no date his statement was declared to be unsatisfactory by Lord Newton, who said that the Government had not heard the last of the matter. And, in fact, on June 7 the House actually carried against the Government, by 34 votes to 25, a motion calling upon it to implement without delay a recommendation of the report that the number of motor patrols on the roads should be increased. No action, however, was taken by the Government, which had its hands full with more pressing matters.

On May 19 the Transport Advisory Committee, which had since the end of the last year been examining the demand of the railway companies for a freer hand in the fixing of rates for merchandise, issued its report. Its main conclusion was that, "subject to safeguards for other industries, material relaxation of the present statutory control was necessary to assist railway companies in overcoming difficulties and establishing conditions favourable to ultimate co-ordination of the various forms of transport." When, a few days later (May 24), the Minister of Transport announced that the Government had decided to accept in principle the recommendations of the Transport Advisory Council, the companies congratulated themselves on being in a fair way to obtaining the "square deal" for which they had long been clamouring; but their joy was somewhat damped by the further announcement that, owing to the congestion of business in Parliament, they would have to wait till the next session for the appropriate legislation. However, they were able to comfort themselves—along with the London Passenger Transport Board—with a decision of the Railway Rates Tribunal on May 26 to allow passenger fares in the London suburban area to be increased by 5 per cent.

In the fourth annual report of the Unemployment Assistance Board, issued on May 24, the chairman, Lord Rushcliffe, in his introduction, dealt at some length with the problem of the young men under thirty who had been unemployed for some time and

who were in danger of " settling down " to a life on the Board's allowances. Although their number was relatively not large, they were considered by all inquirers to constitute a serious social problem. Broadly speaking, they fell into two classes—those who did not desire to be employed, and those who did desire but could not find employment. With regard to the former, the writer came to the conclusion that the policy of granting unconditional allowances to young people called for revision in a considerable proportion of cases ; with regard to the latter, that special steps should be taken to provide opportunities of work ; and for this end it was suggested that in contracts for defence or public works it should be required that the contractor should engage the greater part of his men through the employment exchange. Strangely enough, in a debate on unemployment in the House of Commons on June 30, this subject was overlooked, speakers being more concerned with distressed areas and with the effects on labour of the cessation of rearmament.

On May 25 a Ministry of Supply Bill, formally designating Mi*. Burgin Minister of Supply and defining the powers of the new office, was introduced into the House of Commons. The Bill gave the Minister powers to demand from any firm priority for the execution of Government orders, and in case of non-compliance to appoint a controller to take over and manage the whole or part of the firm's business ; also to require available storage to be placed at his disposal and to examine the records of contractors with a view to fixing prices. He would also be empowered to require any Government contractor or sub-contractor to carry out whatever measures might be considered necessary to protect essential plant from air-raided damage. These powers were to be conferred in the first instance for three years, and to be thereafter renewable from year to year. The Government undertook to indemnify contractors for the extra income tax which they would be charged on the air-raided protection works, at an estimated cost of 2,000,000Z. to 2,500,000l. The salary of the Minister was to be 5,000l. a year ; he was to have a Parliamentary Secretary at a salary of 1,500l. a year ; and the total cost of the new Ministry at the outset was not expected to exceed 30,000l. a year. The Bill was read a third time without opposition in the House of Commons on June 23.

When the Bill came up for its second reading in the House of Lords on June 29, Lord Addison, Lord Samuel, and Lord Swinton united in urging that the powers of the Ministry of Supply should be greatly extended, but they received little support. The House was much more sympathetic to a proposal made by Lord Gainford in the Committee stage, that the power of the Minister to manufacture or produce articles required for the public service should be restricted to three years, for fear lest at some future time it might be used for Socialistic purposes; and, in deference

to the general opinion, the Government s accepted the amendment. In the House of C, the Labour Party moved the rejection of the amendment, but Mr. Burgin advised the House to accept it on the ground that before the three years were up he would be able to define precisely the powers of manufacture which he would wish to be continued indefinitely, and it was agreed to by 208 votes to 125.

On May 8, in preparation for its Annual Conference, the Labour Party published a statement of policy on the organisation of the Defence Services, with the double object of ensuring that the defence of democracy from external attack should be as efficient as possible, and that the provision of defences on the scale necessitated by the international situation should not threaten democracy from within. For this purpose changes were demanded in three fields—payment of the armed forces, supply, and co-ordination of defence. Under the first head the statement pointed out that Britain had built up the Empire " on the cheap," and demanded that between civil life and the armed forces the principle of equal pay for equal work should prevail. Under the second head it advocated a Ministry of Supply as the only means of obviating waste, muddle, and delay ; while for the purposes of defence it suggested that the Committee of Imperial Defence should be reorganised and should contain a special Defence Minister in order to devote itself to the consideration of the defence problems of the Commonwealth as a whole along with its allied States.

The thirty-eighth Annual Conference of the Labour Party opened on May 29 at Southport, under the presidency of Mr. George Dallas. This was the first conference of the party to be held since the resolution passed in October, 1937, that in future years the Labour Party Conference should be held earlier in the year than the Trade Union Congress. The object of the resolution was to prevent the conference being unduly influenced by the results of the Congress ; but to judge by this year's proceedings, the change made little difference.

In his opening address Mr. Dallas bitterly criticised the Government both for the moral paralysis it had shown in foreign policy and its long supineness in the matter of rearmament. The test of its new-found faith in collective security, he declared, would be its success in bringing Russia into the new " peace front." The workers, he said, were prepared to make heavy sacrifices for peace and freedom, but they insisted that sacrifices should fall on those best able to bear them ; wealth must not be given preferential treatment over life and labour.

Immediately after the opening address, a representative from East Bristol, the constituency of Sir Stafford Cripps, moved the suspension of the standing orders and of the constitution in order that the conference might listen to a statement from that

gentleman on the subject of his expulsion from the party. On a card vote, the motion was carried by 1,227,000 votes to 1,083,000. Sir Stafford then made his statement, in which he maintained that he had merely asserted the right of any member of the party to communicate in any way necessary and at any time any suggestion or argument in favour of changing the policy or tactics of the party. The case for the National Executive Committee was put by Mr. Hugh Dalton, who said that Sir Stafford Cripps had been expelled because he had refused to reaffirm his allegiance to the party within its programme, principles, and policy, and to withdraw his memorandum. In the view of the Executive his campaign was damaging to the party and discouraging to loyal members. If the Labour Party was to be effective, minorities must submit with good grace to majority decisions; and the Executive had therefore no option but to take with great regret the action which they did take. The brief discussion which followed showed that the bulk of the meeting was distinctly hostile to Sir Stafford, and a motion to refer back the section of the report dealing with his expulsion was defeated by 2,100,000 to 402,000. Sir Stafford and his associates accepted the verdict of the conference and immediately expressed their readiness to sign the undertakings obligatory on every member of the party, while their "Popular Front" campaign was wound up shortly afterwards.

On the second day a resolution was brought forward by Mr. Noel Baker declaring that the imminent danger of war could be averted only by the formation of a strong group of peaceful Powers bound together by mutual aid against aggression, and expressing concern at the delay in concluding a definite and unequivocal pact with France and the Soviet Union for mutual defence. Mr. Ernest Bevin, in supporting the motion, emphasised the importance of the economic factor in Labour's peace programme, and suggested that the Labour forces of the Commonwealth should unite not merely to resist war but to examine the contribution which the vast wealth and lands of the Empire could make towards the solution of economic problems in the world. Mr. Bevin's views found general support, but his suggestion of a Commonwealth Labour Conference was not taken any further. The motion was carried by 2,363,000 votes to 55,000, after a motion for resisting conscription "by a Government whose foreign policy Labour cannot trust" had been defeated by 1,670,000 votes to 286,000. On the same day resolutions were passed calling on the Government to rescind the Palestine White Paper and to reopen Palestine for Jewish immigration, urging the Labour movement to continue unremittingly its efforts to aid the Spanish people and the heroes of the International Brigade, and demanding that increased pressure should be put on the Government to amend the Unemployment Acts of 1934 and 1935.

On the next day Mr. Dalton moved the adoption of the Executive's report on "Labour and Defence" (*vide* p. 55). He said that this was a time when Labour should increase its knowledge of problems relating to the armed forces and be able to show the public, their political opponents, and the men in the Forces that they were interested in these matters, were making a study of them, and were determined that the defence of the country should be adequate. The report found general acceptance, but a resolution moved by Mr. Herbert Morrison endorsing the party's participation in all steps necessary to secure the proper protection of the civilian population in time of war met with considerable criticism, and an amendment calling for the complete cessation of support of all National Service schemes initiated by the National Government, except A.R.P., received no fewer than 729,000 votes, against 1,767,000. The resolution itself was carried by 1,967,000 votes to 574,000.

On June 1 the question of the "Popular Front" was discussed by the conference, and Mr. Herbert Morrison gave the reasons which had determined the Executive to oppose the idea. What it meant, in his view, was an electoral arrangement which would permit Labour to pick up one or two constituencies at the cost of permitting the Liberals to pick up a great number. The liberal vote was very difficult to discipline, and in many divisions if the Liberals were ordered to vote Socialist they would vote Tory to show their resentment of control. As to the Communist Party, it was likely to be a liability rather than an asset. Even if a "Popular Front" Government could be formed, it would probably soon fall to pieces on account of internal divisions. The way for the Labour Party to succeed was to be animated by Socialist idealism. An amendment to the report favouring a "Popular Front" was defeated by 2,360,000 votes to 248,000.

At its closing session on June 2 the conference reaffirmed its whole-hearted approval of Labour's "immediate programme" which had been adopted at the Bournemouth Conference eighteen months before, and its determination to concentrate all the energies of the Labour movement on pressing that policy on the electors with a view to securing a "resounding Labour victory" at the next General Election. Mr. Greenwood described as "misguided" the people who thought that the programme should be watered down, and said that Labour could never sacrifice what it believed to be true for opportunities of mere office. Labour's weakness, he said, was a little feebleness of spirit among the rank and file; if they could get over that, he was confident they could win the next election.

At the beginning of June a disaster recalling the loss of the ill-fated K101 in 1930 plunged the nation into sadness. While carrying out trials in Liverpool Bay on June 1 the submarine *Thetis* after submerging failed to rise at the appointed time, and

though before long she was correctly located all efforts to raise her proved unsuccessful. Owing to some defect in the escape apparatus, of 103 men on board only four managed to get out and reach the surface. The Prime Minister gave a full account of the affair in "Parliament on June 5, and, in view of the magnitude of the disaster, a public inquiry in addition to the usual naval inquiry was instituted.

On May 3 the Minister of Agriculture announced in the House of Commons the first step in his plan for assisting agriculture, namely, the payment of a Government subsidy of 21. per acre of permanent grass land which should be ploughed up before September 30. By this means it was hoped to secure the double object of bringing some of the land back into arable cultivation and of expanding the nation's food supplies in the event of war. Soon afterwards (May 18) the Minister announced further a price insurance scheme for sheep, oats, and barley. Both these schemes were embodied in an Agricultural Development Bill which was introduced in the House of Commons on June 6, and which in addition provided for the acquisition and maintenance of a reserve of agricultural tractors and other machinery and for giving financial assistance to the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation, an agency for giving long-term agricultural credit, which had fallen into financial difficulties.

In moving the second reading of the Bill on June 15, the Minister of Agriculture described it as being in the main the firstfruits of the review of agriculture recently carried out by the Government, and said that it did not represent a departure from previous policy but rather a development and fulfilment of that started by his predecessor. Its aim was to close gaps in the existing measures and to complete the structure of organised protection of staple products of British agriculture which was gradually being built up. So far as price insurance was concerned, the Bill dealt with three commodities which were vital elements in British economy and which recent experience had shown to require immediate assistance. A Labour amendment to reject the Bill on the ground that it would do nothing for the agricultural labourer and that it would not encourage good farming or ensure stability in the industry was defeated by 229 votes to 119. In the debate on the Report stage of the Bill, the Labour Party tried to secure for the agricultural labourers a share in the benefits of the Bill by proposing that as long as the subsidy was in force they should receive a wage of not less than 21. a week. The Minister, however, pointed out that farmers in that case might find that it did not pay them to accept the subsidy, and the proposal was rejected by 213 votes to 150, after which the third reading was carried unopposed.

Concurrently with this Bill, the Government placed before Parliament two other measures for the benefit of agriculture.

One was a Poultry Bill, which was first introduced in the House of Lords on June 29 ; it empowered the Board of Trade to regulate imports of eggs, egg products, and live poultry in order to stabilise the market, and set up a Commission to take measures for counter-acting debility among poultry stock. The other was a Milk Industry Bill, which was introduced in the House of Commons on the same day. This was a revised version of the ill-fated Bill dealing with the same matter over which the previous Minister of Agriculture had come to grief in November (*vide ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1938, p. 98), and which had been withdrawn in February. The new Bill kept to the same lines as the old in its financial provisions, but dropped the provisions for setting up a milk commission to supervise the industry, for experiments in the rationalisation of distribution, and for making pasteurisation compulsory, which had roused such strong objection.

The Poultry Bill was criticised by Lord Addison on the ground that it did not limit itself to promoting the interests of the producer, but the House did not agree with him, and the Bill went through without material alteration. In moving the second reading of the Milk Bill in the House of Commons on July 7, the Minister of Agriculture admitted that it was only a stop-gap, and that the limits of Parliamentary time ruled out really comprehensive legislation during that session. Still, he thought it would carry the industry over to September, 1940, and would enable the schemes for milk in schools to be continued. The Bill received its third reading on July 14.

In the House of Lords, on July 12, the Bishop of Winchester called attention to the malnutrition which was still prevalent among sections of the population, and, along with other speakers, urged the Government to take further steps for providing milk free or at a reduced price to young children. The President of the Board of Education, in reply, said that the Government fully realised the importance of milk for combating malnutrition, and admitted that the only way to secure an adequate increase in consumption was by obtaining a substantial reduction in price. The financial provisions in the Milk Bill were by no means their last word on the subject, and the matter was being further considered by the various bodies concerned. The percentage of children in elementary schools receiving milk in one way or another was now 55-6, and in Scotland 47. In 1930 only 36,000 children were receiving free milk ; the number now was 500,000, and was increasing rapidly.

On June 15 the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that the Government intended to set up a new Department under the title of the Foreign Publicity Department of the Foreign Office for the purpose of disseminating information about England in foreign countries. The Department, he said, would co-ordinate and intensify the work already done in this field by

the British Council (a voluntary organisation engaged in spreading knowledge of England abroad), the B.B.C., and the Press, work which, he remarked, was a good deal more effective than was generally realised. The first head of the new Department would be Lord Perth, till lately British Ambassador in Rome, and still perhaps better remembered as Sir Eric Drummond, formerly Secretary of the League of Nations. The Premier also stated that in the event of a major war it would be the intention of the Government to set up at once a Ministry of Information with a Cabinet Minister at its head. In reply to questions, Mr. Chamberlain assured the House that the new Department would confine itself entirely to oversea publicity and would in no way interfere with the Press at home. The announcement was on the whole well received, though in some quarters it was thought that some one with more experience of publicity than Lord Perth — if not also with different antecedents—should have been chosen for the post. The "shadow" Ministry of Information was placed for the time being in charge of the Home Secretary, who assured the House of Commons on July 28 that it would not operate at all in peace-time, though meanwhile he was organising a staff and creating contacts.

On May 4 the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that the Government of the United States had recently inquired whether the British Government would be prepared to consider the exchange of certain raw materials required as strategic reserves by the United States Government for other commodities of which the latter had surpluses and which would be a useful addition to British stores against the contingency of war. The Government had replied that, while fully sharing the United States Government's objections to attempts to substitute barter for the ordinary processes of international trade, they agreed that in the special circumstances of the present time the exchange of materials which would not enter into normal commerce was not open to the same objections, provided that world prices were not thereby increased. Negotiations for the purpose were thereupon opened, and on June 23 an agreement was signed under which the United States was to supply to Britain 600,000 bales of cotton (about half a year's supply of American cotton to the British market), valued at about 6,000,000?., and in return the British Government was to supply to the United States about 80,000 tons of rubber—about one-fifth of the normal annual consumption in that country. The stocks were to be solely war reserves, and were to be held for at least seven years if there was no war emergency, and when they were liquidated the Governments were to be under obligation to consult one another and to do everything possible to avoid disturbance of the markets. It was emphasised that, while taking this step, neither Government receded in the least from its attitude of unswerving opposition to

the use of barter in commercial transactions, as being a reversion to primitive methods of trading which prevented the free flow of commerce and was calculated seriously to reduce international trade.

On June 9 the President of the Board of Trade gave the annual survey of the economic situation. There had, he said, been a distinct revival in trade and industry in the first quarter of the year after the setback in the previous year, and expansion was still continuing. Unfortunately, however, it had to be admitted that the improvement in the export trade was due to some extent not to normal trade factors but to the increase in the international tension and the desire of foreign countries for abnormal stocks in case of emergency. At the same time there were signs that the general recovery which had taken place was not so greatly due to rearmament expenditure as some people would believe ; chief of such signs were the comparative stability of imports and exports and the reduction in the adverse visible trade balance of 24,500,000Z. as compared with the previous year. The absence of any abnormality in imports and the fact that there had been an expansion in retail trade suggested that British industry was still engaged in supplying the usual requirements of the people, and that there was as yet no general dislocation of industry. The industries that were not sharing in the expansion were those which depended on confidence, those which were producing consumer goods of a long-term character ; but since confidence would automatically revive if rearmament ceased, this fact was not without its encouraging side.

On May 6 King George and Queen Elizabeth left England to make a tour through Canada, in accordance with an announcement issued in the previous November. On the invitation of President Roosevelt, the plan of the tour was subsequently extended to include a short visit to the United States. Before their departure their Majesties received a loyal Address from both Houses of Parliament, conveying an assurance of affection and of the deep interest with which their visit would be followed. It had been originally intended that they should sail by *H.M.S. Repulse*, but in view of the international situation it was decided that the battleship could not be spared, and they actually sailed in the liner *Empress of Australia*. The *Repulse*, however, accompanied them some way out to sea.

On June 22 the King and Queen, after an absence of seven weeks, returned to England from their American tour. In the interval they had traversed Canada from coast to coast and visited Washington and New York, evoking the greatest enthusiasm wherever they came. The details of their journey had been fully reported in England by the Press, the news reels, and the wireless, and the record of their personal triumph had been a source of pride and joy to all their subjects. In moving an

Address to their Majesties in the House of Commons on June 22, the Prime Minister spoke of the demonstrations of loyalty, exceeding all expectations, with which they had been received in Canada and Newfoundland ; but their welcome at home was if anything even more tumultuous than anything which they had experienced across the water.

On the next day their Majesties were entertained by the City of London at a brilliant gathering at Guildhall, and the King, in responding to the toast of his health, gave some personal impressions of his tour. The first and deepest of these, he said, was that even in this age of machines and mass production, the strength of human feeling was still the most potent of all the forces affecting world affairs. " Over all the nations," as a North American historian had written, " was humanity." He was also struck by the vigorous growth across the sea of British institutions grounded on British faith in liberty and justice ; and he counted it a high privilege to be the first of his line to play some personal part in giving them practical effect by presiding in person over the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa and performing other similar functions.

On Sunday, July 2, some 20,000 men and women, representing every branch of Civil Defence—air-raid wardens, first-aid workers, voluntary fire brigades, and so forth—paraded before the King and Queen in Hyde Park in the presence of a huge and enthusiastic crowd. The Prime Minister, in a broadcast address the same night, remarked that this was the first occasion on which the Civil Defence Forces had been recognised as a Fourth Arm, standing side by side with the Auxiliaries of the three Fighting Forces as a definite part of the organisation of the country's protection. He also read out a message from the King expressing the pleasure which their Majesties had derived from the scene in Hyde Park, and which they regarded as a demonstration of the spirit of service which was everywhere present in the nation, and which showed itself in a determination to make the country ready to meet any emergency, whatever the sacrifices or inconveniences entailed.

On June 20 Lord Minister, on behalf of the Government, laid before the House of Lords three draft Orders intended to protect men called up for military training in respect of commitments such as premiums on insurance policies, rent, or hire purchases. The Orders were severely criticised as affording insufficient protection to the militiamen, and the Lord Chancellor admitted that they were not devoid of ambiguity, which he excused on account of the haste with which they had had to be prepared ; and he held out the hope that they might be amended by later Orders. On the next day Mr. W. S. Morrison, in asking the House of Commons to approve the Orders, remarked that the protection of the militiamen lay less in **the law** than in **the spirit of the country**,

which desired to act fairly and generously by them, and after he had been severely catechised by the Opposition the first Order was carried by 195 votes to 127 and the other two without a division.

On June 20 a White Paper was issued containing the details of a new tax which was to be imposed on profits from armaments. The tax was to be charged on all persons carrying on a trade or business which was declared by the Ministry of Supply to be substantially engaged in the supply of armaments, such supplies being defined as including articles and works required for the purposes of the Armed Forces of the Crown, but not including food, and also equipment, appliances, and materials under the Air-Raid Precautions Act of 1937. The tax was to be imposed for a period of three years and to be charged at the rate of 60 per cent, on the excess armament profits made in any accounting year ended after March 31, 1939. Armament profits tax payable would be allowed as a deduction in computing profits for the purpose of National Defence Contribution and income tax.

In asking the House of Commons to approve the tax on June 26, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that it was meant to give effect to the Government's intention, expressed by the Prime Minister when compulsory military service was proposed, to prevent swollen profits on armaments, which would be repugnant to the general sense. In fact, much had already been done to that end in the drastic powers which had been conferred on the Minister of Supply; and the new tax was meant to be no more than a supplementary method to be brought into play if those means should prove insufficient. It was an essential part of the scheme that it should apply not only to direct contractors with the Crown but also to sub-contractors, and even to sub-sub-contractors. Government departments would inform the Ministry of Supply of payments made to contractors, and sub-contractors would be required to disclose what they received. The new proposal aroused no great enthusiasm, but the fairness of its purpose was generally recognised, and it was accepted in principle without a division.

Throughout its endeavours to form a "peace front," the Government had declared emphatically that its objects were purely defensive, and that it had no hostile designs against Germany. Nevertheless, the Reich Government in official declarations raised the cry of "encirclement," and accused Great Britain of planning the destruction of German trade and of all the bases of German existence, with a view to achieving the political and physical extinction of the German people. On June 8 a Labour member called attention to this propaganda in the House of Commons, and suggested that an expression of the aims of British policy should be broadcast in German, making it clear that such statements were in every way incorrect and

misleading. In reply, the Prime Minister referred to his address to the Conservative women's gathering at the Albert Hall on May 11, and to his speech in the House of Commons on May 19, in both of which he had described as fantastic any suggestions that Britain wished to isolate Germany, or to stand in the way of the natural and legitimate extension of her trade in Central and South-Eastern Europe, or to plan some combination against her with the idea of making war on her ; and he expressed the hope that his reply would be included in the ordinary German news bulletin of the British Broadcasting Company.

On the same day Lord Halifax dealt at some length with the same question in the House of Lords. He described as the really dangerous element in the existing situation the possibility that the German people as a whole might drift to the conclusion that Great Britain had abandoned all desire to reach an understanding with Germany, and that any further attempt at such a thing must once for all be written off as hopeless. The truth was, however, that the British people had constantly sought, and would still earnestly desire, if they thought it possible, to reach such an understanding with Germany as might not only assist the settlement of particular questions but might also place the relations of the two countries on a secure footing of mutual confidence. If it was true that in no country did the leaders cherish sinister designs of imposing a settlement under pressure of overwhelming force, none of the British engagements would ever be called into operation. Great Britain and France and the countries with which they had been in consultation would never commit any act of aggression or attempt by indirect means to undermine the independence or security of another State. So far, too, from wishing to embarrass Germany in the economic field, they knew that a truly prosperous Germany would be good for all Europe and for themselves. Provided that the independence of nations was recognised, the Government were not only willing but anxious to explore the whole problem of economic *Lebensraum*, not only for Germany, but for all European nations.

Lord Halifax's speech was in form a counterblast to Nazi propaganda about "encirclement," and there was nothing in it to which the opponents of Nazi-ism could have reasonably taken objection. Nevertheless, the fact that a speech containing such sympathetic references to Germany should have been made just when the Anglo-Russian negotiations were at a critical stage aroused Labour suspicions that it might herald a return to the policy of "appeasement." To set these doubts at rest, Lord Halifax, in winding up the debate on June 12, made it clear that no change in the Government's policy was intended. That policy, he said, had two facets. On the one hand, they must make it plain that, while uttering no threats and while concealing no ulterior designs, if force was used to-day those who used it

must count on force being met by force. On the other hand, if there was no attempt or intention to resort to force, then the whole influence of the country would be thrown on the side of reaching fair settlements by negotiation. And it was an important point for the success of negotiations that the point of negotiation should mean the same thing to both sides.

On June 29 the text was published of a Memorandum which had been handed to the German Government by the British Ambassador in Berlin containing the British reply to Herr Hitler's denunciation of the Anglo-German Naval Treaties some weeks previously. A vigorous denial was given to the charge made by Herr Hitler in justification of his action, that the British Government was determined to be always hostile to Germany in whatever part of Europe Germany might be involved in warlike conflict, even where English interests were not touched by such a conflict. Great Britain, it was pointed out, could be hostile to Germany only if Germany were to commit an act of aggression against another country, and the guarantees given by Great Britain would operate only if the countries concerned were to be attacked by Germany. Nor had the British Government either the intention or the desire to restrict the development of German trade. On the contrary, the Anglo-German Payments Agreement, under which a considerable supply of free exchange had been made available to Germany for the acquisition of raw materials, was as favourable to Germany as any which had been concluded, and the Government would look forward to further discussion of measures for the improvement of Germany's economic position, if only the essential pre-condition could be secured—namely, the establishment of mutual confidence and goodwill which was the necessary preliminary to calm and unprejudiced negotiation. The Memorandum then went on to point out that no provision for unilateral denunciation was contained in the treaties, and stated that the Government could not admit the pleas put forward by the German Government in defence of their action. With regard to the future, the Government stated that they were willing to negotiate a new agreement, but they desired to know how the German Government proposed to ensure that it should in no event be denounced or modified without the consent of both parties.

On the same day (June 29) Lord Halifax, in an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, dealt at length with the question of British relations with Germany, and gave the clearest possible warning to that country to desist from further acts of aggression. He began by pointing out that the situation was very different from what it had been twelve months before. Then Britain had no commitments on the Continent of Europe beyond what had existed for a considerable time. To-day they were bound by a number of obligations and were preparing to assume more. They did so with a full understanding both of their causes

and their consequences. They knew that if the security and independence of other countries were to disappear, their own security and independence would be gravely threatened. England had always stood out against the attempt by any single Power to dominate Europe at the expense of the liberties of other nations, and would follow the inevitable line of its own history if such an attempt were to be made again. At no time since the war had there been such national unity on the essentials of their foreign policy, and with this spirit of unity went a deep and widespread determination to make that policy effective ; hence the immense effort the country was making in rearming itself. None of this formidable array of strength would be called into play except in defence against aggression ; but in the event of further aggression they were determined to use at once the whole of their strength in fulfilment of their pledges to resist it. At the same time, they had no desire to isolate Germany within a ring of hostile States. Their attitude to the German demand for *Lebensraum* depended on what was meant by that term. If it meant the acquisition of territory by the suppression of the independent existence of smaller and weaker neighbours, it must be resisted. But if it meant only opportunity for a larger economic life, with all its resultant benefits, they were willing to co-operate with Germany to that end. For this purpose, however, it was necessary first of all that the doctrine of force should be abandoned. If that were done, all outstanding questions would become easier to solve, including the question of colonies, in regard to which Britain would be willing to consider a great extension of the Mandatory system, accompanied by the policy of the open door. But unless a settlement were really desired, discussion would do more harm than good. It was, moreover, impossible to negotiate with a Government whose responsible spokesmen branded a friendly country as thieves and blackmailers, and indulged in daily monstrous slanders on British policy in all parts of the world. If, however, that spirit were to give way to something different, the Government would be ready to pool their best thought with others in order to end the present political and economic insecurity, and they could then proceed to the reconstruction of the international order on a broader and firmer foundation. But their immediate task was to resist aggression.

The speech of the Foreign Secretary, with its judicious mixture of firmness and conciliation, met with general approval throughout the country, and it also went far to remove doubts and suspicions which were still held in many quarters that the Government was not in earnest with the policy of resistance to aggression. At the same time it brought home to the nation the gravity of the responsibilities which it had lately assumed, and while not depriving it of all hope of peace stimulated it to intensify its preparations for war.

Although Lord Halifax did not mention Danzig, every one knew that his warning had special reference to German designs on that city which had long been openly avowed. German movements in the Free City at this juncture were in fact giving rise to great anxiety, and on July 3 the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that reliable reports indicated extensive measures of a military character there. As these went on in spite of Polish protests, it was felt in England that a precise statement of British policy on the matter ought to be made by the Prime Minister, who hitherto had allowed the Foreign Secretary to act as the Government's spokesman. Mr. Chamberlain fully satisfied this desire with a statement which he made in the House of Commons on July 10. While Danzig, he said, was racially almost wholly a German city, the prosperity of its inhabitants depended to a very large extent on Polish trade. The Vistula was Poland's only waterway to the Baltic, and the port at its mouth was therefore of vital strategic and economic importance to her. Another Power established in Danzig could, if it so desired, block Poland's access to the sea, and so exert an economic and military stranglehold on her. Those who had been responsible for framing the statute of the Free City had been fully conscious of those facts and had done their best to make provision accordingly. Moreover, there was no question of any oppression of the German population in Danzig ; on the contrary, the administration of the City was in German hands. The existing settlement, though it might be capable of improvement, could not in itself be regarded as basically unjust or illogical. The maintenance of the *status quo* had in fact been guaranteed by the German Chancellor himself up to 1944. But in March certain suggestions were made by the German Government which, in the light of what had happened in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and the Memelland, caused alarm to the Polish Government, and in consequence certain defensive measures were taken by Poland on March 23 and a negative reply was sent to Berlin on March 26. This, it was important to observe, was before the British guarantee to Poland had been even mentioned. Recent occurrences in Danzig, Mr. Chamberlain went on, had inevitably given rise to fears that it was intended to settle her future status by unilateral action, organised by surreptitious methods, thus presenting Poland and other Powers with a *fait accompli*. In such circumstances any action taken by Poland to restore the situation might be represented as an act of aggression on her part, and if her action were supported by other Powers they would be accused of aiding and abetting her in the use of force. In such a case the issue could not be considered as a purely local matter involving the rights and liberties of the Danzigers—which incidentally were in no way threatened—but would at once raise graver issues affecting Polish national existence and independence. Britain

had guaranteed to give her assistance to Poland in the case of a clear threat to her independence, which she considered it vital to resist with her national forces, and she was firmly resolved to carry out this undertaking. At the same time, Mr. Chamberlain did not rule out the possibility of peaceful negotiation ; but he said it must be carried on in an atmosphere of confidence which at present did not exist.

Mr. Strang (*vide* p. 49) arrived in Moscow on June 14, but his presence there failed to bring about that rapid consummation of the Anglo-Russian Agreement which had been its professed object. Negotiations came to a standstill on June 22 in consequence of the continued British and French refusal to give a guarantee to the Baltic States. They were soon resumed, however, and gradually the British and French Governments found themselves able to satisfy Russia on this point on condition of receiving corresponding assurances with regard to Switzerland and Holland. But no sooner had this difficulty been more or less surmounted than the Russian Government raised a new one over the question of indirect aggression, assigning to this term a scope which in the opinion of Britain and France might lead to undue interference in the affairs of other States. Thus the negotiations dragged on, and though differences between the parties were constantly being eliminated and the field of agreement widened, yet by the middle of July considerable scepticism prevailed as to whether the Anglo-Russian Agreement would ever become an accomplished fact. The Government, however, continued to profess itself optimistic, and hopes were revived by an announcement made by the Prime Minister on July 31 that, on the invitation of the Soviet Government, a Franco-British military mission would soon proceed to Moscow to discuss the question of military co-operation between the three Powers.

On June 14 a Polish financial and economic mission, headed by Colonel Adam Koc, arrived in London to discuss the question of financial co-operation between Poland and Britain. The outcome of the discussion was a Bill introduced in the House of Commons on July 6 increasing from 10,000,000Z. to 60,000,000Z. the aggregate liability which, according to the Act passed in December of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 100), might be incurred by the Board of Trade at any time in guaranteeing export trade transactions which were deemed to be "expedient in the national interest." The credits were to be used for the purchase of British made goods, save for a sum of 6,000,000?., which could be used for re-exports. They could be given to any country at the discretion of the Board of Trade, but it was understood that the principal beneficiary would be Poland, since arrangements had already been made for giving **financial help** to Rumania, Greece, and Turkey.

In moving the second reading of the Bill in the House of

Commons on July 14, Mr. R. S. Hudson stated that, great as was the amount to be allocated in credits, it would have been much greater if all the applicants had been fully satisfied, but the country had to consider its own needs also. The Bill received a cordial welcome in all parts of the House, especially from Labour speakers, who saw in it a significant step in the creation of the new "peace front."

The firstfruits of this measure by no means answered the expectations it had aroused. On July 25 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on being asked in the House of Commons about the progress of the financial negotiations with Poland, replied that the Government had offered to guarantee export credits up to the amount of 8,000,000Z. in order to facilitate the purchase in Great Britain by the Polish Government of material necessary for their defence. It had not, however, as yet seen its way to grant the cash loan (of some 5,000,000Z.) for which the Polish Government was also asking, on account of difficulties which he described as technical, and which, he said, it would not be in the public interest to disclose in detail. Though the House did not conceal its disappointment, an arrangement on these lines was actually signed on August 2.

While the Treasury was still haggling over the loan to Poland, rumours became current in the City that the Government was contemplating the floating of a huge loan to Germany of anything up to 1,000,000,000i!. The rumour arose from the fact that Mr. R. S. Hudson, of the Department of Overseas Trade, had discussed with Herr Wohlthat, the Economic Adviser to General Goering, when he was in London in connexion with a Whaling Conference, the question of restoring European trade, and had mentioned the possibility of a loan to Germany, once the political difficulties were removed. In answer to questions in the House of Commons on July 24, the Prime Minister stated that there was no proposal for a loan to Germany, and that Mr. Hudson had spoken purely in a private capacity. Nevertheless, the fact that a member of the Government could even mention such a thing while the negotiations with Russia and Poland were still in suspense created an unfavourable impression, and reawakened the doubts about the Government's sincerity which had been stilled by Lord Halifax's speech of June 29.

In the midst of their discussions with Russia the Government were suddenly confronted with a very serious situation in the Far East. On June 14 the Japanese commenced a blockade of the British and French concessions in Tientsin, on account of the British authorities refusing to hand over to them four Chinese whom they charged with being implicated in the murder of another Chinese, a proteg6 of theirs. The British justified their refusal on the ground that there was no evidence against the accused, and offered to submit the matter to an impartial commission,

but the Japanese would not consent. The Japanese action had the appearance of being a first step towards giving effect to a statement of a spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office on May 24 which contained serious threats against the treaty rights of Foreign Powers in China ; and this impression was strengthened by demands now put forward by the Japanese at Tientsin that Britain should abandon its pro-Chiang Kai-shek attitude and co-operate with the Japanese in the construction of a new order in the Far East.

In the House of Commons on June 19 the Prime Minister stated that the general position in Tientsin was not clear, the original demand for the handing over of the four Chinese in the British Concession having apparently been confused by the introduction of larger issues of general policy. No formal representations had been received from the Japanese Government on the subject, and it was still hoped that a local settlement would be found possible. The Government, Mr. Chamberlain went on, could not but believe that the Japanese Government shared their own desire not to widen the area of disagreement or render more acute an already difficult situation ; at the same time they were fully alive to the reactions of the present dispute on the position of other British and International Settlements in China.

While the Government was seeking "clarification," the Japanese at Tientsin proceeded to much more drastic action. Not only was the blockade tightened, but in the course of the next few days a number of Britons were searched and stripped or subjected to other indignities on entering or leaving the Concession. On June 23 the Prime Minister in the House of Commons described the insults which were being inflicted on British subjects at Tientsin as "intolerable," and in a speech at Cardiff on June 24 he declared that no British Government could submit to dictation from another Power as to its foreign policy. Nevertheless, he still counselled patience, and on June 28 he had the satisfaction of being able to announce that agreement had been reached with the Japanese Government for conversations to take place at Tokio for the purpose of effecting a settlement of questions relating to conditions in Tientsin.

This announcement was followed by a period of suspense—which coincided with a similar suspense in Anglo-Russian relations—and it was not till July 15 that the negotiations at Tokio actually opened. Meanwhile the blockade of the British Concession in Tientsin had continued, though without the more serious features which had marked it in the earlier stage ; and statements had appeared in the British and in the Japanese Press that the Japanese Government would require a fundamental reversal of the British Government's Far Eastern policy as a condition of the opening of the negotiations. Referring to these in the House of Commons on July 17, the Prime Minister declared

amid cheers that the country would not and could not so act in regard to its foreign policy at the demand of another Power. But in fact they had not received any such demand from the Japanese Government. The Japanese official attitude would more correctly be described as a desire that Great Britain should endeavour to regard the Sino-Japanese hostilities with more understanding of Japan's difficulties and of the Japanese side of the case.

On July 24 the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that the Government had accepted the formula arrived at by the British Ambassador in Tokio and the Japanese Foreign Minister to serve as a basis for discussing the position in Tientsin. The formula stated that the Government fully recognised the actual situation in China, where hostilities on a large scale were in progress, and noted that, as long as that state of affairs continued to exist, the Japanese forces in China had special requirements for the purpose of safeguarding their own security and maintaining public order in regions under their control, and that they had to suppress any such causes or acts as would obstruct them or benefit the enemy. The Government, it went on, had no intention of countenancing any act or measures prejudicial to the attainment of these objects by the Japanese forces, and they would make it plain to British authorities and British nationals in China that they should refrain from such acts and measures.

On the face of it, this formula seemed to be an admission of Japanese claims in China and an abnegation of British rights ; and so it was widely interpreted in foreign countries. The Prime Minister, however, refused to see it in this light. In reply to questions from the Opposition, he stated categorically that it indicated no change in British policy in China, and in particular that nothing would be agreed to in the forthcoming discussions which would impair Chinese currency or the right of Great Britain to grant credits to the Chinese Government. The discussions, he said, would be confined to the local issues at Tientsin.

On July 5—in accordance with the vote given by the House of Commons in February (*vide* p. 15)—the Prime Minister introduced a Bill for providing pensions—without any charge on public funds—to ex-members of the House of Commons or their widows who might be in reduced circumstances. The Bill proposed that 12*l.* a year should be deducted from the salary of every M.P. and paid into a " House of Commons Members' Fund," to be administered by trustees who should make grants at their discretion to ex-members or their widows. The annual grant to an ex-member was not to exceed 150*l.*, or such a sum as would bring his income up to 225*l.* a year ; the grant to a widow was not to exceed 151*l.*, or such a sum as would bring her income up to 125*z.* a year. No payment was to be made normally to an ex-member unless he had reached the age of 60, or to an

ex-member or his widow unless he had served in the House of Commons for periods amounting to ten years.

The Cotton Industry Reorganisation Bill, after a protracted consideration in Committee, received an unopposed third reading in the House of Commons on July 6. The two principal amendments inserted in it were that the powers of the Spindle Board to purchase redundant plant should be continued for two years from September, and that a bigger representation should be given to the merchant section and to the rayon interest on the Export Development Committee of the Cotton Industry Board.

On May 12 the Minister for Air informed the House of Commons that in accordance with a decision taken in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 190), negotiations had been completed for the acquisition by a public corporation of the two civil air lines, Imperial Airways and British Airways, at the rate of 325. 9*d.* for each Ordinary II share of Imperial Airways, and about 15*s.* 9*d.* for each II. share of British Airways. The way was thus paved for a Bill associating the two companies in a public corporation—the British Overseas Airways Bill—the second reading of which was moved by Sir K. Wood on July 10. He maintained that a public company was necessary for developing the possibilities of civil aviation, a task which could not be performed by private companies, primarily concerned with the interests of shareholders, against heavily subsidised foreign competition. While admittedly there were dangers in a monopoly, sufficient stimulus would be provided by international competition. For obtaining the requisite capital he stated that it would be necessary to issue about 7,000,000*l.* worth of stock in the first instance. The Board of the corporation, he said, would be independent in day-to-day affairs, but responsibilities involving considerable expenditure of public money would remain with the Secretary of State, and there would be opportunity for Parliamentary criticism and control in major matters. The Labour Party, while supporting the principle of substituting public corporations for private interests, opposed the Bill on the ground that the proposed corporation was not sufficiently on the model of the London Passenger Transport Board, and also that the payment to the shareholders of Imperial Airways was excessive. The second reading, however, was carried by 209 votes to 130.

On July 12 the Secretary for the Colonies authorised the High Commissioner for Palestine to suspend Jewish immigration to that country for a period of six months on account of the large number of Jews who were entering the country illegally. This step was denounced in many quarters as a further breach of faith to the Jews, and was sharply attacked by the Labour Party in the House of Commons on July 20. Mr. MacDonald, in reply, asserted that the illegal immigration was already of such an extent as to cancel out the quota of legal immigration contem-

plated in the next six months, and that it would have been a breach of the White Paper not to have acted as he had done. He also described the illegal immigration as an organised movement to break the immigration law for the sake of breaking it, and to smash the White Paper policy. The House again showed itself uneasy over the Government's Palestine policy, though a motion to reduce the Colonial Office Vote was defeated by 188 votes to 119.

In the debate on the third reading of the Finance Bill, on July 13, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer to tell the House what was the actual bill up to date which the country had to face, and how he proposed to meet it. In reply, Sir John Simon stated that the expenditure on defence, which in the Budget had been put at 580,000,000l., and in the Finance Bill had been raised to 630,000,000l., must now be put at 730,000,000l., owing to Supplementary Estimates for the War Office, the Air Ministry, and the Ministry of Supply, and the amount of borrowing for the year, as he had already indicated, would not fall far short of 500,000,000Z. Owing to favourable circumstances, it would be possible to find perhaps 150,000,000Z. of this sum by the issue of Treasury Bills, and the balance would have to be raised by the issue of a regular loan. In spite, however, of this burden of defence, 50,000,000Z. more was being spent this year on social services than had been spent out of revenue seven or eight years before.

On July 17 the President of the Board of Trade moved the second reading of the War Risks Insurance Bill, which enabled the Government to undertake re-insurance of ships, cargoes, and commodities against King's Enemy Risk. He said that the Government realised its responsibility to insure the civil population against war losses as far as possible, but the House was disappointed that he had not seen his way to go further in this direction. In response to pleas from members, he did promise that the Treasury would try to evolve a scheme for the mutual protection of fixed property. On the other hand, a Labour amendment pressing for the inclusion of " every phase of national activity " in the scheme of war risks insurance was defeated by 189 votes to 105.

On July 19 the President of the Board of Trade moved the second reading of his promised Bill for assisting merchant shipping. The assistance was similar to that given in 1934, but on a somewhat more liberal scale, because it was now judged necessary to provide a reserve in case of war. The Minister stated that the preliminary announcement of the subsidy had fully produced the effect desired (*vide* p. 19), and the rush of new orders had been so great that on April 28 it had been necessary to suspend acceptance of any fresh applications for the subsidy. The Labour Party, while admitting that assistance was necessary for British

shipping in modern conditions, opposed the second reading of the Bill on the ground that the assistance was not accompanied by some measure of public control, and that the Bill did not give satisfactory assurances with regard to wages, but the motion for rejection was defeated by 224 votes to 141.

On July 27 the Labour Party, after having in vain tried to induce the Government to increase the scales of old-age pensions, formally moved a vote of censure on it for its refusal. Mr. Greenwood, the mover, pointed out that the demand came not only from the old but from the young, who bore the charge of maintaining dependent relatives. While recognising the financial strain imposed on the country by rearmament, he pointed out that the cost of higher pensions would be a relatively small sum when measured by the hope, comfort, and happiness it would bring to millions. He suggested *II.* a week for a single person and *II. 15s.* for a married couple as the minimum which would satisfy his party. The Prime Minister, in reply, insisted that sympathy with the condition of old-age pensioners was not the monopoly of any party, as was shown by his own work and that of his father in this field and the extensions made in the original scheme by the present Government. They could not, however, forget that they were in the midst of a defence programme which it was impossible to abandon or postpone, and which was placing an unexampled strain on the nation's financial resources. The cost of pensions had risen from 8,750,000*l.* in 1908 to 69,000,000*Z.* in the current year, and the Labour scheme would throw a great additional burden both on the Exchequer and on industry. It was to be remembered that in future they would have to find from 100,000,000*Z.* to 200,000,000*l.* over the 250,000,000*l.* which was all they could raise from income tax at its present high level. Nevertheless, he would not maintain that the last word had yet been said about pensions, and he promised at once to set on foot an inquiry to see whether something could not be done. The censure motion was in the end defeated by 356 votes to 163, and an amendment welcoming the inquiry was carried by 357 votes to 164.

On June 24, between about ten in the evening and midnight, four serious bomb explosions—obviously the work of Irish Republican terrorists—took place in the West End of London, causing injuries to seventeen people and doing much damage to property. In view of the crowded condition of the streets and the force of the explosions it was fortunate indeed that a large number of persons were not killed outright. Hitherto the terrorists had been careful to place their bombs in spots where they were not likely to endanger life, and the Government had been content to track them down after the outrages had been committed. Now that they were showing themselves reckless in this respect, the Government thought that it was time to take

preventive action of a drastic kind. For this purpose a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on July 19, which gave the Home Secretary powers to make orders for the expulsion from Great Britain of persons who had not been ordinarily resident there for twenty years, and who were believed to be concerned in the preparation or instigation of acts of violence ; requiring any other persons believed to be concerned in such activities to register and report to the police ; and prohibiting the entry into Great Britain of any persons who had not been ordinarily resident there for twenty years and who were attempting to enter with a view to being concerned in such activities. The Bill also extended police rights of search. It was proposed to limit the duration of these powers to two years, and they were to be exercised specifically " with a view to preventing the commission in Great Britain of acts of violence designed to influence public opinion or Government policy with respect to Irish affairs."

In moving the second reading of the Bill on July 24, the Home Secretary informed the House of Commons that the terrorist campaign had been introduced by a kind of ultimatum sent early in the year by the so-called Irish Republican Army to the Foreign Office, demanding the instant withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland, and that it had followed closely the plan laid down in a document—known as Plan S—which had been seized early in the year and which had been found to contain much accurate information regarding the essential services of the country. Since January there had been 127 outrages, 57 in London and 70 in the provinces, resulting in one death and injuries more or less serious to 55 persons. The police, on their side, had obtained convictions against 66 of the malefactors, and in addition had seized 1,500 sticks of gelignite, 1,000 detonators, 2 tons of potassium chloride and oxide of iron, 7 gallons of sulphuric acid, and 4 cwt. of aluminium powder—enough to cause millions of pounds worth of damage and the loss of at least 1,000 lives. In spite, however, of the success of the police hitherto, there were various reasons why they should be armed with greater powers. One was that the terrorists were becoming more astute ; another was that they were becoming more ruthless ; and a third was that, according to reliable information in the hands of the Government, the campaign was being closely watched and actively stimulated by foreign organisations. Considering, too, that they might soon find themselves in a state of war, the Government were of opinion that Parliament should not be allowed to rise before these further powers were granted.

The necessity for investing the Government with more ample powers to cope with the terrorist campaign was recognised on all hands ; but though the Minister assured the House that they would be used to deal only with a limited number of misguided people, the Opposition viewed the measure with suspicion, fearing

that, like the Official Secrets Act, it might subsequently be perverted from its original purpose and become a danger to civic liberties. In the end the bulk of the Opposition members, in order to show that they were in agreement with the principle of the Bill, decided not to oppose the second reading, which was in consequence carried by 218 votes to 17.

For the Committee stage, which was taken on July 26, the Opposition prepared a number of amendments with the object of obtaining further safeguards for civic liberties. They were especially anxious that the powers conferred by the Bill on the Executive should be subject to some form of judicial control, and with this end in view moved that persons against whom it was proposed to make expulsion orders should have the right of appealing to a High Court Judge. The Home Secretary declared that such a proviso would make the Bill useless as a means of security against I.R.A. outrages, and suggested as a compromise that suspected persons liable to expulsion should have the right of being heard by an outside adviser or advisers appointed by himself. After a warm discussion, the amendment was defeated by 212 votes to 123, and the Home Secretary's proposal was accepted without a division. Another modification accepted by the Minister was that he should report to the House every three months on the persons expelled.

While the debate was still proceeding, news came of the worst outrage yet committed by the terrorists—a bomb explosion in King's Cross station by which one person was killed and fifteen injured. This shock effectually allayed the scruples of most of the critics of the Bill, and it was rushed through its remaining stages in the House of Commons before the day was out, the Opposition contenting themselves with an assurance from the Home Secretary that so long as he was responsible for administering the emergency legislation he would do his best to see that the doubts expressed by them were unjustified. The House of Lords showed similar despatch, finding time, however, to insert an amendment providing for the detention of suspects pending inquiry as to whether deportation should be ordered. This aroused some protest in the House of Commons, but was accepted on the Home Secretary declaring that if he had had such powers forty-eight hours earlier the outrages of the previous day might have been forestalled. The Bill became law on July 29, five days after its second reading in the House of Commons.

As the close of the session approached, a large number of members from all parties began to look forward with apprehension to the prospect of a lengthy period during which Parliament would not be sitting. The memory of the last summer recess with its bitter experiences was still fresh in their minds, and they could not but see an ominous resemblance between the present state of international affairs and that of twelve months before. Certainly

they could find no fault with the principles of British foreign policy as recently laid down ; nevertheless they could legitimately doubt whether the execution of the policy was in the right hands. It was natural that the long delay in concluding the pact with Russia should be ascribed in part at least to want of goodwill or sincerity on the side of the Government, and that the refusal of a loan to Poland should be put down to the same cause ; and the question arose, if these things could happen when Parliament was at hand to keep Ministers up to the mark, what was to be expected when this salutary control was removed ?

Mr. Chamberlain could have stilled these doubts in an instant by taking into the Cabinet Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, or even one of them alone. Such a step had, in fact, been loudly called for a few weeks before by influential organs of the Conservative Press, notably the *Daily Telegraph*, which undoubtedly in this matter voiced the sentiments of a large body of Conservative opinion both in and out of Parliament; and it would have inspired confidence in the Opposition also. Mr. Chamberlain ignored the agitation, and it was not quite strong enough to force his hand. His refusal to take into the Cabinet two of his most outspoken critics could easily be explained on personal grounds ; nevertheless it seemed to many to lend some colour to the suspicion that he was still hankering after " appeasement," and that he did not really desire the success of the policy which he was supposed to be carrying out.

As another means of keeping the Premier in check, the Opposition on July 27 proposed that Parliament, after rising on August 4, should meet again in a fortnight, or at any rate before the end of the month, to receive a statement. To this request also Mr. Chamberlain refused to accede, on the ground that the extra meeting of Parliament might cause unnecessary anxiety among the public.

A more direct attempt to prevent any backsliding on the part of the Premier was made in the House of Commons on July 31, when Sir Archibald Sinclair, in opening a debate on foreign affairs, after quoting some sentences from Lord Halifax's speech of June 29 in which British foreign policy had been very precisely defined, called upon the Prime Minister to endorse that statement in terms equally firm, clear, and downright, and so to give the lie to rumours which were current with regard to his intentions. Mr. Dalton, for the Labour Party, pressed home the charges against the Government in more detail and not without rancour. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, reprimanded his critics for giving currency to rumours which might do harm abroad, and for suggesting that there were dissensions between him and his colleagues when there were none. He then proceeded to give his own exposition of foreign policy. It was no secret, he said, that **the British and French Governments had been unable to agree**

with the Russian Government on a definition of "indirect aggression," but this was the one point practically which was holding up the pact. A provisional agreement could already have been made but for the refusal of the Russian Government ; while the arrangement to begin military conversations showed that they were in earnest. As to Danzig, he had already expressed the determination of the Government, and in China also the formula accepted by the Government denoted no change in its policy. If there was any hope of peace, concluded Mr. Chamberlain, it lay in the realisation by rulers and peoples that war would bring a gruesome harvest to victors and vanquished alike. The Premier's speech was declared to be satisfactory by Mr. Eden, especially in its references to Russia ; none the less the Liberal Party persisted in moving a vote of censure, which was defeated by 266 votes to 130.

On August 2 the Prime Minister proposed in the House of Commons that Parliament should rise on August 4 and should meet again on October 3, adding the usual proviso that it might be summoned earlier in case of emergency. The reason given for cutting down the recess to the unusually short period of eight weeks was that emergency legislation had taken up a considerable part of the session and consequently a great deal of business had had to be postponed till the autumn. On the other hand, by August 4 they would have finished all essential business and would have passed all the emergency legislation which was necessary. He indicated that the Government were not contemplating any important departure from their declared policy, but promised that if at any time they were to do so they would immediately consult Parliament.

The Premier's assurance did not satisfy the Opposition, and Mr. Greenwood moved that August 21 should be substituted for October 3, openly declaring that he did not think it safe to leave the Premier free from the attentions of Parliament for more than three weeks at a time. The amendment was supported by Sir A. Sinclair, and also by Mr. Churchill, on the more positive ground that by allowing Parliament to meet earlier the Prime Minister would inspire confidence and further the cause of national unity under his leadership. This plea was endorsed by Mr. Amery.

Mr. Chamberlain, in replying, ignored the appeal which had come from his own side of the House and concentrated his attention on the challenge which had been thrown down by the Opposition. Since his own good faith had been impugned, he made the question one of confidence, and refused to hear of any compromise. This purely partisan attitude won him loud applause from the bulk of his supporters, but on not a few it made a painful impression, and strong disapprobation of it was expressed by one or two of the **younger** members among them. The amendment was negatived

only by 250 votes to 132, a considerable number of Ministerialists having abstained from voting.

On August 3, the day before the adjournment, in a debate on foreign affairs in the House of Lords, Lord Halifax once more defined the position of the Government in regard to the principal issues. Dealing first with the Far East, on which attention in the debate had been chiefly concentrated, he again denied categorically that the formula on which the Anglo-Japanese negotiations were based indicated any change in British policy or that there was any intention in the mind of the British Government of disregarding British interests in China or their obligations to third parties. There was nothing that they had done, and he hoped nothing that they would do, which could on any reasonable construction be taken as condoning aggression. At the same time, they did not desire to impair their relations with Japan if that could be avoided, though he admitted that in view of the Japanese attitude this might be very difficult. Whether they would denounce the Commercial Treaty with Japan or give further support to Chinese currency must depend on circumstances. Their goal in the Far East must be to bring about a just and equitable settlement of the present dispute, and the Government would always be ready to take the opportunity of using their good offices. The Government were fully alive to the need for coming to an agreement with Russia, but to provide an instrument which would cover every possible contingency was a very complicated task which might give rise to further divergencies of view. The hitch which had arisen in the negotiations for a loan to Poland had not at all impaired the relations of complete confidence which existed between that country and Great Britain; while with regard to Danzig, he had nothing to add to the statements already made by himself and the Prime Minister. In conclusion, he remarked that the time was not one for complacency, but if the nation was united and knew where it stood it could meet the future, whatever it might hold, with confidence.

On the next day, in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister made a statement on the Far East in which he clearly intimated that the Government would have liked to take a firmer line with Japan, but were restrained by considerations of prudence; for one thing, the situation in Europe prevented them from despatching a fleet to the Far East, and again the British settlements scattered throughout North China constituted so many hostages to Japan. He would not commit himself therefore either to support Chinese currency or to denounce the Commercial Treaty with Japan; but he gave it to be understood that neither of these steps was ruled out if Japan did not show herself more reasonable.

On August 1 the question of Civil Defence was again discussed by the House of Commons after an interval of some four months,

and the Lord Privy Seal was able to report that considerable progress had been made. Towards a total of well over 2,000,000 required—which was a liberal allowance—they had on the strength 1,900,000 men and women, a solid evidence of goodwill and public spirit. The distribution of the volunteers was not, however, altogether satisfactory, and there were still serious deficiencies in the important branches of auxiliary fire service and ambulance workers. Some 2,500,000 steel garden shelters had been ordered, and of these about 1,000,000 had been delivered, capable of giving protection to nearly 6,000,000 persons in vulnerable areas. More heavily protected shelters were also being provided in special cases. The Regional Commissioners were establishing contacts with the local authorities, and the rapid development of the regional machinery had made it possible to undertake practical exercises with increasing frequency over wide areas, and so to obtain very useful information.

In other directions also preparations for war had been actively advanced in the same period. The first batch of militiamen, from the ages of 20 to 21, had been called to the colours in the middle of July, and at the end of that month 12,000 naval reservists were called up, ostensibly to take part in the great Fleet exercises which were to be held in the second week in August. Plans for the evacuation of children from danger zones had been perfected, additional stocks of wheat and petrol had been laid in, and arrangements had been made for controlling the supply of coal, petrol, and foodstuffs if war should break out. Whether Germany would throw down the challenge was still doubtful; but if she did, England could no longer regard herself as unready to meet it.

The spirit of the nation had also by now become thoroughly attuned to the prospect of war. It was significant, for instance, that *The Times*, which a year before had been fond of declaring that Britain must find some way of living side by side with the dictatorships, was now foremost in declaring that Nazi methods were incompatible with any settled order in Europe. In the course of his speech on foreign affairs on August 3, Lord Halifax had remarked on the comparatively small number of debates on that subject which had taken place in the summer, and had seen in it "a not insignificant expression of a very broad substantial unity behind the Government" in its anti-aggression policy. The hysterical peace clamour which had broken out after the Munich meeting had almost completely died down, and the spirit of determination and self-sacrifice which even then had been noticeable among the more democratic elements of the population had now spread to those other elements which at that time had so pitifully given way to pusillanimity and self-deception.

CHAPTER III.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

WHEN Parliament rose, the warlike preparations of the Government were still deficient in one important particular. The "peace front" which it had been striving to organise, and by means of which Germany was to be faced with a war on two fronts, still lacked the adhesion of Russia. Considering the length of time which had already been spent over the negotiations with that country, and the fresh difficulties which had constantly cropped up, this fact was in itself disquieting. Nevertheless, it was equally a fact that the negotiations had produced what *The Times* called "a very comprehensive body of agreement," and that both sides still professed to be anxious for the pact. It was therefore reasonable to expect that, in spite of the repeated setbacks, the pact would sooner or later come into being, especially after the British and French Governments had accepted the Russian invitation to send a military mission to Moscow. With this prospect in view, the British public remained entirely unperturbed by the threats and fulminations which at this time were issuing from Berlin and Danzig, and did not allow the "war of nerves" organised by the Nazi Government to interfere in the least with its August holiday.

The Government on its side, to the confusion of its critics, showed no sign of being deflected from its declared policy, although there was no Parliament at hand to call it to account. It forbore from bringing any pressure to bear on the Polish Government in its dealings with Germany, continued to give it full moral support, and drafted a formal treaty embodying the terms of its guarantee to Poland.

On August 9, prior to setting out for the manoeuvres, the whole of the Reserve Fleet, consisting of some 130 ships of war, was inspected by the King in Weymouth Bay. On the same night a complete "black-out" was carried out over nearly half the country, and bombing raids were staged over the Eastern counties in order to test the efficacy of the defences. The results were declared by the authorities to be highly encouraging, and to have shown in particular that the fighter aircraft was more than a match for the raiding bomber, if it could force an encounter.

The British members of the military mission to Russia—Admiral Sir Reginald Plunkett-Erne-Erle-Drax, Air-Marshal Sir Charles Stuart Burnett, and Major-General Heywood, with about twenty assistant staff—left London on August 5 and arrived in Moscow about a week later. They were cordially received and commenced their work under what seemed most favourable auspices; so much so that on August 18 *The Times*—which

here as usual probably reflected the view of the Government—reported that "the military conversations continued quickly and well; and it was hoped that the last steps in concluding the political side of the three-Power defensive agreement would soon be made."

Unfortunately the confidence reposed by the Government in Russia on this occasion proved to be no less misplaced than that which it had reposed in Herr Hitler twelve months before. While the Russian Government had been negotiating openly with Britain and France it had been carrying on a secret intrigue with Germany, as now came to light. On August 18 it was reported that a Commercial Agreement had been concluded between Germany and Russia; and two days later came the laconic announcement from Berlin that the two countries had concluded a non-aggression pact and that Herr von Ribbentrop was immediately proceeding to Moscow to sign it.

The Russo-German Commercial Agreement, while accepted as a fact, had been discounted in almost all quarters in England as having no great political significance. But the report of the non-aggression pact could not be disposed of so easily, and while it puzzled the Ministerialists it was particularly disconcerting to the Opposition, who up to now had always credited Russia with good faith in international dealings. It came as unexpectedly as a thunderclap from a clear sky, and at first there was a disposition to receive it with blank incredulity, so utterly at variance did the alleged pact seem to be both with the declared policy of Russia and with her obvious interests. The fact that the report emanated from Berlin and was not immediately confirmed from Moscow kept alive this incredulity for a short time. It was not long, however, before Government and public were forced to realise that for once Berlin had spoken the exact truth, and that Germany had scored over the Allies a diplomatic victory of the first order.

Even before the announcement of the pact the situation in Danzig had grown so threatening that the Prime Minister had returned to London from Scotland and invited a few Ministers to confer with him on August 22. In consequence of the gravity of the news, this gathering became a full meeting of the Cabinet; and the question which it had to consider was nothing less than the whole future of the Anglo-Polish pact. If there had been any desire on the part of the Government to wriggle out of its obligations to Poland, here was indeed a unique excuse for doing so. But such a course was not contemplated for an instant. Unanimously and without hesitation—according to the official statement—they decided that the conclusion of a Soviet-German pact "would in no way affect their obligation to Poland, which they had repeatedly stated in public and which they were determined to fulfil" They further decided to summon

Parliament for August 24 in order to invest the Government with powers to take any steps that the situation should demand, and to carry out certain other precautions of an administrative character.

That war had been brought appreciably nearer by the defection of Russia was obvious ; nevertheless, there was still a possibility that Germany might be restrained from aggressive action by the clear knowledge that an attack upon Poland would involve her in hostilities with England also. The failure of Lord Grey, in a similar situation twenty-five years before, to define precisely British intentions was thought by many to have precipitated the German invasion of Belgium. In order therefore to leave the German Government under no misunderstanding on this point, the Prime Minister on August 23 sent a message to the German Chancellor by the British Ambassador in Berlin, restating in unmistakable terms the British attitude, and at the same time making a renewed plea for a peaceful settlement of the dispute over Danzig. The Fihrer, however, was unyielding ; he reiterated his thesis that Eastern Europe was a sphere in which Germany ought to have a free hand, and declared that she would not allow her vital space and vital interests to be prejudiced by the British guarantee.

The position of the Government was fully explained by the Prime Minister to the House of Commons when it met on August 24. Since their last debate on foreign affairs on July 31, he said, the international situation had steadily deteriorated. The dispute about Danzig had been exacerbated by a violent Press campaign from the side of Germany in the face of which Polish statesmen had shown great calm and self-restraint. They had always been ready, as they still were, to discuss differences with the German Government, if they could be sure that the discussions would be carried on without threats of force or violence. At the beginning of the week word had come that German troops were beginning to move towards the Polish frontier, and it became evident that a crisis of the first magnitude was approaching, and that the time had come for the Government to seek the approval of Parliament for further measures of defence. On top of this came the announcement of the approaching Russo-German pact, which, he had to admit, took the Government completely by surprise, since no inkling of it had been conveyed either to them or to the French Government by the Soviet Government. For the present he refrained from passing judgment on Russia's action until he should have been able to consult with the French Government, but obviously it had created a changed situation which they had to meet. Their first care had been to remove the dangerous illusion which seemed to be prevalent in Germany that Britain and France would no **longer** be likely to **fulfil** their **obligation to Poland**. Their

guarantee to Poland had been given before any agreement was talked of with Russia, and therefore was not in any way dependent on that agreement being reached. In addition they had taken certain measures of a precautionary and defensive character, in order to put the country in a state of preparedness to meet any emergency, but these did not in any way menace the legitimate interests of Germany.

Mr. Chamberlain then informed the House of the message which he had sent to the German Chancellor by the British Ambassador in Berlin, and of Herr Hitler's reply, which, he said, completely misapprehended the British position, as they did not think of asking Germany to sacrifice her national interests. The definition of British policy given by Lord Halifax on June 29 still held good. The vital principles on which that policy was based seemed to be in jeopardy, and it was therefore that they had undertaken such unprecedented obligations. If, despite all their efforts to find a way to peace, they should be forced to embark on a struggle, they would not be fighting for the political future of a far-away city in a foreign land, but for the preservation of principles, the destruction of which would involve the destruction of all possibility of peace and security for the peoples of the world.

On behalf of the Labour Party, Mr. Greenwood, while taking care to insist that he withdrew nothing of his previous criticisms of the Government, assured the Prime Minister of his full support in the course which he was now pursuing, and warned other nations that if they counted on any disunion in the British people at this juncture they would be mistaken. A similar statement was made on behalf of the Liberal Party by Sir A. Sinclair, and Mr. Eden expressed his conviction that the Prime Minister's declaration had voiced the feelings of the nation. The extreme pacifist view found its spokesmen in Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Maxton, but they were lone voices, and a motion empowering the Government to pass through all stages its emergency legislation was carried by 427 votes to 4. Similar unity was displayed in the House of Lords, where Lord Snell, Lord Crewe, and Lord Cecil declared their full support of the Government.

Immediately afterwards the Home Secretary moved the second reading of the Emergency Powers Bill, which authorised the Government to make regulations by Order in Council "for securing the public safety, the defence of the realm, the maintenance of public order, and the efficient prosecution of any war in which His Majesty might be engaged." The Minister said that it was in the nature of things that these powers were "wide, drastic, comprehensive, and flexible," but he assured the House that the Government would apply them with "moderation, tolerance, and common sense." **Certainly, until hostilities**

actually broke out, the regulations would be merely of a precautionary character. And as a safeguard against the powers being continued after the emergency was passed, there had been introduced into the Bill a provision limiting the duration of the Act to twelve months. No opposition was offered to the Bill in either House, and it became law before the day was out.

On the same day (August 24) the National Council of Labour, after a meeting lasting two and a half hours, stated again the determination of the Labour movement that there should be no weakening in its declared policy of collective resistance to any further acts of aggression by the German Government, and reaffirmed its steadfast resolve that the obligations undertaken by Britain in defence of the independence of Poland should be honoured to the full. The Council also expressed a hope that the Emergency Powers Bill sought by the Government would provide safeguards for the essential liberties both of the individual citizen and of working-class organisations, and a trade union deputation afterwards went to the Home Office to seek assurances to that effect from the Home Secretary.

On the same night (August 24) Lord Halifax broadcast a speech in which he reiterated the British Government's resolve to stand by Poland in accordance with her repeated pledge ; it was not the British way, he said, to go back on obligations. He also referred to the appeals for peace made by King Leopold of Belgium, the Pope, and President Roosevelt, and echoed the prayer of the Pope that they " might find a response in the hearts of men." The Government, in fact, did send a favourable reply to the appeal of King Leopold.

On August 25 the Anglo-Polish Treaty was signed in London by Lord Halifax and Count Raczynski, the Polish Ambassador. Its first article provided that should one of the Contracting Parties become engaged in hostilities with a European Power in consequence of aggression by the latter against that Contracting Party, the other Contracting Party would at once give it all the support and assistance in its power. Another article declared that Britain and Poland would support each other in resisting any attempt to undermine the independence of either by " processes of economic penetration or in any other way," while other articles provided for staff talks, for the exchange of full information, and for not concluding an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement. The agreement was to remain in force for five years.

To the general surprise, news came on August 25 that Herr Hitler had sought a fresh interview with the British Ambassador, and that the latter would fly to England the next day with a message from the Fuhrer. The message was duly brought, and was carefully considered by the Cabinet on August 26 and 27 ; and a reply, drafted with meticulous care, was sent back with

Sir Neville Henderson on August 28. Officially not a word was divulged either of the message or of the reply ; but the public had little hesitation in surmising that Herr Hitler was making last-minute attempts to detach Britain from Poland and that the Government was standing firm by its pledges. That this view was correct was shown by a statement made to Parliament by the Prime Minister and Lord Halifax on August 29. Herr Hitler, they said, was concerned to impress upon the Government his wish for an Anglo-German understanding of a complete and lasting character. On the other hand, he left them in no doubt of his views as to the urgency of settling the German-Polish question. The Government agreed with him on both points, but everything turned on the manner in which the immediate differences between Germany and Poland could be handled, and the nature of the proposals which might be made for a settlement. The Government had said more than once publicly that German-Polish differences should be capable of solution by peaceful means, the first pre-requisite being that the tension created by frontier clashes and reports of incidents should be diminished. Meanwhile they had made it plain that their obligations to Poland would be carried out.

The Prime Minister went on to say that on the reply of Herr Hitler to their communication would depend whether further time could be given for the exploration of the situation and for the operation of the many forces which were working for peace. Meanwhile the Government had made preparations for any eventuality. The air defences had been placed in a state of instant readiness. The regular squadrons of the Royal Air Force had been brought up to war strength, and the fighter and general reconnaissance squadrons of the Auxiliary Air Force had been called up and were standing ready. The Navy had already been in an advanced state of preparedness when the crisis arose, and the whole of the fighting Fleet was ready at a moment's notice to take up the dispositions which would be necessary in war. The Admiralty had also assumed control of merchant shipping and issued instructions to it on various routes. A number of movements had been carried out by units of the armed land forces in accordance with prearranged plans. The Civil Defence regional organisation had been placed on a war footing, and instructions had been sent to local authorities to complete all preparatory steps. Evacuation plans were ready, arrangements had been made for the extinction of public lighting and for the calling up of the air-raid precautions service personnel, and steps had been taken to prepare hospitals for the reception of casualties. According to Mr. Chamberlain, it was the knowledge of the country's readiness, along with the clear perception where their duty lay, that kept the people so remarkably calm.

The attitude of the Government once more obtained the unanimous approval of both Houses, but in the **House** of Commons Mr. Greenwood and others strongly appealed to the Prime Minister to evacuate children at once from the danger zones and not to wait till war actually broke out. The Government at first refused, but, on second thoughts, it took the hint, and on the next day gave orders for the evacuation to commence on September 1—just in time, as it happened. The whole operation—thanks largely to the devoted efforts of some 12,000 helpers—was carried out without a hitch, in a space of less than four days. The total number of persons evacuated—school-children, mothers with infants, expectant mothers, and blind people—was nearly a million and a half.

In its Note of August 28 the British Government had declared its readiness to use its good offices for bringing about direct German-Polish negotiations on the problems in dispute. In its reply on the next day the Reich Government declared itself willing to accept the British suggestion, and at the same time stated its intention of informing the British Government, pending the arrival of a Polish plenipotentiary in Berlin, of its terms for an agreement. The British Government thereupon urged the Polish Government to send a representative to Berlin, and at the same time proposed that during the negotiations both parties should undertake that no aggressive military movements should take place. The Polish Government at once gave such an undertaking, but the German Government made no reply. Further, in declaring its willingness to negotiate, the German Government had stated that it counted on the arrival of a Polish emissary with full powers on the very next day, August 30. At 2 A.M. on that day the British Government telegraphed to its Ambassador in Berlin protesting against the unreasonableness of this requirement, and at seven in the evening of the same day it again telegraphed asking whether he could not induce the German Government to adopt the "normal procedure," of first communicating its terms to the Government concerned. The German Government paid no heed to these representations, and, with a chicanery not easy to parallel in diplomatic records, when midnight came and the Polish plenipotentiary had not arrived, it declared that its terms had been rejected, though they had never yet been communicated officially either to the British or the Polish Government; Herr Ribbentrop had simply gabbled them off at great speed to the British Ambassador on the night of August 29, without so much as giving him a written copy. In themselves the terms might conceivably have served as a basis of negotiation, but they were first learnt by the British Government from a German broadcast on August 31, after war had practically been declared.

On the morning of September 1 German troops invaded

Poland. The Government immediately, at the instigation of the Polish Ambassador, instructed its Ambassador in Berlin, in conjunction with the French Ambassador, to hand to the German Government a document stating that by their action the German Government had created conditions—namely, an aggressive act of force against Poland threatening the independence of Poland—which called for the implementation by the Governments of the United Kingdom and of France of the undertaking to Poland to come to her assistance. Unless, therefore, the German Government were prepared to give satisfactory assurances that they had suspended all aggressive action against Poland and were prepared promptly to withdraw their forces from Polish territory, his Majesty's Government would without hesitation fulfil their obligations to Poland. In case of an unfavourable reply, the Ambassador was instructed to ask for his passports.

On the same day the Government published as a White Paper the whole of its correspondence with the German Government since August 22, and convened Parliament in order to report on the situation and to put through certain necessary legislation. In the House of Commons the Prime Minister made it clear that the Government had done everything possible to keep open the way for an honourable and equitable settlement of the dispute between Germany and Poland, that Poland had always shown herself ready to negotiate, and that the responsibility for the outbreak of war lay entirely on Herr Hitler. He then read out the note which the British Ambassador had been instructed to deliver to the German Government, and concluded by affirming the country's determination to see through to the end the struggle which they had so earnestly endeavoured to avoid. The House once more gave the Government its unanimous support, and carried a resolution empowering itself to pass a number of Bills through all their stages at one sitting.

The House then proceeded to enact various measures designed to adapt the country to war conditions. Chief of them was the granting of a credit to the Government of 500,000,000Z. for expenses it might incur in connexion with the prosecution of a war up to March, 1940, and a Bill authorising the Government to use the Exchange Equalisation Fund in such manner as it thought fit. Other Bills empowered the Courts to suspend the payment of debts, and placed under extended rent control all houses except those whose rent exceeded 100Z. in the Metropolitan district, 151. elsewhere in England and Wales, and 90Z. in Scotland. The Government was also authorised to make a charge for export licences in order that the exporter might not have an unfair advantage over the producer for the home market.

On the next day (September 2) the Minister of Labour brought in the National Service (Armed Forces) Bill making all men

from the age of 18 to 41 liable to be called up during the war emergency. The Bill followed very closely the provisions of the Military Training Act of the spring, the chief difference being that it added to the classes exempt from liability all persons in Holy Orders or a regular minister of any religious denomination. A number of speakers pleaded that the lower age limit should be 20 instead of 18, and eventually secured from the Secretary of State for War an assurance that no one under 20 would be sent abroad and that in any case those of 18 would not necessarily be called up first. At the same sitting the Minister of Pensions brought in a Bill providing for grants to be made in respect of injury or death caused by air-raids or other operations of war among the civil population, in accordance with the promise made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on January 31. Two days later other emergency measures were passed, including one for drawing up a national register which should assist the Government to utilise the nation's man-power, and serve as a basis for rationing. At the same time the Minister of Supply assumed control of the supplies and prices of a number of commodities.

In the warning which the British Ambassador in Berlin had been instructed on the previous day (September 1) to deliver to the German Government, no time limit had been set for an answer. It had not even been delivered till half-past nine in the evening, and the German Foreign Minister had then merely replied that he must submit it to the Chancellor. Both Houses of Parliament had assembled in the afternoon of Saturday, September 2, in expectation of hearing a statement from the Government, but had been disappointed. When they came together again in the evening, the Government were still without a reply from Germany, and it was suggested by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary that the delay was caused by consideration of a proposal which meanwhile had been put forward by the Italian Government, that hostilities should cease and that there should then be immediately a conference between the five Powers, Great Britain, France, Poland, Germany, and Italy—a proposal which, of course, could not be accepted while Poland was being subjected to invasion. The question of a time limit for a reply was, it was stated, being considered in conjunction with the French Government.

The Opposition—and not they alone—were not satisfied with this statement, which revived their suspicions that perhaps after all the Government might not be in earnest. Speaking with great excitement, Mr. Greenwood pointed out that while England and France had been dallying bombs had already been dropping on Poland for thirty-eight hours, and he insisted that the Premier should make a definite statement at latest when Parliament met at twelve the next day, Sunday. Mr. Chamberlain

undertook to do this, and shortly afterwards the Government despatched a telegram to the British Ambassador in Berlin instructing him to inform the German Government that, unless satisfactory assurances were given by 11 A.M. the next morning that the German Government had suspended all aggressive action against Poland and were prepared promptly to withdraw their forces from Polish territory, a state of war would exist between the two countries as from that hour. It was subsequently stated that the sole reason for the delay was to give the French Government and General Staff time to complete their defences.

As was fully expected, no reply was received from the German Government by the hour stated, though a brusque rejection of the British demands arrived a few hours later. At a quarter-past eleven on that Sunday morning the Prime Minister, speaking from 10 Downing Street, broadcast the news to the nation. Up to the very last, he said, it would have been possible to arrange a peaceful and honourable settlement between Poland and Germany, but Hitler would not have it; he had evidently made up his mind to attack Poland whatever happened. His action showed convincingly that there was no chance of his ever giving up his practice of using force to gain his will; he could be stopped only by force. The situation, in which no word given by Germany's ruler could be trusted and no people or country could feel themselves safe, had become intolerable, and now that they had resolved to finish it, he called upon them all to play their part with calmness and courage.

At midday Parliament met and received from the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary the formal announcement of the state of war. To a sympathetic House of Commons Mr. Chamberlain remarked that, while it was a sad day for all, to none was it sadder than to himself, for he saw all that he had hoped and worked for and believed in during his public life in ruins. It now remained for him to devote his strength and powers to forwarding the cause they had undertaken till Hitlerism had been destroyed and a liberated Europe re-established. The statement was greeted with acclamation. Mr. Greenwood declared that the atmosphere of the House had changed overnight, resentment, apprehension, and anger having been replaced by relief, composure, and resolution. The Prime Minister, he said, had given his word that Nazi-ism should be overthrown, and so long as that relentless purpose was pursued with vigour, with foresight, and with determination by the Government, so long would there be a united nation. Such, indeed, was the almost universal sentiment of the House, though a dissentient note was struck by Mr. McGovern of the I.L.P. and Mr. Lansbury.

On the same evening the King broadcast a message to the **nation** from Buckingham Palace, in which he said that they had

to meet the challenge of a principle that would be fatal to any civilised order in the world if it were allowed to prevail—the principle which permitted a State, in the selfish pursuit of power, to disregard its treaties and solemn pledges, and which sanctioned the use of force or the threat of force against the sovereignty and independence of other States—in a word, the doctrine that might was right. For the sake of all that they held dear, it was unthinkable that they should refuse to meet the challenge, and he now called to his people at home and across the sea to stand calm, firm, and united in the time of trial. Shortly afterwards (September 10) the Government formally notified the League of Nations that Britain had gone to war with Germany on September 3 on account of an act of aggression committed by that country against a member of the League.

A reconstitution of the Government immediately followed. After the precedent set in 1916, a War Cabinet was formed, consisting, for the present, of nine members—Mr. Chamberlain, Sir John Simon, Lord Halifax, Lord Chatfield, Mr. Hore-Belisha, Sir Kingsley Wood, Sir S. Hoare, Mr. Winston Churchill, and Lord Hankey. Of these the first six retained the offices which they already held; Sir S. Hoare exchanged the Home Office for the Privy Seal; Mr. Winston Churchill became First Lord of the Admiralty in place of Lord Stanhope ; while Lord Hankey, who, although he had never held a Government position, had for many years exercised an important influence in public affairs as Secretary to the Cabinet, became Minister without Portfolio. Mr. Eden became Dominions Secretary, in place of Sir T. Inskip, with special access to the Cabinet. Sir John Anderson became Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security, retaining charge of Civil Defence ; Lord Stanhope became Lord President of the Council, and Sir T. Inskip became Lord Chancellor in place of Lord Maugham, with the title of Viscount Caldecote. Mr. Chamberlain invited the leader of the Liberal Party to join the Government, but after consulting with his colleagues he replied that they considered they could better serve the country from an independent position. The Labour Party came to a similar decision. On the next day a further important change was made in the appointment of Lord Macmillan, a prominent legal authority, as Minister of Information, while Mr. R. H. Cross joined the junior Ministers as Minister of Economic Warfare. Lord Gort was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Field Force, Sir Edmund Ironside, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and Sir Walter Kirke, Commander-in-Chief of the Home Forces.

The problem of enemy aliens in Great Britain was very different from what it had been in the last war, and a different procedure was adopted in dealing with them. As most of them were refugees from Nazi persecution who were deeply grateful to

England for granting them an asylum, to intern them would have savoured of harshness. It was therefore decided to set up a number of tribunals to examine the case of each one separately, and meanwhile to inflict no greater hardship on them than to restrict their movement to a radius of five miles.

One effect of the political crisis was to save the country from a strike which might have paralysed the railways. Both the National Union of Railway men, representing the lower paid grades, and the Associated Society of Engineers and Firemen had been highly dissatisfied with an award given by the Railway Staff National Tribunal in March, and had been very restive ever since. At the beginning of August the companies had seen their way to raise the minimum wage of the N.U.R. from 435. to 455., but owing to their financial condition they still refused to make any concession to the much higher paid engineers and firemen. The latter thereupon, on August 22, called a strike to begin four days later. Two days before the appointed time, however, in answer to an appeal from the Minister of Labour, they consented to suspend the strike in the interests of national needs and public safety and as evidence of national unity.

The annual Trades Union Congress opened at Bridlington on September 4 under the presidency of Mr. J. Hollsworth. An agenda of the usual length had been drawn up, and the General Council had prepared a report which, among other things, contained a full account of an interview, in July, between the Prime Minister and a deputation of the T.U.C. on the subject of establishing a permanent body to deal with the unemployment problem—a proposal with which Mr. Chamberlain did not show himself very sympathetic. It was felt, however, that the outbreak of war had rendered the consideration of all these subjects untimely, and the chief work of the Congress in a two-day sitting was to pass a resolution expressing its strong support of the fight against Nazi-ism ; apart from which it dealt only with certain matters of a domestic nature.

Immediately on the declaration of war, Britain commenced operations by sea and in the air. In preparation for the outbreak of hostilities, the German Government had already placed numbers of submarines on the trade routes, and it was the first task of the Fleet, in conjunction with the French Fleet, to clear these from the high seas. A system of convoys for merchant vessels, after the model of that which had worked so well in the last stages of the previous war, was also at once arranged. Before these measures could take effect, however, a great deal of damage had already been done by the U-boats, some of which attacked merchant ships without warning, in defiance of international law. Notable casualties were the *Athenia*, a passenger ship going from Glasgow to Canada, which was sunk on the very first day of the war, without warning, about 200 miles north-west of the

coast of Ireland with the loss of 120 lives, and the aircraft carrier *Courageous*—formerly a cruiser—which was torpedoed on September 19 while carrying 1240 men, of whom only 680 were rescued. In the meanwhile, however, the Fleet had not been idle. Before a fortnight had elapsed, it had already sunk six or seven U-boats and scattered the rest; and as the French claimed also to have sunk four or five, it was generally held that the German submarines would not constitute a serious danger to shipping, though they might still do occasional damage. Within the same period the German mercantile marine, of over 1,100,000 tons, had been practically cleared off the high seas, except the Baltic.

The Air Force had commenced operations with a daring raid on Wilhelmshaven and the Kiel Canal on September 4, in the course of which, according to the British account, two bombs were dropped on a German pocket-battleship, doing considerable damage; some British planes—report said five—were also forced down. In the course of the next few nights, British bombers carried out raids over North and West Germany, dropping some eighteen million propaganda leaflets. Meanwhile the coastal and inland defences had been on the alert, and the darkening of lights and other air-raid precautions had been rigorously enforced. Contrary to universal expectation, however, their efficacy was not immediately put to the test. On September 3 and 4 false alarms of air-raids were given through British planes having been mistaken for enemy planes, and on the 6th German planes came within sight of the coast and made a reconnaissance; after which a period of complete quiescence supervened.

When Parliament met on September 6, Mr. Greenwood asked the Prime Minister whether he would make periodical—which in practice meant weekly—statements on the prosecution of the war, and Mr. Chamberlain promised to do so. While this secured to Parliament the opportunity of discussing regularly the course of events, the public had to rely for its day-to-day news on the Ministry of Information; and, after hearing the Premier's first statement about the war on September 7, Mr. Greenwood complained of both unnecessary delay and excessive secretiveness on the part of this body. The Prime Minister disclaimed any desire on the Government's part to keep people in the dark; but this did not remedy matters. The task of satisfying the public demand for information, without at the same time divulging knowledge which might be of use to the enemy, was one which severely taxed the ingenuity of the Departments concerned, and in the early days of the war they did not escape making one or two serious blunders. The worst of these occurred on the night of September 11, when a statement was issued to the Press that British troops had crossed

over into France, and, after a number of copies of newspapers containing the statement had already been sent out, frantic—and unsuccessful—efforts were made by the police to withdraw them. On September 13, after the Prime Minister's second statement on the war in the House of Commons, Mr. Greenwood gave expression to the indignation of Fleet Street at the treatment to which it had been subjected, and also complained that the censorship was being applied too rigorously, particularly in the case of the London correspondents of journals in neutral countries. Sir S. Hoare, in reply, pleaded that the Ministry of Information was new to its work and that there must inevitably be some jolting before they got the machine running smoothly. The regrettable incident referred to was due, he said, to a misunderstanding between the Ministry of Information and the War Office, and he promised that in future there would be closer co-ordination between them; also that better facilities would be afforded to foreign correspondents in London for transmitting messages. Shortly afterwards it was announced that Lord Camrose, the proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*, and a man in whom the Press had full confidence, had been placed in control of the relations between the Ministry of Information and the Press.

On September 12 it was announced that an Anglo-French Supreme War Council had been formed, of which the British members were the Prime Minister and the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence. In his second statement on the war to the House of Commons on September 13, Mr. Chamberlain informed the House of Commons that from an exchange of views at the first meeting of the Council it was evident that public opinion on the two sides of the Channel was completely in accord. The people of France and the people of Britain were alike determined, not only to honour to the full their obligations to Poland, but also to put an end once for all to the intolerable strain of living under the perpetual threat of Nazi aggression. He had come away from the meeting fortified by the complete identity of views which was revealed between the French Government and themselves on every point of policy and strategy which was discussed. He also stated that day by day fresh evidence was reaching them of the determination—shown not only by words but by deeds—of the peoples of the British Commonwealth overseas to play their part in the struggle.

Immediately on the declaration of war, the British and French Governments had issued a declaration "solemnly and publicly affirming their intention to conduct hostilities with a firm desire to spare the civilian population and to preserve those monuments of human achievement which are treasured in all countries." In accordance with this desire they had already sent instructions to **the** commanders of the armed forces prohibiting the bombard-

ment, whether from the air or from the sea or by artillery on land, of any except strictly military objectives in the narrowest sense of the word. In the event, however, of the enemy not observing similar restrictions, they reserved to themselves the right to take all such action as they considered appropriate. On September 13 Lord Halifax in the House of Lords called attention to an announcement reported to have been made by the German High Command of their intention to bomb and shell open towns, villages, and hamlets in Poland, and he stated that if the report was correct the British Government would avail themselves of the reservation made in their declaration of September 3. The Prime Minister repeated the declaration on the next day, adding, however, that Great Britain would never resort to deliberate attack on women, children, and other civilians for purposes of mere terrorism.

As had been fully expected, the German armies in Poland showed themselves overwhelmingly superior to their opponents and commenced by carrying all before them. In the first flush of German success the idea was mooted in certain neutral countries that, once Poland was conquered, Britain and France would accept the *fait accompli*, and retire from the struggle. To counter such insinuations, the British Embassy in Tokio, on September 8, issued a *communique* denying that Britain would agree to a cessation of hostilities if Poland were conquered, and adding that, even if Poland were conquered—which was by no means yet a certainty—that would only strengthen British determination that Hitlerism must be destroyed. A still more effective answer was given by a decision of the War Cabinet on September 9 to base their policy on the assumption that the war would last three years or more and to make preparations accordingly.

Meanwhile the French Army had crossed the German frontier and the British and French Governments had agreed to make to Poland a cash loan of about 8,500,000?. Unfortunately these first attempts on the part of Britain and France to stop German aggression did not prevent it from scoring yet another triumph. Their endeavours to engage Germany on the west proved of no value whatever to their ally on the east, and they had to look on helplessly while German troops overran Poland, destroyed Polish towns and villages, and put Polish armies to flight. Within a fortnight the Germans had made themselves masters of the western half of the country and were besieging Warsaw, while the Polish Government had fled to the frontier and had completely lost control of the situation.

Whatever chance the Polish forces might have had of rallying and making a stand against the invaders vanished when, on September 17, Russian troops entered the country from the east as the allies of the Germans. Caught between two fires the Polish

armies disintegrated, and, with the flight of its Government to foreign soil, Poland ceased to exist—for the time being—as an independent country. Once more the resolution of her alKes was put to a severe test, and once more it emerged unshaken. On the next day the British Government issued a statement in which, while rejecting the arguments put forward by the Soviet Government in defence of its action, it declared that nothing which had occurred could make any difference to its determination, with the full support of the country, to fulfil their obligations to Poland, and to prosecute the war with all energy until their objectives had been achieved. In giving his weekly account of the progress of the war two days later to the House of Commons, the Prime Minister said that the speech which Herr Hitler had delivered the day before at Danzig, and in which he sought to justify his conquest of Poland by a series of "typical misstatements," had not in any way changed the situation, and that the British purpose was still to redeem Europe from the perpetual and recurring fear of German aggression and enable the peoples of Europe to preserve their independence and their liberties. The Premier's remarks were fully endorsed by Mr. Greenwood.

On September 5 the House of Commons gave a second reading to a Bill conferring on the Minister of Labour extensive powers for controlling employment during the period of the war. It provided that the Minister might make an Order—applying either to all employers or to such as might be specified—forbidding employers, without his consent, to advertise for or to engage any employee to whom the Order applied. The Minister of Labour, in the course of debate, gave assurances that the powers would be used with due discretion, but the trade unions, while accepting the principle of the Bill, demanded something more binding and explicit, and as a result of their representations certain modifications were introduced in the Committee stage. By these it was laid down that the draft of any Order under the Bill should be considered by a joint committee of employers and trade unionists and their report submitted to Parliament along with the Order itself, that any workman forbidden to take up an engagement should have a right of appeal to an independent court of referees, and that the procedure by Order should not interfere with the working of the joint machinery of employers and workpeople for placing men in employment. The Bill was read a third time on September 15.

On September 21 the Minister of Supply stated in the House of Commons that, following the precedent of the Ministry of Munitions in the last war, he had decided to set up a Supply Council of which the members would each be in charge of a separate branch of production. They would have at their disposal 9,000 firms, most of whose plant had been critically surveyed, besides 6,500 contractors and a host of sub-contractors. There was, in

effect, a system of national factories ; thus while at the beginning of the defence programme there had been four Royal Ordnance factories, there were now twenty-eight. In addition the country had been divided into thirteen districts, in each of which there was a nucleus staff with an engineer in charge to deal with local difficulties of transport, labour, and overlapping. Mr. Greenwood criticised the organisation described by the Minister as excessively bureaucratic, and gave notice that Labour would insist on it being seriously revised.

In the course of his speech the Minister of Supply had laid stress on the importance of securing the approval of organised labour for the general framework of the scheme for expanding production. The Prime Minister in his weekly survey on September 26 elaborated this theme, and stated that the Government would be glad to consider any proposals for securing the willing co-operation of all parties to industry. The workers on their side were determined that the warlike effort of the country should not be impeded for lack of the necessary supplies. The disposition to co-operate thus being present on both sides, it only remained to decide on the precise method by which effect could be given to it in practice.

A meeting for this purpose was held on October 5 between the Minister of Labour, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and representatives of the British Employers' Confederation. The Minister suggested the formation of a national joint advisory committee to which he could turn for counsel and information on questions of common concern to employers and workmen, chief of which naturally were those affecting terms and conditions of employment. The General Council were not averse to this, but they proposed in addition that there should be an organisation in every vital industry on which the employers and the trade unions would have places, and which would be responsible for fulfilling the Government's programme of production. On the next day the General Council interviewed the Prime Minister, and urged upon him the claims of Labour for a fuller share in the control of all departments of production and supply—for consultation before the issue of statutory rules and orders ; for representation of the trade unions in the council of the Ministry of Supply and its regional departments ; and for places in the national and local committees or tribunals which controlled food and fuel and other supplies.

The Prime Minister, in response, circulated an instruction to all Government Departments emphasising the Government's desire that there should be the most complete understanding and co-operation between the Departments and the trade union movement ; and soon after Labour representatives were appointed to advise the Minister of Supply, the Minister of Food, and other Ministers. Also on October 18 a meeting between

representatives of the British Employers' Confederation and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress decided to establish a joint advisory council with wide terms of reference, with the Minister of Labour as chairman. This body was to consist of fifteen members from each side and was to have purely advisory functions relating to matters of general concern without infringement on the domestic concerns of any particular industry. About the same time, too, an Anglo-French trade union committee was formed to link up the Labour movement in both countries.

On September 21 the Government issued as a Blue-book, at the price of one shilling, a number of documents throwing light on the relations between Germany and Poland up to the outbreak of hostilities, and proving beyond a doubt that the blame rested solely on Germany. Among them were some reports from the British Ambassador in Berlin of conversations which he had had with Herr Hitler, Field-Marshal Goering, and Herr von Ribbentrop, and which threw a vivid light on the designs, methods, and characters of these personages. The book proved to be a "best-seller" and several editions were rapidly exhausted. As a pendant to it, the Government published as a White Paper, on October 17, Sir Neville Henderson's "final report" to the Foreign Secretary "on the circumstances leading to the termination of his mission in Berlin," which covered the same ground in the form of a continuous narrative.

The complete absence of air-raids in the early weeks of the war gave an appearance of anti-climax to the elaborate preparations which had been made for coping with them, and which in the circumstances seemed to involve needless inconvenience and expense. Consequently, before long, a widespread demand arose for a relaxation of the "black-out"—which among other things had been responsible for an alarming number of motor accidents—and for the reopening of places of entertainment. Complaints were also made that public money was being wasted on the payment of a large number of members of the home defence services whose whole occupation seemed to consist in "standing by." The Home Secretary, on September 21, found it advisable to remind the public that, though its services had not yet been called upon, the "Home Front" was a vital necessity, and that a paid personnel was required to keep it constantly manned. In the matter of theatrical and other entertainment the Government found that the ban was unnecessarily severe, and by the end of September it had allowed most places of amusement, even in London, to keep open till ten o'clock. On the advice of the military authorities, however, it refused to allow any relaxation of the "black-out."

The transition from peace industry to war production, along with the great extension of Government control, naturally

entailed much economic dislocation, which was accentuated by the large-scale evacuation, by the stoppage of entertainments, and similar measures connected with the home defence. In a broadcast address on September 22, Sir S. Hoare appealed to the public to bear this trial with true British fortitude, and tried to comfort them with an assurance that, so far as it spelt unemployment, it would not last very long. Their war effort, he said, would soon be no less than that of 1918, and in such an effort there would be no room for idle hands ; at no distant date there would scarcely be an able-bodied man or woman whose services the country would not need. He particularly asked employers not to dismiss men, and even to take back those already dismissed, for they would want many of them again before they were much older.

That the war would of necessity entail a certain interference with their means of livelihood was fully recognised by the public at large, and they were prepared to endure much without repining. Great discontent, however, was caused by the clumsy way in which in some cases the Government exercised its powers of control, throwing various industries more or less out of gear ; for instance, an attempt made at the beginning of the war to remove the centre for fish distribution from Billingsgate to some place in the country proved a ludicrous failure, and had eventually to be abandoned. A particularly sore point was the way in which hotels and schools in various parts of the country had been commandeered to accommodate branches of the Civil Service which had been removed from London to places of greater safety. Loud complaints were made that this had been done with needless disregard for the convenience and requirements of those who had been dispossessed, and the Lord Privy Seal found it necessary to express regret in the House of Commons, though the Government showed itself in no hurry to rectify matters.

Meanwhile, in spite of the appointment of Lord Camrose, strong dissatisfaction continued to exist with the Ministry of Information, the precise functions of which no one seemed able to discover. Questions asked in the House of Commons on September 26 elicited the fact that the staff of the Ministry amounted to no less than 999 persons, of whom many were Civil servants transferred from other posts. The statement was received with jeers by the House, and the Minister, Lord Macmillan, at once set about the work of reconstruction. On October 4 he announced in the House of Lords that the staff was about to be cut down by about half; that of those who would remain some three hundred were in the censorship department, which would henceforth be separate ; and that the chief function of the Ministry was to conduct pro-British propaganda in foreign countries. At the same time, too, permission was restored to Press correspondents to obtain information direct from Government

Departments, instead of through the agency of the Ministry of Information.

These somewhat belated efforts at reform did not save the Ministry from being sharply criticised in both Houses on October 11. In the House of Commons Mr. Greenwood maintained that a much better service of information could have been provided to the public without any detriment to the national interest, and he complained in addition that the B.B.C. programmes were unnecessarily doleful. The Home Secretary, in reply, admitted that the results produced by the Ministry of Information had not answered the care which had been spent on its establishment. The chief reason, he thought, was that, as in the case of the Air-Raid Precautions, it had been built up on the assumption of a certain emergency occurring, and that emergency had not occurred. As for the paucity of information given by the Ministry, this was due in part to the fact that there had been little information to give. The dullness of the B.B.C. programmes was due in part to an effort to economise, but he promised that they would be brighter in future.

On September 26 the Chief Whips of the political parties in the House of Commons reached an agreement by which a party truce in Parliamentary by-elections was formally arranged for the duration of the war. In connexion with existing and future Parliamentary vacancies they undertook, on behalf of their respective parties, not to nominate candidates against those nominated by the party holding the seat at the time when the vacancy occurred. The agreement was to continue during the war or until it was determined by one of the parties concerned. Shortly afterwards (October 12) the Government introduced a Bill for the suspension of local elections.

On September 27, after a delay of many months, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party at length gave its reply to the request of Sir Stafford Cripps and his associates for readmission to the Labour Party (*vide* p. 56). It called upon him to sign a declaration, first that he expressed his regret at the action taken by him, as having been, in the opinion of the party, detrimental to its interests; secondly, that he undertook in future to refrain from conducting or taking part in campaigns in opposition to the declared policy of the party, and thirdly, that he accepted the constitution, programme, principles, and policy of the party without reservation. Sir Stafford refused unequivocally to sign the document. In his reply on October 3 he said that so far from being prepared to express his regret at the action he had taken, he was now more than ever convinced that it had been justified, since if his advice had been taken the National Government might have been overthrown and the country would not have been in its present plight. The second head of the document he stigmatised as worthy to form part of the *credo* of some

totalitarian party in a dictatorship state, since it rendered all open democratic change impossible.

By an order issued under the new National Registration Act (*vide* p. 89), September 29 was fixed as the National Registration Day. A few days before this date, every householder received a registration form asking for certain simple particulars—including occupation—about all persons sleeping in his house on the night specified. The distribution of the forms was carried out by some 65,000 enumerators, who also collected them and issued identity cards for all the persons mentioned in the forms. On the basis of the reports sent in by the enumerators, a national register providing the Government with complete information about the nation's man-power and general population was compiled within a few weeks.

On September 26 the House of Commons heard, in addition to the brief summary given by the Prime Minister, an extended review from the First Lord of the Admiralty of the naval operations up to date. These had so far resolved themselves into a campaign against the German U-boats which had been posted on the trade routes before the outbreak of the war. This campaign was being conducted along three main lines. In the first place, within a fortnight a convoy system—"a good and well-tried defence against U-boat attack"—had been organised not only for outgoing but also for homeward-bound ships. Secondly, all merchant vessels and fast liners, not only in the United Kingdom but in British ports all over the world, were being provided with defensive armaments both against the U-boat and the aeroplane. Thirdly, a British attack on the U-boats was being delivered with the utmost vigour and intensity. The results of these measures had so far been most gratifying. Whereas in the first week of the war the British mercantile loss by U-boat sinkings had amounted to 65,000 tons—half the weekly losses of the month of April, 1917, which was the peak year of the U-boat campaign in the last war—in the second week they had been 46,000 tons and in the third week 21,000, while in the last six days they had lost only 9,000, and this while the whole vast business of their world-wide trade was continuing without interruption and without appreciable diminution. On the other side, not only had the enemy ships and commerce been swept from the sea, but in the first fortnight of the war they had, under their system of contraband control, arrested, seized, and converted to their own use 67,000 tons more German merchandise than had been sunk in ships of their own. They could not, of course, guarantee that losses would not still occur; but their experience so far bore out the judgment formed by the Admiralty before the war, that the submarine menace had been definitely mastered.

By the vigour of its style no less than by the cheerfulness of

its message the First Lord's statement struck a note for which Parliament and the country had been waiting, and which they had so far missed in the somewhat drab communications of the Prime Minister. It exercised a tonic effect, which was reinforced by a broadcast address delivered a few days later (October 1) by the same speaker on "The first month of the war." Mr. Churchill found three grounds of encouragement in the progress of the war up to that point. First, though Poland had again been overrun by two of her old oppressors, the heroic defence of Warsaw had shown that her soul was indestructible. Secondly, while the course that Russia would take was unpredictable, it was clear that she had a common interest with England and France in preventing the Nazis from carrying the flames of war into the Balkans and Turkey, and it was therefore reasonable to assume that Hitler and all that Hitler stood for were being warned off the East and South-East of Europe. Thirdly, events had shown that the U-boats could be safely left to the care and constant attention of the British Navy. Mr. Churchill went on to say that it had been for Hitler to say when the war would begin, but it would not be for him or his successors to say when it would end; it would end only when the Allies were convinced that he had had enough.

The war had not been in progress many weeks before it became obvious that the 500,000,000? credit recently granted by Parliament would not carry the Government very far. Not only was expenditure rising by leaps and bounds, but owing to the economic dislocation the prospective revenue for the year had diminished by 50 millions. Anxious to avoid inflation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer determined to meet the increased demands as far as possible from taxation and not from loan, and he therefore, on September 27, laid before the House of Commons an emergency Budget in which he called for severe sacrifices. Standard income tax was raised for the rest of the year from 5s. 6d. to 1s. 6c?., which was equivalent to an average of 1s. for the whole of the year. The reduced rate on the first 135? was raised from 1s. 5d. to 2s. 4d., and other allowances were also reduced. These blows were mitigated by the important concession that, where income had been seriously curtailed through the war, tax could be assessed on the income of the current and not of the previous year. These changes were estimated to produce an additional income-tax of 70,000,000? in the current year and 146,000,000? in a full year. Increases made in surtax were estimated to produce 5,000,000? in the current year and 8,000,000? in a full year, and an additional 10 per cent, on estate duties was estimated to produce 1,500,000? in the current year and 6,000,000? in a full year. Corresponding increases were made in indirect taxation: an extra penny a pint was placed on beer and 1s. 3d. a bottle on whisky, and 2s. per gallon on imported light wines and British

wines, and 4s. a gallon on imported heavy wines. The increased duty on beer was estimated to produce 11,000,000*l.* in the current year and 27,000,000*l.* in a full year, that on whisky 2,000,000*l.* and 3,500,000*l.* respectively, and that on wine 1,000,000*l.* and 2,000,000*l.* respectively. Two shillings a pound extra was placed on tobacco, estimated to yield 8,000,000*l.* in the current year and 16,000,000*l.* in a full year, and the equivalent of *1*d.** a pound on sugar, which would produce 8,500,000*l.* in the current year and 18,000,000*l.* in a full year. Finally, it was announced that the Armaments Profits Duty would be merged in an Excess Profits Tax of 60 per cent, on all trades which benefited from the war; this impost, however, was unlikely to bring in any considerable revenue in the current year. Altogether the increases in taxation were reckoned to bring in 107,000,000*l.* in the current year and 226,000,000*l.* in a full year.

Though they had come prepared for some hard knocks, members found the actual provisions of the Budget much more severe than they had anticipated. Nevertheless, they uttered no complaints, but acknowledged that the Chancellor had taken on the whole the best course possible in the circumstances. Only the sugar tax met with some opposition, on the ground that it would press heavily on the very poor. Many speakers also laid stress on the necessity of avoiding waste, a task to the importance of which the Chancellor on his side showed himself to be fully alive.

On September 28 an agreement for the definite partition of Poland was made between Russia and Germany. It was accompanied by a declaration from the two Governments that this agreement had finally settled the questions arising out of the collapse of the Polish State and created a solid foundation for lasting peace in Eastern Europe; that the liquidation of the war between Germany and England and France would be in the interests of all nations; that they would endeavour to achieve this object as quickly as possible; and that if their efforts should prove unsuccessful, England and France would bear the responsibility for the continuation of the war, and the German and Soviet Governments would then consult as to the measures they would take.

In his weekly review on October 3 in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister, in response to a general demand, defined the position of the Government in the face of these new developments. He affirmed at the outset that he saw nothing in what had happened that should lead the country to modify the attitude which it had felt it right to take. There was nothing in the agreement between Germany and Russia that should cause them to do other than they were doing—mobilising all the resources and all the might of the British Empire for the effective prosecution of the war. Great Britain, he went on, had entered the war to

put an end to the successive acts of German aggression menacing the freedom and the very security of all the nations of Europe. The invasion of Poland was the latest, but not the only act of aggression planned and carried through by the German Government. But if Poland was the occasion of the war, it was not the fundamental cause ; that cause was the overwhelming sense in England of the intolerable nature of a state of affairs in which the nations of Europe were faced with the alternative of jeopardising their freedom or of mobilising their forces at regular intervals to defend it. The passage in the Russo-German declaration about " the liquidation of the war " was obscure, but it seemed to combine a suggestion of some proposal for peace with a scarcely veiled threat as to the consequences if the proposal should be refused. Whatever might be the nature of the proposal, he could say at once that no threat would ever induce Britain or France to abandon the purpose for which they had entered upon the struggle. The attempt of German propaganda to place upon Britain and France the responsibility for continuing the war because they were not prepared to abandon the struggle before their purpose was achieved was only another instance of German war technique. Responsibility rested upon those who had conceived and carried out the policy of successive aggression, and could neither be evaded nor excused. No mere promises from the present German Government, continued Mr. Chamberlain, could be accepted, since they had too often proved in the past that their undertakings were worthless when it suited them that they should be broken. If proposals were made they would be examined, but the country was determined that the rule of violence should cease, and that the word of Governments, once pledged, must henceforth be kept.

The Premier's statement of the Government's attitude met with the full approval of both Opposition leaders and of the House in general. Some speakers, however, expressed regret that he had not seen his way to state Britain's own peace terms more explicitly. Mr. Lloyd George went further, and, while concurring in the main with the Premier's sentiments, appealed to him not to reject out of hand Herr Hitler's proposal for a conference if one could be held under proper conditions. He also suggested that the House should hold a secret session in which they could discuss the issues more freely, pointing out that such secret sessions had been held in the past war without any information about their proceedings leaking out. Mr. Chamberlain rejoined that in the interval the Press had become much more skilful in finding out what went on behind closed doors, and again refused the request.

Mr. Lloyd George's suggestion for a conference had a curiously irritating effect on many of the members present, so little were they able at this stage to bear the mere thought of negotiating

with Hitler. The Prime Minister, it is true, considered it dispassionately and dismissed it as being premature, but other speakers, notably Mr. Duff-Cooper, inveighed against Mr. George as if he had been guilty of some grave backsliding. The general opinion was, indeed, that the speech was capable of being misinterpreted abroad as a sign of British weakening, and from that point of view was ill-timed. Nevertheless, Mr. George's insistence that no possibility of bringing the war to a stop should be overlooked was welcomed by a considerable portion of the public, and he was urged in many quarters not to desist from his pacific efforts.

A statement on similar lines to that of the Prime Minister was made in the House of Lords on the next day by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In the course of his speech Lord Halifax announced that the Government would recognise the Polish Government which had just been set up on French soil, and which they had no doubt would continue to preserve intact the spirit of Polish independence and Polish resistance.

Herr Hitler refused to take as final the Prime Minister's definition of the British attitude, and in a speech in the Reichstag on October 6 he suggested the holding of a European conference on problems arising from the "collapse" of Poland and other questions, including Germany's claim to colonies and the limitation of armaments. The conference, he added, could not meet under the thunder of guns or even the pressure of mobilised armies.

The speech was carefully examined by the British Government in consultation with France and the Dominions, and was considered to require an answer, which the Prime Minister gave in the House of Commons on October 12. He began by pointing out that the German Chancellor put forward his proposals after a wanton act of aggression which had cost many Polish and German lives, and that if there had been any expectation that they would include some attempt to make amends for this grievous crime against humanity, following so soon upon the violation of the rights of the Czechoslovak nation, it had been doomed to disappointment. What was to be the fate of the German part of Poland did not clearly emerge from the speech, but it was evident that Herr Hitler regarded it as a matter for the consideration of Germany alone, to be settled solely in accordance with German interests. They had to take it, therefore, that the proposals which the German Chancellor put forward for the establishment of what he called "the certainty of European security" were to be based on recognition of his conquests and his right to do what he liked with the conquered. It would be impossible, said Mr. Chamberlain, amid loud and prolonged cheers, for Great Britain to accept any such basis without forfeiting her honour and abandoning her claim that

international disputes should be settled by discussion and not by force.

A further difficulty, continued Mr. Chamberlain, was raised by the fact that, after their past experience, it was no longer possible for them to rely upon the unsupported word of the present German Government. All the peoples of Europe, including the people of Germany, longed for a peace which would enable them to live their lives without fear and develop their culture and material prosperity. The peace they were determined to secure, however, would have to be a settled peace, not an uneasy truce interrupted by alarms and repeated threats. What stood in the way of such a peace? It was the German Government and they alone, for it was they who, by repeated acts of aggression, had robbed all Europe of tranquillity and implanted in the hearts of all their neighbours an ever-present sense of insecurity and fear. Even, therefore, if Herr Hitler's proposals were more closely defined and contained suggestions for righting the wrongs he had committed, it would be necessary to ask by what practical means the German Government intended to convince the world that aggression would cease and that pledges would be kept. Acts, not words alone, must be forthcoming before Britain and France would be justified in ceasing to wage war to the utmost of their strength.

On October 10 the Minister for Air, following the example of the First Lord of the Admiralty, gave the House of Commons an account of the doings of the Air Force since the beginning of the war. From this it appeared that the real "war in the air" which every one had been expecting on the outbreak of hostilities had not yet properly commenced on the Western Front, though the Minister hinted that it might not long be delayed. After its daring raid on the Kiel Canal, the Air Force had for the most part confined itself to the less spectacular but highly valuable and important work of patrolling the British coasts, assisting the Navy in the campaign against the U-boats, and carrying out reconnaissances in the enemy territory. In the course of the last-named operation it had mapped out by photographs—some taken from a very low altitude—the whole of the Siegfried Line and had dropped millions of leaflets over various parts of Germany, in one case penetrating as far as Berlin. On the strength of their performances, the Minister was able to give the House the comforting assurance that the latest British fighters were definitely better than their German counterparts, and as production was increasing by leaps and bounds, and the Dominions and Colonies also were giving valuable assistance, he thought that they could look forward to the future with confidence.

On October 11 it was the turn of the Secretary of State for War to lift the veil which hitherto had covered the movements

of the Army. The time, it appeared, had been spent in conveying the British Expeditionary Force to France, an operation which the activity of enemy submarines and aeroplanes rendered highly difficult and dangerous, and which therefore had to be effected with extreme secrecy. However, it had been carried through without a single casualty ; within five weeks they had transported to France 158,000 men, thus fulfilling, and more than fulfilling, the undertaking which they had recently given to the French Government. They had at the same time created their base and lines of communication organisation so as to assure the regular flow of supplies and munitions of every kind, and to receive further contingents as and when they might decide to send them. The magnitude of the achievement could be gauged when it was remembered that in 1914 it had taken six weeks to transport 148,000 men with incomparably lighter equipment and without any risk from submarines. They had also at the same time strongly reinforced the Middle East and their garrisons elsewhere, both in material and men. The British Army was under the French Command, though the British Commander-in-Chief had the right of appeal to his own Cabinet.

Against the Government's conduct of the war on the military side the House of Commons had no complaint to offer ; but it was by no means so well satisfied with its management of the economic side. To meet criticisms of its shortcomings in this field, the Prime Minister on October 9 announced that Lord Stamp, the distinguished economist, had consented to act as Adviser on Economic Co-ordination to the Government, in an honorary capacity, and without giving up his post as chairman of the L.M.S. railway company. Four days later it was announced that Sir John Gilmour, who had some years previously held office as Secretary of State for Scotland, Minister of Agriculture, and Home Secretary, had been appointed Minister of Shipping. Both appointments were regarded as far from satisfactory, for opposite reasons. While the creation of a Ministry of Shipping was warmly welcomed, it was considered absurd to place at its Head a man who had no experience whatever of shipping, and who in his previous posts had not shown such qualities as would justify his being called to high office at the present juncture. The choice of Lord Stamp, on the other hand, was held on personal grounds to be admirable, but it was strongly felt that the functions which he was to undertake were important enough to be entrusted to a Cabinet Minister who should devote his whole time to the task.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INTENSIFIED BLOCKADE.

AFTER the brusque rejection by the British Government of the Russo-German "peace offer" of September 28 and Herr Hitler's further offer on October 6, it was fully expected on all hands that Germany would open a great offensive in the West and that Britain's immunity from air-raids would soon come to an end. Once more, however, the war took an unexpected course. On October 16, it is true, a raid was made by some twelve or fourteen German bombing aircraft on Rosyth and the Firth of Forth, one of the principal British naval bases, but they succeeded only in killing fifteen men with a bomb which fell near a warship, while the Germans on their side lost at least four planes. No better success attended a number of German raids made in the ensuing week on the north-east and Scottish coasts. A period of quiescence then supervened, broken only by sporadic reconnaissance flights which were easily driven off. On land also the Germans made only a tentative offensive in the Saar district which was repulsed by the French troops, and the British Forces in France were not called into action.

On the sea meanwhile Britain had suffered the worst disaster of the war so far. On October 14 a German submarine, by what Mr. Churchill described as "a remarkable exploit of professional skill and daring," succeeded in sinking the battleship *Royal Oak* while at anchor in Scapa Flow, the great naval base in the Orkneys, with a loss of over 800 men. This stroke was a severe blow to British pride and sense of security, because if there was one place more than another which was reckoned safe against submarines it was Scapa Flow. However, it made little difference to the general effect of the British campaign against the U-boats; nor did German attempts made about this time to attack convoys of merchant ships from the air meet with any success.

On October 25 the Secretary of State for Air was asked in the House of Commons why on the occasion of the German air-raid over the Firth of Forth on October 16 no air-raid warning had been sounded, although some of the attacking machines actually flew over Edinburgh. In reply, he said that there were two possible lines of policy in regard to public warnings. One was that they should be sounded in any district over which an approaching aircraft might pass, and on all occasions; the other was that they should be sounded only when, in the judgment of the Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, an air attack on the district was possible. The former alternative would result in frequent interruption of industrial activity, often without any real need.

The other involved an element of risk, but experience had shown that it was the right policy to adopt.

On October 19 the British negotiations with Turkey, which had been initiated as far back as May, were brought to a successful termination with the signing of an Anglo-French-Turkish treaty of mutual assistance. Britain and France undertook to come to the assistance of Turkey if an act of aggression were committed against her by a European Power, or in the event of an act of aggression by a European Power leading to war in the Mediterranean in which Turkey was involved. Turkey on her side undertook to come to the assistance of Britain and France in the event of an act of aggression by a European Power leading to war in the Mediterranean area in which Britain and France were involved, or if Britain and France were involved in hostilities in virtue of either of their guarantees to Greece and Rumania of April 13, 1939. A protocol was included providing that the treaty was not to bind Turkey to any action involving her in hostilities with Russia. The treaty was to remain in force for fifteen years.

In announcing the conclusion of the treaty to the House of Commons, the Prime Minister stated that the negotiations, though protracted, had never shown any material difference in views, and had throughout been conducted in an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. None the less, after the Russo-German *rapprochement*, the public, if not the Government, had been filled with apprehensions lest pressure from the side of Russia—whether in her own interest or that of Germany—might induce Turkey to dissociate herself from the Western democracies. The news that Turkey had remained faithful to her word came therefore as a great relief, and the Press rang with praises of Britain's old friend and new ally. The pact was reckoned as a diplomatic victory for the Western Powers of the first order, more than offsetting the German success of a few weeks before, and as a decisive obstacle to German penetration in the Balkans.

Discussing the effects of the treaty in the House of Lords on October 26, the Foreign Secretary intimated that Anglo-Russian relations had not to any extent been adversely affected by recent events. It had always been understood, he said, that the sole purpose of Britain's treaty with Poland was to provide against aggression by Germany, and while the action of Russia in annexing part of Poland could not be defended, it was right to remember first, that Russia would not have taken such action had not Germany set the example, and secondly, that she had only advanced the Russian boundary to what was substantially the line recommended at the Versailles conference by Lord Curzon. The Soviet Government, in spite of its declaration of solidarity with Germany, appeared to be willing to trade impartially with all belligerents, and the Government had already taken advantage of this attitude by the conclusion of an agreement for the exchange

of timber against rubber and tin, which might be followed by further barter arrangements. It was a matter of satisfaction to the British Government, he added, that relations between Turkey and Russia were still friendly, in spite of the failure of the Turkish Foreign Minister's visit to Moscow to produce any definite results.

The situation in India was at this time giving the Government some concern. On October 18 the Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, stated in the House of Lords that since the outbreak of war the Congress Party there had been pressing for a larger measure of self-government for India, and had threatened to make the granting of their request a condition for lending assistance to Great Britain. He said that self-government for India was now as ever the goal at which the Government were aiming, but the problem of the minorities still stood in the way, and for the present they could not go further than the step taken by the Viceroy in forming a consultative body drawn from the various parties and interests. On behalf of the Labour Party, Lord Snell said that he welcomed the Viceroy's plan because it showed goodwill and represented some advance on previous conditions, but there was still room for further development, and if the Government wished to carry the Labour Party with them they could not fall back either on a policy of ignoring India's claims or meeting them with a merely negative response. The question was again raised in the House of Commons on October 26 by Mr. Wedgwood Benn on behalf of the Labour Party. Sir S. Hoare vigorously defended the Viceroy's action; nor did further pressure from the Labour Party succeed in changing the Government's attitude.

On October 12 the text was issued of a Bill, entitled the Prices of Goods Bill, for the prevention of profiteering, particularly in foodstuffs. It authorised the Board of Trade to specify the amount of increase permitted in the selling price of any class of goods over the price prevailing on August 1. Persons convicted of selling goods at more than the permitted price were to be liable to imprisonment for not more than three months or to a fine not exceeding 100L, or both. The Bill received a second reading without opposition on October 19, and a third reading on October 31. The first Order under the Act was made on December 22, to come into force on January 1, and covered chiefly clothing and domestic articles.

On October 17 the Committee presided over by Lord Weir, which had been appointed by the Government to consider the problem of compensation to owners of private property damaged by enemy action, reported that it had been unable to find or devise any scheme of mutual protection against this risk which would be either practicable or justifiable. It went further, and recommended that the Government should curtail the activities of those who were organising private contributory schemes on

the ground that they must, even if unintentionally, be unsound and misleading. On the other hand, in contrast to the Government's own plan, it recommended that the aim of the Government should be to pay compensation in full, and not to fix a maximum limit, as proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in January.

On October 25 the veteran Lord Midleton emerged from his retirement in order to make in the House of Lords an embittered attack on the Ministry of Information, which he maintained was still grossly overstuffed. Several other Peers joined in the cry. Lord Camrose, while admitting that there had been great muddle, protested that the blame ought to be laid on the Home Office which had created it, and he declared that things had improved so far that at any rate his own services (*vide* p. 94) could now be dispensed with. The Minister himself was able to assure the House that by now the staff had really been reduced to a size commensurate with its functions, and that the Ministry was adequately coping with the task of presenting the British case abroad and countering German misrepresentations.

In the House of Commons on October 31, Mr. Dingle Foot, a Liberal member, moved the annulment of the Order in Council of September 5, constituting the Defence of the Realm Regulations, on the ground that some of these contained menaces to the liberty of the subject which were by no means warranted by the existing emergency. In the course of the debate the power conferred on the Government of detention without trial was cited as specially obnoxious. The Lord Privy Seal tried to justify this and other regulations as being necessary for the safety of the Realm, while assuring the House that the Government could be trusted not to abuse its powers. His defence, however, failed to satisfy the House, which detected something of the Indian administrator in his attitude, and in the end Sir S. Hoare, who had been originally responsible for the Emergency Powers Act, offered to consult with the different parties with a view to drawing up an agreed set of regulations. The offer was accepted and Mr. Foot withdrew his motion.

On November 1 Mr. Attlee moved in the House of Commons that an immediate increase should be made in old-age pensions, chiefly on the ground that since the outbreak of war the cost of living had gone up by nearly 10 per cent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer bluntly declared that the country could not afford it. He stated, however, that the Government's investigation into old-age pensions which had been promised in July (*vide* p. 74), but which had been interrupted by the national emergency, would be resumed at once, and said that he would consider a further contribution by the State if employers and workmen would also consent to increased payments. The motion was in the end negatived by 264 votes to 144.

As a result of continuous pressure from all sides of the House

the Government did, however, consent, on November 14, to increase substantially the allowances for soldiers' dependents.

On November 1, in the House of Lords, the Bishop of Winchester called attention to the serious educational problem which had been created by the large-scale evacuation carried out at the beginning of the war. While on the transport side the evacuation had been completely successful, it had by no means fulfilled the whole of its purpose, as a full half of those for whom it was intended preferred to remain at home. As most of the school **buildings** in the evacuated areas were being used for other purposes, and nearly all of the teachers had left, vast numbers of children in these areas were without any schooling at all; and in the reception areas also many of them had to make shift with part-time schooling. To make matters worse, there had for some weeks been a steady drift back to the vulnerable areas, which was gathering momentum with the continued absence of air-raids. Earl de la Warr, the President of the Board of Education, stated that the Government were willing to provide funds for supplementary accommodation in the reception areas. With regard to the vulnerable areas, there were two solutions. One was to compel the evacuation of the children who were left there. This was a course which the Government would be unwilling to take in any but the most desperate circumstances, much as they would like to get the children out. They were therefore driven back to the second solution, which was some measure of re-opening the schools in the vulnerable areas; and he announced that this would be done as soon as they had been provided with proper protection against air-raids.

On its social side also the evacuation necessarily caused a good deal of inconvenience and even hardship. Inevitably there were many "misfits" in the billeting, especially where mothers accompanied their children, and the impact of town on country often led to strong mutual repulsion, especially in the case of children from slum areas. On the whole, however, the experiment was more successful than could have been expected, and in the great majority of cases the children from the large towns settled down happily in their new surroundings and brought unwonted life and gaiety into the country districts. The same, however, could not be said of the women, most of whom fretted after their own homes and could not or would not adapt themselves to country life.

On November 1 Mr. W. S. Morrison, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, announced in the House of Commons that from a date to be specified later—probably the middle of next month—butter and bacon would be rationed, four ounces per week of each commodity being allowed for each individual consumer. These were the only two foodstuffs of which there was at present a shortage, due to the fact that much of the supply

was imported across the dangerous waters of the North Sea and that they could not be stored for long. Soon afterwards ration books, which had already been prepared and printed more than twelve months before, were distributed to the whole population through the Post Office.

The Labour Party, and especially the co-operative section of it, would have liked to see a general scheme of rationing introduced at once, as a means both of ensuring a fairer distribution of foodstuffs and of checking a rise in prices. A motion to this effect was brought forward by Mr. A. W. Alexander in the House of Commons on November 8. Mr. Morrison, in reply, contended that the policy pursued by the Food Department had in fact been able to exercise a very effective check on prices, and that rationing should be avoided unless a shortage rendered it absolutely necessary. The motion was ultimately defeated by 187 votes to 104.

In his review of the course of the war on October 26, the Prime Minister stated that there had been no indication from Berlin of the views of the German Government on the issues raised in his speech of October 12. In the meantime, however, Herr Ribbentrop had made a speech at Danzig which seemed to be intended as an answer. The main thesis of this speech was that it was England and not Germany who had desired and plotted for war. The whole world, said Mr. Chamberlain, knew that this was not true, that no Government had ever sought more ardently to avoid war or taken greater risks to preserve peace than the Governments of Great Britain. The charge came strangely from the man who had advised Herr Hitler up to the last moment that Britain would not fight. It would be a question for the historian of the future how far the great tragedy of their times was due to the failure of Herr von Ribbentrop to comprehend either the policy or the character of the British people. To his threat that Germany intended to see the struggle through there could be but one reply, and England was prepared to give it.

While the Prime Minister in these words undoubtedly expressed the determination of the people as a whole, there were many who thought that the Government were not yet paying sufficient attention to the question of what was to happen after the war, and what settlement was to follow the victory which was already confidently anticipated. The Press about this time was full of correspondence and discussion on the subject of British war aims, and some urgency was lent to the matter by a demand put forward by the Congress Party in India, that the Government should define its war aims more precisely so as to clear them of all suspicion of Imperialism.

In a debate on India in the House of Lords on November 2, the Foreign Secretary on behalf of the Government declined to go further in specifying their war aims than they had already

gone. If, he said, they were on the whole generally satisfied that the direction in which they hoped to travel was right, and that the main purpose of their journey was one on which they were in the main agreed, it was neither reasonable nor possible to attempt to define accurately in advance at what moment or in what way their purposes could be said to have been achieved. It was obviously necessary to take account of the conditions that might be prevailing whenever the time came to make peace, and that they could not now forecast. Further, the definition of war aims was a question which concerned their Allies and the Dominions, as well as themselves.

Lord Halifax went a little beyond this non-committal attitude in a broadcast address delivered on November 7, when he admitted that it was necessary to face the questions, what was the real purpose of their struggle, and whether they could in fact feel sure that in the conflict of physical force they could secure it. In answering these questions, however, he again did not emerge from the field of generalities, as that they were fighting in defence of freedom, peace, and security, and for the supremacy of law over brute force, and that it was the spiritual which ultimately counted. The one point of detail on which he ventured was of a negative character: he uttered a caution against the idea that a paper scheme of federation might prove a panacea for the ills of Europe after the war, or that such a plan could succeed unless it sprang freely from the will of the peoples who alone could give it life.

A somewhat more positive definition of war aims was given by Mr. Attlee on behalf of the Labour Party at a private conference of Labour members of Parliament on November 8. The problem, after stopping Nazi aggression, was, he said, the establishment of conditions which would make aggression impossible; and to secure this end detailed terms of peace would have to be based on the acceptance of certain principles, of which he enumerated six. The first was that there should be no dictated peace, and that while restitution should be made to the victims of aggression all ideas of revenge and punishment should be excluded. The second was the recognition of the right of all nations to live and to develop their own characteristic civilisation, provided they did not infringe the rights of others. The third was the complete abandonment of aggression and the use of armed force as an instrument of policy. The fourth was the recognition of the rights of national, racial, and religious minorities. The fifth was the recognition of an international authority superior to the individual states both in the political and the economic sphere. The sixth was the extension in the colonial sphere of the mandate system so as to safeguard the rights of the natives and secure for all nations equal access to markets and raw materials.

On November 7 the Queen of the Netherlands and the King of

the Belgians addressed a joint appeal to the King of England, the President of France, and the Chancellor of Germany to discuss terms of peace. In his reply on November 12, His Majesty stated that his Government would always be willing to examine a reasonable and assured basis for an equitable peace, since it was and always had been his desire that the war should not last a day longer than was absolutely necessary. The purpose for which Great Britain was fighting had been clearly stated on a number of occasions, particularly by the Prime Minister on October 12 and by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on November 2; and if their Majesties could communicate any proposals from Germany of such a character as to afford real prospect of achieving the purpose mentioned, the Governments of the British Empire would give them their most earnest consideration. Needless to say, no such proposals were forthcoming.

Towards the end of October representatives of the Dominions and of India met in London in order to consult with the Government about the best way in which their countries could assist the British war effort. In his weekly review on November 2 the Prime Minister paid a tribute to the whole-hearted co-operation which Britain was receiving both from the Dominions and the Colonies. He explained that for the time being the war effort of the Colonies would be mainly on the economic side, but their man-power might also be utilised later on. Shortly afterwards the Dominions representatives paid a visit, in company with Mr. Eden, the Dominions Secretary, to the battle-front in France.

On November 7, in response to a widely expressed desire in the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the Government's intention of setting up a Select Committee on National Expenditure, with terms of reference similar to those of the Select Committee which advised the Government in the last war. On the same day the House passed resolutions authorising the Government to raise the fresh loans which would soon become necessary; of the 800,000,000l., authorised by the two Defence Loan Acts already passed, there remained, according to the Chancellor's statement, an unused margin of only 105,000,000l.

On November 8 the First Lord of the Admiralty reported to the House of Commons the results of an investigation into the sinking of the *Royal Oak* in Scapa Flow on October 14. The disaster was found to be certainly due to negligence born of over-confidence. Neither the physical obstructions nor the patrolling craft were in that state of strength and efficiency required to make the anchorage absolutely proof, as it should have been, against the attack of a U-boat on the surface or half-submerged at high water. The Admiralty, said Mr. Churchill, had learnt a lesson and would in future take nothing for granted. In view of the grave pre-occupations of the Service, however, a judicial inquiry for

apportioning blame would not be held. The House did not question this decision, though Sir R. Keyes, an ex-Admiral, expressed a widely held opinion when he said that if Mr. Churchill had been at the Admiralty for some months before the war the Fleet would not have been caught napping.

Dealing with the progress of the war at sea, Mr. Churchill repeated now with more assurance what he had said with reserve six weeks before—that they were gaining a definite mastery over the U-boat attack. During the second four weeks of the war the British tonnage lost by enemy action—72,000—was less than half the amount lost in the first four weeks, and had been much more than compensated by captures from the enemy, purchases from foreigners, and new building. In the matter of cargo, too, there was since the opening of the war a balance of 100,000 tons in their favour. The offensive against the U-boats was also meeting with success; on a conservative estimate between two and four of them were disposed of every week, according to the activity which prevailed. It was possible, of course, that the Germans might build two new U-boats a week, but their own hunting craft were increasing at an even greater rate, so that they could look forward to the future with confidence. There were a couple of German raiders at large in the Atlantic, but so far they had done very little damage. Nor was there any truth in the boasts of the German wireless that several British warships had been sunk; he would, he said, be well satisfied to tackle the whole German Fleet with those ships which they claimed to have sunk.

In a debate on shipping in the House of Commons on November 14, it was pointed out by Mr. Shinwell and other speakers that the position of mercantile shipping was not quite so favourable as the First Lord had seemed to suggest. For one thing, he had overlooked the fact that in the last war the country had started with 21 million tons of merchant shipping, whereas now it had only 18 millions. Then again the convoy system, while no doubt it prevented losses, caused considerable delays and overlapping. There had also been an enormous rise in the rates for neutral tonnage, while British ships were being requisitioned at rates which left the owners no profit. The reply of the new Minister of Shipping did little to allay the misgivings which had been caused by his appointment (*vide* p. 107), but the critics were pacified by the nomination as his assistant of Sir Arthur Salter, an Independent member, who in the last war had shown marked ability in a similar position.

War conditions caused the abandonment this year of the Lord Mayor's show on November 9 and also the mayoral banquet in the evening. The customary Guildhall speech of the Prime Minister was delivered at a luncheon in the afternoon, being read by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on behalf of Mr. Chamberlain,

who was kept at home with an attack of gout. The speech dealt chiefly with the volume of complaints to which the system of trade control had given rise. The Premier appealed to the public to bear patiently with the inevitable mistakes made by the Government in the exercise of control over various branches of the national life, and above all not to blame the Civil servants, who were merely carrying out instructions with great efficiency. He pointed out that, while the problems of the Home Front were not very dissimilar from those they had to meet in the last war, the task of equipping the armed forces had become vastly more expensive and complicated, and consequently it was necessary to impose a large measure of control over manufacture and supply in order to conserve foreign exchange, and even to impose restrictions on exports, to conserve articles they could not do without and to prevent goods that the enemy wanted from falling into his hands.

On November 14 the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House of Commons that there would not be time to complete the remaining stages of the Criminal Justice Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 94) before the end of the session, which was now due in a few days. This meant that the Bill would have to be dropped, in spite of the large measure of support which it had received. Certain parts of it, however, especially those relating to flogging, had proved highly controversial, and in any case it would have been impossible to bring the Bill into operation under war conditions. Better fortune attended the Official Secrets Bill which had been in suspense since the spring (*vide* p. 16), and which was brought up for its second reading in the House of Commons on November 14 and passed through all its stages before the end of the session.

On November 15, in the House of Lords, several Peers supported a motion of Lord Arnold asking for a secret session in which they could speak their mind freely on various subjects. Lord Stanhope, on behalf of the Government, refused the request, maintaining that there were no topics for a secret session and that their war aims could be stated at that time only in general terms, as had already been done by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary. A secret session also might cause the public to think that it was being excluded from the Government's confidence and might even give food for propaganda to Doctor Goebbels. If private members wished to help the Government, he said, they could communicate directly with Ministers without a secret session.

On November 15 Mr. C. R. Attlee was unanimously re-elected Chairman and Leader of the Labour Party for the next session of Parliament. There was a strong movement within the party for electing Mr. Arthur Greenwood to the post, in recognition of the very able manner in which he had led the party throughout

the critical period preceding the war during the illness of Mr. Attlee. In the interests of party unity, however, Mr. Greenwood declined to stand, as did also Mr. H. Morrison and Dr. Dalton.

On November 17 a joint statement was issued by the British and French Prime Ministers announcing that arrangements, which had been contemplated from the beginning of the war, had now been completed for co-ordinating the economic war effort of the two countries. Common action would now be ensured between them in the fields of air, munitions and raw materials, oil, food, shipping, and economic warfare. The new measures adopted by the two Governments would provide for the best use in the common interest of the resources of both countries in raw materials, means of production, tonnage, etc., and also for the equal distribution between them of any limitation of imports which circumstances might render necessary. The two countries would in future draw up their import programmes jointly and avoid competition in purchases which they had to make abroad. By these arrangements, it was pointed out, a degree of co-operation had already been reached which in the last conflict was achieved only at the end of the third year of the war.

Before launching a really large loan, the Government, avoiding a mistake made in the last war, determined to tap the resources of the small investor, and for this purpose on November 25 issued a new form of savings certificates on slightly more favourable terms than those already existing, and also defence loan bonds purchasable in quantities as low as 5*l.* and bearing interest at 3½ per cent. These were chiefly intended for those who already held the statutory limit of 500 savings certificates, and a maximum holding of 1000*Z.* was fixed for these also. The public made an excellent response to the new loans, and by the end of the year nearly 50,000,000*l.* had been taken up.

The sinking of the Dutch passenger steamer *Simon Bolivar*, on November 18, by a mine off the east coast of England marked the commencement of a new phase of the war at sea, in which the mine rather than the torpedo figured as Germany's chosen instrument for effecting a blockade of Great Britain. Strewn at large over the North Sea without notification and without provision for neutralising them if they broke loose, German mines constituted a terrible danger to all shipping bound to and from British east coast ports.

On November 21 in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister stated that in the manner of laying these mines Germany had disregarded the provisions of The Hague Convention to which she was a party, and he described this latest outrage as the culmination of a series of violations of agreements to which Germany had set her hand. The Government, he announced, were not prepared to allow these methods of conducting warfare to con-

tinue without retaliation, and had decided to follow the precedent set in the last war of subjecting exports of German origin or ownership to seizure on the high seas. This announcement called forth protests from a number of neutral States interested in the carrying trade from Germany, particularly Holland, but as the German Government persisted in its mine-laying campaign and openly gloried in its success, the Government, on November 27, issued an Order in Council giving effect to its threat, though it was not actually brought into force till a week later. In response to further protests from neutrals, the Government made arrangements for reducing to a minimum the loss and inconvenience to which they were subjected.

How serious was the new menace to sea-borne traffic was shown by the fact that in the week November 18-25 over 60,000 tons of merchant shipping—British, French, and neutral—was sunk by mines off the east coast of England. The danger was greatly intensified by the enemy use for the first time of magnetic mines which were dropped from aeroplanes close to the coast, and for removing which no satisfactory method had yet been devised. In a broadcast speech on November 26 the Prime Minister declared himself confident that the magnetic mine would soon be mastered as the U-boat had been mastered; and meanwhile a ready response was forthcoming to a Government appeal for a large number of trawlers and drifters to work in mine-sweeping and for personnel to man them.

On November 23 Parliament brought to a close an exceptionally long and arduous session which had been almost wholly taken up with discussions of foreign policy and preparation for war. In this task it had co-operated with the Government in a manner which effectively disposed of the idea, previously held in many quarters, that Parliamentary institutions were bound to be a hindrance to the energetic prosecution of a war. It had willingly voted all the sums and all the emergency legislation necessary for this purpose. At the same time it had been on the alert to prevent the extension of executive and bureaucratic authority beyond such limits as were compatible with the spirit of democracy, and, since the outbreak of the war in particular, it had shown itself in some ways a more jealous guardian of public liberties than it had been for several years previously.

On November 23 the Home Secretary informed the House of Commons that the tribunals appointed to deal with aliens of enemy nationality (*vide* p. 91) had completed their work, and that out of some 35,000 persons of this description they had found it necessary to intern only about three hundred and fifty. The rest were granted freedom of movement and of occupation also subject to the usual proviso of not displacing Britons. At the same time the Minister announced that facilities for acquiring naturalisation would be granted to the British-born wives—

estimated to number about 1,500—of Germans and Austrians living in England, who had been exempted from the special restrictions applicable to enemy aliens.

On November 24 an engagement took place off the south-west of Iceland between the German pocket-battleship *Deutsehland*, which had been at large on the high seas since early in the war, and the 16,000 ton P. and O. liner *Rawalpindi*, which had been equipped as a cruiser and was carrying out contraband control between Iceland and Norway. The *Rawalpindi* was naturally quite outclassed both in speed and in range of fire, but she refused to surrender and put up a most gallant defence before being finally sunk with the loss of about 300 men. The heroism shown by the captain and crew was a source of great pride to the public at home, while the Prime Minister assured them, in his broadcast address on November 26, that in spite of this and similar losses Britain's overwhelming naval superiority was still quite unaffected.

In the same broadcast the Prime Minister sought to clarify the policy of the Government by drawing a distinction between war aims and peace aims. Britain's war aim, he said, was simply to defeat the enemy—not merely his military force, but the aggressive, bullying mentality which sought continually to dominate other peoples by force. If the German people could be induced to abandon that spirit without bloodshed, so much the better ; but abandoned it must be. Their peace aims could be defined at present only in the most general terms ; but it could be said at once that their desire, when they had achieved their war aim, would be to establish a new Europe, new in spirit, that is, in which the nations inhabiting it would approach their problems with goodwill and tolerance, in which aggression would have ceased to exist, in which there would be a full and constant flow of trade between the nations concerned, and armaments would be maintained only for the preservation of internal law and order. What machinery would be required for conducting and guiding this development it would be impossible as yet to specify.

On November 28, as a result of discussions between the Home Secretary and an informal All-party Committee of the House of Commons, a White Paper was issued notifying important modifications in the Defence of the Realm Regulations. The power of the Minister to detain on suspicion was limited to persons of hostile origin or associations, or who had recently been concerned in acts prejudicial to public safety. The prohibition against carrying on propaganda which might be prejudicial to the defence of the realm or the efficient prosecution of the war was limited to the use of false statements and reports and a conscious endeavour to influence public opinion wrongly. In the regulation which made it an offence to endeavour to cause disaffection among those engaged in the King's service, for the

words "to cause disaffection" were substituted the words "to seduce from their duty" or "to cause disaffection likely to lead to breaches of their duty." The power to impose an unlimited Press censorship—which had not so far been used—was also annulled. On the other hand, the Committee after discussion agreed to the retention by the Government of the power to impose a curfew. Mr. Dingle Foot remarked afterwards that the new regulations did not give them all they asked for, but went a long way to removing their criticisms; and he acknowledged that there had been on the part of the Home Secretary a genuine desire to meet their objections.

Parliament met again on November 28 to open a new session. The King's Speech made no mention of any projects of legislation, remarking that "the prosecution of the war commanded the energies of all his subjects." It promised, however, that such measures would be submitted to Parliament as seemed necessary for achieving victory, and mentioned specifically further financial provision for the conduct of the war.

In the debate on the Address on November 28, Mr. Attlee accepted the distinction made by Mr. Chamberlain in his broadcast on November 25 between war aims and peace aims, but urged that it was time already to lay down a plan of social reforms after the war. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, pointed out that it did not require a war to bring into men's minds the idea of building a better world. He reminded the House that in the last war a Minister of Reconstruction had been appointed and fancy plans had been developed for creating a new world, all to be followed by disillusionment. He thought, therefore, that they had better win the war first, while not forgetting what was to come after.

On the next day the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave the House, and the Labour Party in particular, a somewhat sharp reminder of the strain which the war was imposing on the finances of the country. He pointed out that the present annual rate of expenditure reached half the total income of the community, spread, of course, in very different proportions. To those who thought that the problem of war finance could be solved by soaking the rich, the answer was, first, that they were very severely soaked already, and secondly, that there were not enough of them to find the money or any considerable fraction of it. Therefore the only way in which a democracy could meet the terrible burden of a great war was by a willingness to sacrifice throughout the whole population; they could not achieve their war aims without an adjustment of the standard of living which touched people of all sorts and kinds. For this reason he would give no definite promise of an increase in the rates of old-age pensions, for which the Labour Party was loudly clamouring.

On December 7 a Liberal amendment was moved to the

Address criticising the Government for not paying sufficient attention to the development of the country's export trade, and indeed for hampering it by the unco-ordinated restrictions on exporters. This was a complaint of which much was being made at the moment in the business world ; but the President of the Board of Trade was able to turn the edge of it to some extent by announcing that exports during November, according to preliminary figures which he had seen, were 50 per cent, above those of the previous month, and were in fact back to the pre-war level. He admitted that the licensing system had not at first worked as smoothly as it might have done, but he maintained that it was improving, and he criticised the manufacturers themselves for not being willing to share sufficiently in the risks of the export trade. The amendment was negatived by 226 votes to 31, but the complaints against the Government persisted.

In reviewing the progress of the war at sea on December 6, the First Lord of the Admiralty stated that so far the intensified mine-laying campaign of the enemy had had little effect on the flow of traffic to and from British ports. There were still between 100 and 150 ships moving every day in and out of the harbours of the United Kingdom. The destruction of U-boats was also proceeding " normally "—*i.e.*, at the rate of from two to four a week, and if Germany was increasing her fleet of submarines, Britain was increasing her fleet of destroyers at an equal or greater rate. The convoy system was proving a great protection to British shipping, less than one in 750 of ships in convoy having been sunk. While, however, British losses had been decreasing, those of neutrals had been increasing ; it was they who had been the chief victims of the magnetic mines, and so far as the sea was concerned, German friendship had proved more poisonous than German enmity. Britain's total loss of merchant shipping so far had been about 340,000 tons. Against this they had gained by transfer from foreign firms, by prizes taken from the enemy, and by new building about 280,000 tons, so that their net loss in the three months was about 60,000 tons. They were therefore a long way from being seriously beleaguered. The losses of the Navy had been somewhat higher in proportion, but these were also being more than made up by new building.

While the mass of the public fully endorsed the refusal of the Government to come to any terms with the Nazi rulers so long as they retained their ill-gotten gains, a small section were in favour of starting negotiations even without this preliminary. After his speech in the House of Commons on October 3, there had for a brief space seemed to be a likelihood that Mr. Lloyd George would act as the leader and spokesman of this section, but after again attacking the Government at a meeting of his Council of Action on October 12, he abstained from further reference to the subject in public. In the meanwhile the

pacifists had tried their luck at one or two by-elections, **but** with very poor success.

In the debate on the Address in the House of Lords on December 5, Lord Halifax mentioned that he received a great many letters suggesting that an armistice should be proclaimed and a conference summoned, and he stated at length the reasons why the Government considered such a step inadvisable. Why, he asked, did not the Munich Conference secure lasting peace in Europe? Agreement was reached and most solemn assurances were given; yet six months afterwards Hitler changed his mind, finding excuses satisfactory to himself. This showed that no conference could be successful until the habit of disregarding assurances was abandoned, which would be a fundamental reversal of what had hitherto been German policy. The pre-requisites for a conference were that the German Government should show itself willing to accept terms corresponding to the purposes for which they had taken up arms, and that there should be security that any settlement reached would be respected. Otherwise a conference would achieve nothing, and might enable the leaders of Germany to make their people think that on the whole the old method of force had not worked too badly. The task of showing that aggression had failed would not have been achieved, and the world would still be left in precarious and intolerable suspense.

In spite of this plain speaking, the question was reopened in the House of Lords on December 13 by Lord Darnley with a request that the Government should avail itself of the offer of mediation recently made by the King of the Belgians and the Queen of Holland for the purpose of securing a freely negotiated peace—an offer which had already been turned down by Germany. He was supported by Lord Arnold and by the Bishop of Chichester, who declared, on the strength of information from neutrals, that Hitler would now accept terms corresponding to the purpose for which the British and French had taken up arms. The motion was strongly condemned by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Samuel, and Lord Snell in the name of the House as a whole, and by the Foreign Secretary in the name of the Government. Lord Halifax described the debate as "unfortunate," since it might be misconstrued abroad as evidence that there was serious disunion in the country over the prosecution of the war. Britain, he repeated, was ready to negotiate, but only provided that the essential condition for any international order in Europe could be secured. That condition was not yet present. Hitler was no doubt very anxious for peace on his own terms; there was no sign yet that he was anxious for peace on terms that would make for the peace of Europe in later generations.

No sooner had Parliament met than the Opposition once more pressed their demand for a secret session. They were

particularly anxious to debate the question of the production of war material, not being satisfied with the glowing descriptions given by the Minister of Supply ; nor were their misgivings allayed by a speech from Sir S. Hoare, on December 5, in which he dilated on the magnitude of the Government's war effort. They were now supported by a number of Ministerialists, and the Prime Minister, after long setting his face against the idea, at length gave way. Even so, however, he would allow only one day for the discussion, instead of the two demanded by the Opposition. The secret session was duly held on December 13, and drew a very large attendance of members, besides several Peers.

The Russian invasion of Finland on November 29 was viewed with indignation in all quarters in England, except among a handful of Communists. On November 30 the Prime Minister in the House of Commons declared that the attitude of the Finnish Government had been throughout unprovocative, and that the Government could not believe that the military measures taken by the Soviet Government were necessary to protect Russia against so small a country as Finland. As a practical sign of sympathy, the Government at once supplied the Finns with a certain number of fighting planes ; and at the League of Nations meeting which opened on December 11, the British representative, Mr. R. Butler, supported the motion for expelling Russia from the League, and urged that all States represented should give whatever assistance they could to Finland.

On December 14 the Prime Minister in the House of Commons dealt with the bearing of the Finnish conflict on British war aims. The German propaganda machine, he said, had eagerly seized on the opportunity offered to deflect attention from the primary objective of the Allied war effort, which was the defeat of Germany. Of that objective they must never lose sight. They must never forget that it was German aggression which paved the way for the Soviet attack on Poland and Finland, and that Germany alone among the nations was even now abetting by word and deed the Russian aggressor. They must all give what help and support they could to the latest victim of these destructive forces ; but meanwhile it was only by concentrating on their task of resistance to German aggression that they could hope to save the nations of Europe from the fate which must otherwise overtake them.

On December 12 the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House of Commons that the economic co-operation recently instituted between England and France (*vide* p. 118) had now been supplemented by a comprehensive financial agreement between the British and French Treasuries. Alterations in the existing rate of exchange between the pound and the franc would be avoided during the war. Each country would be able to

utilise the currency of the other without having to find gold. Neither Government would raise a foreign loan or credit except in agreement or jointly with the other Government. Neither Government would impose fresh restrictions on imports from the other during the war, whether for protective or exchange purposes ; and the two Governments would share certain items of expenditure incurred in the common cause, such as financial assistance to other countries.

The naval war was again enlivened on December 13 by a regular engagement which this time resulted in a resounding success for Great Britain. In the early hours of the morning the three British warships, *Exeter*, of 8,390 tons, *Achilles*, of 7,040 tons, and *Ajax*, of 6,985 tons, after a long search at length came in sight of the 10,000 ton pocket-battleship, the *Admiral Graf Spee*, the pride of the German Navy, near to the mouth of the River Plate in the South Atlantic. Though their combined gun power was inferior to that of the German they at once gave battle. After some hours of fighting the *Exeter* was put out of action, but the other two British ships continued the attack, and by means of brilliant seamanship, and what the German commander afterwards called "inconceivable audacity," so harassed the enemy that when night fell she was glad to take refuge, badly damaged, in the harbour of Montevideo. Any doubts that the British had scored a complete victory were set at rest when three days later the *Graf Spee* was scuttled by her crew just outside Montevideo harbour. During her career as a raider the *Graf Spee* had sunk nine British merchantmen, with a tonnage of some 50,000, in the Indian Ocean and South Atlantic.

The news of this victory was received at home with both pride and jubilation, and Commodore Harewood, the commander of the *Exeter*, who had directed the engagement, was at once knighted and created a Rear-Admiral. Other naval successes scarcely less striking were announced immediately afterwards. On December 12 the British submarine *Salmon* sighted the great German steamship *Bremen* as she was going from Murmansk to Germany, and could have sunk her easily had she followed the example of German submarines and attacked without warning. This prize she had to forgo, but a greater catch was in store for her, for within twenty-four hours she succeeded in torpedoing the German cruiser *Leipzig* and also damaged another heavy cruiser, after having already previously sunk a German submarine. Another British submarine, the *Ursula*, on December 14 successfully ran the gauntlet of the enemy defences round Heligoland Bight and sank there a cruiser of the Koeln class.

In a review of the war in the air since the German raid on the Firth of Forth on October 16, the Secretary of State for Air in the House of Commons on December 12 stated that, while **there** had been no great aerial battles, there had been steadily

increasing activity, in the course of which they had been able to test the strength both of their defences and their powers of attack. The results in both spheres had been encouraging. They had satisfied themselves that the various elements of their air defences had been welded together into an efficient and adaptable system, and they could claim a definite superiority in their fighting aircraft over the Germans. Their bombers also had distinguished themselves, particularly in a daring and successful raid on German warships in Heligoland Bay on December 3. A few days after the Minister's speech—on December 18—another raid on a still larger scale was attempted in the same place, but this time the attacking squadron was met by a far larger force of German planes and lost seven planes, though they had the satisfaction of bringing down no fewer than twelve of the enemy.

From this point to the end of the year warlike operations were almost at a standstill. A British air patrol established off the enemy submarine bases was very effective in preventing the laying of mines ; and thanks to this measure and to a "safety channel " formed along the whole length of the east coast of Britain between two lines of mines, the number of sinkings of mercantile vessels was greatly reduced in the last weeks of the year. The British Army in France—which had received a visit from the King on December 5 to 10—was not called into action, and occupied itself with strengthening its positions. At home age-groups up to 23 had been called up, and Canadian contingents and Australian airmen had arrived.

At the end of the year, after four months of war, the military situation seemed to be distinctly favourable for the Allies. The British attempt to blockade Germany was meeting with far more success than the German attempt to blockade Britain, and the disparity seemed likely to increase. This factor alone was reckoned to contain the promise of ultimate victory, provided it was not offset by any marked superiority of the enemy on land or in the air. Of this there was at present no sign. The fact that Germany had not attempted a " break-through " on land seemed to show that she was mistrustful of her powers ; and in the air the Allies were able, since the decision of Congress in October, to draw supplies from the United States, so that their striking force was likely to increase at a greater rate than the German. It was in fact already a question whether in the spring the Allies would not be in a position to take the offensive ; and there was always the possibility that they might be assisted by an upheaval in Germany itself.

At home, thanks to the absence of air-raids and the maintenance of food supplies almost at peace level, conditions had been deflected from the normal much less than had been expected. By contrast with the last war, there had been no enormous lists

of casualties—the total number of those killed at sea and in the air had been about two thousand and on land practically none—so that the public had experienced little of the " horrors " of war, though a good deal of its inconveniences and hardships. Of the inconveniences the most serious continued to be the " black-out," though an attempt was made by the Government just before Christmas to mitigate its worst effects by the installation—beginning in the West End of London—of an exiguous system of street lighting, equivalent to starlight. The evacuation problem at Christmas time threatened to become more intractable than ever owing to the wholesale return of children to the large towns. Many businesses also came back, but the Government refused to repatriate 15,000 Civil servants who clamoured to be brought back to London, and threatened to remove more. Of the hardships caused by the war, the worst was still the economic dislocation, which brought many businesses to a standstill, and caused great distress among the black-coated workers. Among the manual workers also, in spite of the demand for labour created by the war, unemployment was still very prevalent. The returns issued in November gave the number as more than 1,400,000, an increase of over 100,000 since the outbreak of the war. In a debate in the House of Commons on November 23, members frankly declared themselves puzzled by this phenomenon ; and though the Minister of Labour affirmed that the tide was on the turn, the next unemployment returns showed little improvement.

The year 1939 will go down in the history of civilised man as one of the years of war, not because the inhabitants of Europe had lost their love of peace but solely and only because the gangsters who were in control of the Government of Germany, having for six years modelled their internal policy on barbarism, now sought to extend their evil methods to the sphere of foreign affairs.

IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND, on the whole, had a prosperous year. The number of unemployed, which at the beginning of the year was about 81,000, had decreased in December to 69,255. The Minister of Finance when submitting his Budget in May was able to reveal a sound financial position. He showed that Northern Ireland's Imperial contribution for the previous year would be over 1,000,000Z. and that any fears of a deficit were unfounded, largely due to the increase in taxation levied by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Westminster which, in the case of Customs, Excise, and income tax, applies automatically to Northern Ireland.

He estimated at that time that he would have a surplus of 936,000Z. at the end of the current financial year, but explained that the whole of this sum would not go as Imperial contribution, as he had been compelled to make a beginning, in agreement with the British Chancellor, "in providing for the losses bound to occur by reason of our guarantee to the borrowing of the Northern Ireland Road Transport Board." He allocated 200,000Z. for this purpose.

The outbreak of war and the consequent introduction of the Emergency Budget at Westminster, upset the whole Budget estimate of Northern Ireland as it did for the United Kingdom Exchequer. The increase in the income tax to 7s. in the pound, together with the increase in surtax, excess profits tax, and Customs and Excise duties, all of which apply to Northern Ireland, greatly increased the estimated revenue that would be raised in the Six Counties. The increase in income tax, surtax, and excess profits duty was estimated to yield an additional 820,000Z. in Northern Ireland. The increase in Customs and Excise duties was estimated to yield a further 420,000l., making the increase in reserved revenue 1,240,000l., or a total of reserved revenue (levied at Westminster) 11,542,000l.

When the transferred revenue imposed by the Northern Ireland Parliament (estate, stamp, and motor vehicle duties), non-tax revenue, such as Land Purchase Annuities and Post Office revenue, are added, the total revenue of Northern Ireland for the year was estimated at 17,098,000Z. This would exceed the expenditure by roughly 2,029,000l., and 2,000,000l. of this would be available as Imperial contribution. It was anticipated that this result would be achieved notwithstanding the fact that the revenue directly levied by the Northern Parliament was expected to show a decline of 375,000l. due to the changes brought about by the war.

Owing to the gradual improvement in the unemployment situation in the Six Counties before the outbreak of war and to the further opportunities of useful work of many kinds since hostilities began, the relative employment position in Northern Ireland, compared with Great Britain, was expected to be better than was anticipated at the beginning of the financial year in April. Consequently the sum which the Minister of Finance expected to receive in the current financial year from Great Britain in respect of unemployment under the re-insurance agreement, was 600,000l less than the 1,786,752l. originally estimated. It should be explained here that for all practical purposes the Unemployment Funds of Northern Ireland and Great Britain are one, and are governed by identical regulations.

The Unemployment Re-insurance Agreement was designed to keep both of these Funds in a state of parity, and enabled Northern Ireland to maintain for its workers the rates of unemployment benefit enjoyed by the workers in Great Britain. It is felt in Northern Ireland that an amalgamation of the two Funds and their treatment as one unit in the United Kingdom, as in the case of the National Health Insurance Fund, might be a considerable advantage to the Six Counties as well as obviating the necessity of Exchequer grants being made at Westminster for the Northern Ireland Unemployment Fund.

During the year the Northern Parliament passed several important measures but the greater portion of parliamentary time towards the end of the session was occupied with legislation of an emergency nature necessitated by the outbreak of war. A new Housing Bill, introduced early in the session, was designed to assist in re-housing those people in urban areas who were living in houses which had been condemned as unfit for habitation, and to clear away a large number of unsanitary and unsatisfactory houses. The Government undertook to meet one-third of the cost of each new house to replace a house condemned. The limit fixed was 150l., one-third of 450l., which was regarded as a fair maximum cost. The rents of such houses were to be strictly controlled. It was stated during the debate on the second reading of the Bill that 36,000 houses were built in Northern

Ireland under the Housing Acts since 1923, and subsidies amounting to 3½ million pounds of public money were expended in providing them.

The Minister of Agriculture introduced a Bacon Industry Bill which provided for a rationalisation scheme for the closing of a number of small roll and ham factories and compensation to owners, and also a form of contract for the sale of pigs by producers to curers, small producers being exempted. Finally, it provided financial assistance to curers and producers by means of a guaranteed price when the cost of feeding stuff ration is 8s. 6d. per cwt. This guaranteed price was 70s. to start with.

A Civil Defence Bill and other emergency measures followed the lines of those passed at Westminster.

A sharp controversy arose over an Agricultural Returns Bill which made it compulsory for farmers to complete such returns in order to facilitate the Compulsory Tillage Order. Under this Order farmers are to cultivate at least 10 per cent, of their holdings in an effort to increase the land under cultivation in Northern Ireland by a quarter of a million acres. A subsidy of 2l. per acre was fixed for the cultivation of grass land which had not been ploughed for some years.

During the year there were no change in the Cabinet. Mr. Arthur Black, K.C., M.P., was appointed Attorney-General in succession to Mr. E. S. Murphy, K.C., M.P., on his appointment as a Lord Justice of the Northern Ireland Judiciary.

EIRE.

The subversive activities of the Irish Republican Army, combined with the growing menace of a widespread war in Europe, raised many problems for the Government of Eire from the beginning of the year.

When the Dail reassembled on February 8 after the Christmas recess the first business included two highly important measures—namely, the Treason Bill and the Offences Against the State Bill. The second of these was particularly intended to meet the threats of the I.R.A., as was explained by the Minister for Justice (Mr. P. J. Ruttledge) in moving the second reading. The I.R.A. had publicly announced that it had sent an "ultimatum" to the British Government to remove its armed forces from all parts of Ireland by a certain date. The British Government had ignored the "ultimatum" and the I.R.A. began to act in various districts in Northern Ireland.

Explosions took place at several points on the border, and in Donegal two persons alleged to have been manufacturing munitions were killed in an accidental explosion. Explosives with time fuses attached were sent by omnibus into Northern Ireland in suitcases, the intention being to blow up the Customs

huts in which these cases might be placed overnight. Some damage was done as a result of this plan but no lives were lost. Later the I.R.A. sent to England what it called an "expeditionary force."

The Offences Against the State Bill was directed against actions "calculated to undermine public order and the authority of the State," and contained provisions for the punishment of persons guilty of such conduct.

The formation of associations was in the public interest to be regulated and controlled, and special criminal courts were to be established in accordance with the Constitution.

The Bill was debated at length in the Dail and the Senate. The only real opposition to it came from the Labour Party and a few Independent members. Fine Gael (Mr. Cosgrave's party) did not oppose it, but in the division lobbies there was no exhaustive vote. It was finally passed in the Dail by 53 votes to 8, showing that only 61 members of the House took part in the division. The Bill became law on June 14.

On June 23 it was announced in the official gazette that on that day the Government had made an Order under the new Act declaring that "the organisation styling itself the Irish Republican Army (also I.R.A. and Oglaiigh na hEireann) is an unlawful organisation, and ought, in the public interest, to be suppressed."

The Treason Bill met with more support in the Dail, 75 deputies voting for it on the second reading, and 10 against. The minority was composed of the Labour members and one or two Independents.

Speaking on the second reading of this Bill Mr. de Valera said the enactment of the Constitution gave treason a new meaning for the people of Eire. Article 39 made it clear that treason "must no longer be understood in terms of allegiance to foreign Powers, and, so to cut out the possibility of any Act applying among those which we were taking over to form the body of law which was to be our law, when the Constitution was passed, treason was definitely limited."

He also pointed out that the introduction of the Bill at that time was not due to any happening in the country, but was solely a measure which every country should have, and in Eire was necessary as a corollary to the new Constitution.

These two measures, with the Emergency Powers Bill, which was passed immediately on the outbreak of war, provided Mr. de Valera's Government with adequate means to meet any domestic or external trouble.

Early in the year Mr. de Valera announced that the Government had decided on a policy of neutrality in the event of war, and the decision was supported by all parties. Development of the Defence Forces had already become necessary when the

Government took over the control of the coastal forts from the British in 1938, and the threat of war in Europe made further expansion inevitable. The consequent financial strain on the country's resources was severe. This, of course, was not unexpected, and Mr. Sean MacEntee gave a warning in his Budget speech that the preservation of the country's neutrality and independence would require heavy sacrifices.

In the ordinary Budget introduced on May 10, Mr. MacEntee estimated that the total expenditure would be 32,511,000/., while the total revenue he expected to receive was 32,522,000/., thus giving a surplus of 11,000/. He arrived at this surplus by taking 150,000/. from the Road Fund, by borrowing 2,005,000/. for capital purposes (including 1,350,000/. for defence), and by the appropriation of 68,000/. due from local authorities under Unemployment Insurance Acts. The balance of 1,180,000/. was to be obtained by taxation.

Consequently, income tax was raised by *Is.* to *5s. 6d.*, and certain personal allowances were reduced. Increased taxation was imposed on tobacco and petrol.

These calculations were upset when a supplementary Budget was introduced after the outbreak of war.

The position which presented itself following the Government's announcement that in the event of war Eire would remain neutral was one full of difficulties and complications. Mr. de Valera in a statement broadcast from Radio Eireann on February 19 said :—

The desire of the Irish people and the desire of the Irish Government is to keep our nation out of war. The aim of Government policy is to maintain and preserve our neutrality in the event of war. The best way, and the only way, to secure our aim is to put ourselves in the best position possible to defend ourselves so that no one can hope to attack us or violate our neutrality with impunity.

We know, of course, that should the attack come from a Power other than Great Britain, Great Britain, in her own interests, must help us to repel it.

The statement added that the Irish Government had not entered into any commitments with Great Britain. The Government was free to follow any course that Irish interests might dictate.

This important declaration set the keynote to the policies subsequently undertaken by the Government of Eire.

But, as has been said, the position was not easy.

Under the Constitution the whole of the island of Ireland was envisaged as Eire, even though it is provided that pending the reintegration of the separated Six Counties its operations should be confined to the area of the former Irish Free State. It was clear that in the event of a war in which Great Britain was involved the Six Counties of Northern Ireland also would be in a state of war. The border between the North and South would be the line of demarcation between warring and neutral

territories. How, in such circumstances, could neutrality be maintained? Again, as between *Eire* and Great Britain another problem would arise. Daily steamer services carried thousands of passengers both ways across the Irish Sea; and, moreover, there was the vital exchange of trade. As Mr. de Valera had pointed out in the Dail Great Britain was the market for 90 per cent, of the exportable surplus of *Eire's* agricultural produce, and was the supplier of the goods which *Eire* was obliged to import. Further, in the absence of Irish ships, all this trade had to be carried in British bottoms. All these factors, both in their relation to the country's neutrality and to the maintenance of supplies of essential commodities, were the constant concern of the Government.

Early in the year Mr. Frank Aiken, Minister for Defence, introduced a supplementary estimate for the Army. This followed criticism of what was regarded as the Government's laxity in the matters of defence and protection against air attack. Mr. Aiken announced that he intended to increase the personnel of the permanent forces, reserves, and volunteers, and to purchase warlike stores and equipment. The building of aerodromes and the home production of ammunition were also contemplated. Services which had not previously existed were to be organised, such as Air-Raid Precautions, coast watching, coastal patrol, and mine-sweeping.

On May 2 Mr. de Valera again explained the situation which would have to be faced when putting the estimate for the Department of External Affairs through the Dail. He warned the country that in the event of an outbreak of war the position would be different from that of August, 1914, when the British Government was responsible for Ireland. "Now," he said, "it will be our own responsibility, and a very heavy responsibility it is." *Eire*, he told the House, would be virtually dependent on British ships for its supplies, and the Government would have to make arrangements with the British Government for the continuance of essential services. Some industries would be hampered by lack of raw material; unemployment would increase, and the situation would be further complicated by the return of large numbers of persons temporarily employed in Britain. This estimate of the situation that would follow an outbreak of war proved to be correct.

The decision of the Irish Government to remain neutral was acknowledged by the combatants. When war did break out on September 3 the German Minister remained in Dublin, and the reaction of the British Government was to send—for the first time since the setting up of the Government in Dublin—a special representative, Sir John Maffey. The status of the new representative was left undefined. His title was merely "British Representative in Ireland."

Both Dail and Senate were summoned by telegram on September 2 to pass such measures as the crisis appeared to call for.

The first business was a Bill slightly amending Article 28 of the new Constitution so that the phrase used in that Article, "Time of War," was more clearly defined. It was accepted by both Houses without dissent and immediately signed by the President. It appears in the records as the First Amendment to the Constitution Act. Both Houses then passed a motion declaring that "Arising out of the armed conflict now taking place in Europe a national emergency exists affecting the vital interests of the State."

An Emergency Powers Act was passed which gave the Government wide powers to deal with the situation. These included power by order to make such provisions as were, in the opinion of the Government, necessary for securing public safety, the preservation of the State, maintenance of public order, provision and control of supplies and services. Following the passing of this Act orders of various kinds were at once made.

Mr. de Valera in a broadcast on September 2 announced that two new Ministries would be created—a Ministry for Supplies and a Ministry for Co-ordination of Defensive Measures, the former to be controlled by Mr. Sean Lemass and the latter by Mr. Frank Aiken. This resulted in a re-arrangement of offices, and the reconstituted Government was as follows :—

Mr. de Valera—*Prime Minister, Minister for External Affairs, and Minister for Education.*

Mr. S. T. O'Kelly—*Minister for Finance.*

Mr. P. J. Rutledge—*Minister for Local Government and Public Health.*

Mr. Lemass—*Minister for Supplies.*

Mr. MacEntee—*Minister for Industry and Commerce.*

Dr. James Ryan—*Minister for Agriculture.*

Mr. Aiken—*Minister for Co-ordination of Defensive Measures.*

Mr. T. Derrig—*Minister for Lands.*

Mr. G. Boland—*Minister for Justice.*

Mr. O. Traynor—*Minister for Defence.*

Mr. P. J. Little—*Minister for Posts and Telegraphs.*

The mobilisation of the A and B Reserves, the Volunteer Force, and the Reserve of Officers was ordered immediately after the start of the war, in order that the country could carry out its responsibilities as a neutral State. The Coast Watching Service, operated by the Volunteers, came into being. Comprehensive plans had been prepared by the General Staff for this service, which is having the co-operation of the reconnaissance units of the Army Air Corps. A third arm of coastal defence, the Marine Service, was in process of formation towards the end of the year.

Notwithstanding the provision made in the annual Budget in May for extra costs brought about by the war situation, the **Government** found it necessary in November to ask the Dail

for more money. The Supplementary Budget, introduced by the new Minister for Finance, Mr. O'Kelly, increased income tax to 6s. *Qd.* in the pound, raised the sugar tax to 23s. *4d.* per cwt., and the tax on petrol to 10d. per gallon. The duties on beer and spirits were also increased.

In his Budget speech Mr. O'Kelly said: "The way of the neutral is hard. We shall be fortunate indeed if the conditions created by the war do not result in greater burdens on the Irish people than those I am now about to propose. It is well for us to remember, however, that, if the neutral must suffer, the belligerent must suffer immeasurably more, and that even among neutrals in this hemisphere we are so far escaping better than most."

CHAPTER II

CANADA.

THE Fourth Session of the 18th Parliament opened at Ottawa on January 12. The Liberal Ministry under Mr. Mackenzie King met Parliament with its personnel unchanged, and as a result of a gain in a by-election during the recess, which raised the number of its supporters in the House of Commons to 180 out of a total membership of 245, commanded the largest majority in the history of the Canadian Parliament. The Conservatives began the session under the new leadership of Dr. R. J. Manion in the place of Mr. R. B. Bennett who, after receiving many notable tributes, left Canada during January to live in England.

The Speech from the Throne, delivered by Governor-General Lord Tweedsmuir, in French and English, began with a reference to the forthcoming visit of Their Majesties, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, the announcement of which, it said, had been received with rejoicing throughout the Dominion and was particularly gratifying because it would embrace all the Provinces of Canada. The decision of Their Majesties to accept the invitation to visit the United States was commended as tending to increase the friendship and understanding which had been warmly demonstrated by President Roosevelt's official visit to Canada in August, 1938. While Canada's relations with other countries continued friendly, Ministers had found it necessary to give anxious and continuous consideration to developments in the international situation and their effects upon Canada, because aggressive policies actively pursued in other continents had inevitably had disturbing consequences in every part of the world. The Speech drew attention to various measures taken to improve Canada's relations with other countries, such as the

Trade Agreement with the United States which, taken in conjunction with the Anglo-American Agreement, constituted a constructive contribution to the improvement of world conditions. Besides securing wider markets for Canadian products it involved a thorough-going revision of the Canadian tariff structure and the greatest reduction in taxes on trade made in recent years. The termination of the Trade Agreement with the British West Indies and impending negotiations for new agreements were intimated. The Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, which it was hoped would be presented to Parliament, would provide a basis for a national conference at which problems of unemployment and social services would be dealt with. Meanwhile the Government, while still convinced of the necessity of a national scheme of unemployment insurance, were prepared to co-operate with the Provinces in a determined effort to meet the immediate situation by schemes such as the extension of their long-range programme of public works, subsidies to cover municipal improvements, and the enlargement of the Government's Youth Training Scheme.

In both the House of Commons and the Senate, the extension of Canada's defence measures was a subject of outstanding interest. Two important changes in policy were announced by Mr. Ian Mackenzie, Minister of National Defence, in giving notice of a resolution on January 24. The first was the proposal to establish a Defence Purchasing Board with exclusive power, subject to approval by the Cabinet, to enter into all contracts for the purchase of munitions, equipment, material, and supplies required by the Department of National Defence in cases where the expenditure exceeded 5000 dollars, and to create safeguards that such contracts should be made without undue profit to any manufacturer or supplier. The second part of the Minister's resolution sought authority for the Government to borrow such sums of money as might be required for national defence which were chargeable to the capital account in votes passed by Parliament, and to provide a sinking fund sufficient to retire in ten years the sums borrowed for such capital expenditures with interest at 3 per cent.

Defence estimates tabled on January 25 totalling 63,425,175 dollars provided, after a deduction of 3,500,000 dollars for the liquidation of the proposed loan, about 60,000,000 dollars for the actual defence programme. Of that sum 29,775,565 dollars was allocated to the Royal Canadian Air Force, 8,500,000 dollars to the Royal Canadian Navy, and 20,750,000 dollars to the Regular Army and Militia. In each case these figures were an appreciable increase over those for 1938. The total Federal Estimates for 1939-40 showed a main expenditure of 457,241,215 dollars compared with 430,328,510 dollars for the preceding year.

Nazi propaganda in Canada, involving German Consular

officials and organisations, caused some concern, and as a result of representations from several quarters, a Government investigation was ordered in January.

Mr. Norman Rogers, Minister of Labour, announced in the House of Commons (January 23) the new plans of the Government for unemployment relief. These comprised an increased percentage of direct relief payments on the basis of increased contributions from the Provinces and Municipalities. The Government's Youth Training Programme involving an annual expenditure of 3,000,000 dollars by the Federal and Provincial Governments was to be continued for three years, forest conservation and farm employment schemes would be enlarged, and a varied programme of public works would be undertaken.

Canada's war policy was referred to by Mr. Mackenzie King in the House of Commons on February 4 when he quoted a passage from a speech by the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the debate on the Naval Service Act in 1910 as follows :—

If England is at war, we are at war, and liable to attack. I do not say we will always be attacked, neither do I say we should take part in all the wars of England. That is a matter that must be guided by circumstances upon which the Canadian Parliament will have to pronounce and have to decide in its own best judgment.

Mr. King said that this was an expression of Liberal policy as accepted before, and he wished to offer it as a statement of the Liberal policy as it was to-day, and would continue to be under his administration. A number of French Canadian Liberals were much disturbed by this declaration and many members took part in the debate. Dr. Manion, Leader of the Opposition, in a statement issued in March pledged the National Conservative Party to join with the Government in assuring the world of Canadian unity in face of the European situation. Asserting that he had no intention of adding to the difficulties of the Government in a situation which was far above political manoeuvring, he said that only the Prime Minister could speak with authority for Canada. Everybody must realise that if Herr Hitler's conquering march went on, countries far from Europe would find their national life endangered. Himself an ardent lover of peace, like Mr. Chamberlain, he felt that the surest way, indeed probably the only way, to maintain world peace was for the liberty-loving democracies, Great Britain, the Dominions, the United States, France, and the smaller free nations, to announce clearly their determination to stand together in a solid front against the tyranny of Hitlerian dictatorship. Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Labour) Group, suggested as practical measures to meet the crisis that Canada should immediately prohibit the export of war material to Germany, impose a super-tax on goods from

Germany or any other aggressor nation, and admit a substantial contingent of refugees.

A four-point new Canadian wheat policy was announced by Mr. J. G. Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture, on February 16. The policy of guaranteed fixed prices to producers was to be abandoned and, following the recommendations of the Turgeon Commission, the Government proposed to provide for (1) the marketing of wheat by means of the futures market system, (2) the placing of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange under revised supervision, (3) encouragement to the development of co-operative marketing associations or pools, and (4) aid and encouragement to make home building on the prairies more secure. In cases of emergency, such as drought, the Government would undertake to pay a bonus on an acreage basis, and in the event of war a Wheat Board would take over the handling of the whole crop.

On March 28 an extensive report was tabled in the Senate on the workings of the British North America Act and the effect on them of decisions made by the Imperial Privy Council since 1867. The report, which had been submitted as a result of a resolution of the Senate last Session, contended that the British North America Act required no amendment in order to meet the present legislative needs of Canada; that existing difficulties arose largely because the Privy Council had repeatedly misinterpreted the intent of the Act; and that what was needed was for the British Government to pass an interpretive statute declaring the true intent of the Act as expressed by its terms. One section of the report pronounced strongly against the possibility of Canadian neutrality in the event of war.

Foreign policy again came before Parliament on March 30, when the Prime Minister made his promised statement before a crowded House. Having declared that Mr. Chamberlain had made the right choice in his courageous and successful effort at Munich to avert war, he defended his Government's attitude during the Czechoslovak crisis. To answer criticisms that Canada had been laggard, as compared with other Dominions in her pledges to support Great Britain, he said that the pronouncements of statesmen in other Dominions and the proceedings of their Parliaments showed that no Dominion had made explicit promises of support. Mr. King declared that there was no change in his Government's view that if the necessity of making a decision about peace or war had to be faced the principle of responsible government demanded that that decision should be made by Parliament. The system inherited from Great Britain would make it incumbent on his Government to propose the course which it felt advisable about any particular issue and to stand or fall by the verdict of Parliament. In dealing with the complaints that the Government's policy was not definite enough, he cited Mr. Chamberlain's recent declaration

against new and unspecified commitments, and said that he was equally unprepared to commit Canada to such indefinite undertakings. With an international situation which changed from week to week absolute undertakings to follow other Governments were out of the question, but any decisions made would not be matters of chance and whim but would depend partly upon certain permanent factors of interest and sentiment which set the limits within which any feasible and united policy must be determined. Mr. King said that President Roosevelt had promised last August that the United States would not tolerate foreign domination of Canada. That month was as important to Canada as September was to Europe. "Our closer and more responsible relations with the United States," he added, "have not in any way lessened the intimacy of our relations with the United Kingdom." In the course of the debate which followed, both Mr. Mackenzie King and Dr. Manion, while deprecating any intention to create the impression that Canada might be neutral in the event of war, rejected a policy of conscription in any form.

On April 17 the Earl and Countess Baldwin, accompanied by Sir Geoffrey Fry, arrived at Ottawa, where they were the guests of the Governor-General and were entertained by the Government. Earl Baldwin delivered at Toronto University three lectures inaugurating a lectureship founded to perpetuate the memory of Sir Robert Falconer, a former president of that University. His subjects were "The English Character," "English Character and Democracy," and "The Reaction of the English Character and Democratic Spirit to Events at Home and Abroad since 1918." His visit and his lectures were widely popular and received considerable publicity.

Mr. Dunning, Minister of Finance, delivered his Budget speech on April 25. For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1939, he put the total revenue at 501,750,000 dollars. There had been a gain of nearly 22,000,000 dollars in the yield of the income tax but declines of 15,000,000 dollars in Customs duties and 18,500,000 dollars in the sales tax. Ordinary expenditure had amounted to 416,250,000 dollars, but when special and capital expenditure was added the total was 557,250,000 dollars, or 33,000,000 dollars in excess of the estimates. There was therefore a deficit of 55,750,000 dollars compared with that of 17,750,000 dollars in the previous year. In the coming year he estimated the revenue at 490,000,000 dollars. The net debt (National debt) was estimated at 3,157,000,000 dollars. The Minister expressed keen disappointment at the prospect of another deficit, and said that he was still convinced of the need for a balanced budget. He proposed no changes in the basic rates of income tax, sales tax, or miscellaneous Excise taxes, but in order to comply with the terms of the Canadian-American Trade Treaty he removed the 3 per cent, special Excise tax on imports

to become effective on April 30, except in respect of imports under the general tariff. Mr. Dunning said that the world depression had adversely affected export trade, but although it fell 15 per cent, for 1938, Canada had retained her position as the world's fourth largest exporter, and the favourable balance of 351,000,000 dollars compared with 340,000,000 dollars.

On May 17, for the first time in history, a British Sovereign set foot on the soil of one of his Dominions. After some delay through weather conditions in the final stages of their voyage across the Atlantic in the *Empress of Australia*, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, with their suite, arrived at Quebec where they were ceremonially welcomed by the Prime Minister, supported by members of the Dominion Cabinet, the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, the Premier of Quebec, and a host of other officials. From that point to the completion of their tour Their Majesties were the centre of demonstrations of loyalty and affection such as were never before witnessed in British North America. The purpose of the tour was not solely to enable the King and Queen to see their Canadian subjects or the geographical expanse of the Dominion. The larger significance was expressed by the Queen in her speech at Ottawa on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the Supreme Court Building, when Her Majesty referred to her "fondest wish to see two great races with their different legislations, beliefs, and traditions uniting more and more closely, after the manner of England and Scotland, by ties of affection, respect, and of a common ideal." The tour itself centred round the attendance of the King and Queen at the Dominion Parliament Buildings and at the Legislative Building of each Province. From the Chateau Frontenac Hotel at Quebec, the King made his first radio speech of the tour, addressing greetings to his Canadian subjects in both French and English. In the metropolis of Montreal the warmth of the welcome was particularly marked. Hundreds of thousands of visitors from neighbouring communities and the United States flocked into the city for the occasion. At Ottawa the King presided in person over his Parliament of Canada; assented to specific legislation of the 1939 session, including the Trade Treaty between Canada and the United States; received the credentials of the new United States Minister to Canada, Mr. Daniel C. Roper,* and unveiled the National War Memorial. In Toronto the King and Queen, in addition to a full round of formal engagements, paid an unscheduled visit to the Military Hospital.

* Mr. Roper was succeeded in November by Mr. James H. R. Cromwell. Other important diplomatic changes during the year were the appointment of Mr. Jean Desy as first Canadian Minister to Belgium and the Netherlands (January 3); Dr. Henry Laureys as first Canadian High Commissioner to South Africa (January 19); Mr. J. J. Hearne as first High Commissioner for Eire to Canada (August 18); Dr. Frans Groenman as first Netherlands Minister to Canada (September 25); Mr. Charles J. Burchell as first Canadian High Commissioner

This tribute to "returned" men was typical of Their Majesties' attitude on all occasions throughout the tour, and their spontaneous talks with many people from all walks of life demonstrated their eagerness to know their Canadian subjects in an intimate way. At scores of places along their route, wherever crowds were assembled, the royal train was ordered by His Majesty to slow down or stop, and both the King and Queen did everything possible to satisfy the multitudes who were anxious to meet and greet them. From Winnipeg, half-way across the Dominion, on the afternoon of Empire Day (May 24) the King spoke to his Empire over an international network arranged by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, when an impressive "Roll Call of the Empire" was given. At Winnipeg also the Hudson's Bay Company, fulfilling the demands of their seventeenth-century Royal Charter, "paid their rent" in the form of two elk heads and two black beaver skins, with a fitting ritual. At Vancouver His Majesty took part in the "Ceremony of the Mace" (the mace having been presented to that city by a former Lord Mayor of London) and, with the Queen, enjoyed a drive of fifty-one miles round the environs of the Pacific Gateway. On leaving Vancouver for Victoria by the s.s. *Marguerite* they were escorted as far as Point Grey by sixteen Indian war canoes and 500 flag-bedecked yachts and fishing boats. There they were picked up by H.M.C. ships *Ottawa*, *Restigouche*, *St. Laurent*, and *Fraser*, and an escort of the Royal Canadian Air Force. Their Majesties had evidently been deeply touched by their outward trip from Quebec to Victoria. When the King spoke at Victoria he said: "To travel through so grand a country is a privilege to any man; but to travel through it to the accompaniment of such an overwhelming testimony of goodwill from young and old alike, is an experience that has, I believe, been granted to few people in this world."

The return journey, no less colourful, included a visit to the Prairie Provinces, then to Ontario and a memorable trip via Niagara Falls to the United States, where the royal visitors became the guests of President and Mrs. Roosevelt at the White House. Resuming their journey through the Maritime Provinces of Canada, the King unveiled in the Legislative Chamber at Halifax a portrait of his late father, King George V, painted by the Canadian artist Sir Wyly Grier. At the close of the tour, His Majesty again speaking in English and French, broadcast a farewell address to the Canadian people. On this occasion he summed up the outstanding impressions of the visit and the direction of Canada's destiny. Her Majesty also spoke, addressing

to Australia (November 3); Major-General Sir William Glasgow as first Australian High Commissioner to Canada (December 26); Dr. W. A. Riddell as first Canadian High Commissioner to New Zealand (December 31); and Mr. J. H. Kelly as first Canadian High Commissioner to Eire (December 31).

herself particularly to the women and children of the Dominion. After travelling 9,510 miles, the Royal Party left Halifax on June 15 by the *Empress of Britain* amidst the cheers of 150,000 people who thronged the piers and crowded every point of vantage. A huge bonfire on Chebucto Head, visible long after the shouting and cheering were lost to the royal yacht, was Canada's parting farewell to the Royal Couple.

During the progress of the royal visit a General Election was held in the Province of Prince Edward Island (May 18), resulting in the return of the Liberal Ministry under Mr. Thane Campbell with a slightly reduced majority.

Prorogation of the Federal Parliament had also taken place on June 3. New measures passed during the session included the establishment of a Defence Purchasing Board, the creation of a National Film Board, the formation of a Penitentiary Commission (based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Penal Reform), the inauguration of a Central Mortgage Bank (for relief in the burden of debt upon farmers and house-owners), the extension of the Youth Training Scheme, and several important Acts implementing the new wheat policy. There were also amendments to the Criminal Code, the Pension Act, and other domestic legislation.

The formation of a new political group known as the "New Democratic Party," under the leadership of Mr. W. D. Herridge, a former Canadian Minister to the United States, was a development of some interest. Mr. Herridge advocated the co-operation of all "progressive" forces to oppose both Liberal and Conservative policies, and some form of alliance with the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was at one time expected. At Winnipeg, however, Mr. Woodsworth, Leader of the C.C.F., declared on July 7 that his party would not unite with the new group "with which it had little in common."

On July 9 a party of Canadian industrialists, headed by Mr. J. H. Stirrett, with four Canadian officials, including the President of the National Research Council and the Director of Mechanisation and Artillery, left for England to confer with the British authorities on facilities in Canadian industrial plants for manufacturing armaments and munitions.

The third stage in the trans-Atlantic air mail experiments in which Canada, Great Britain, and Eire had been associated, was marked by the arrival at Montreal on August 6 of the flying-boat *Caribou* with a heavy load of mails. This was the first British aircraft to carry mail on the trans-Atlantic service, and the voyage from Foynes (Eire) to Bot well (Newfoundland) was accomplished in about 16 hours. On arrival at Montreal the Commander, Captain J. C. Kelly Rogers, and his crew were enthusiastically welcomed and shortly afterwards the *Caribou* left for New York.

By a new Air Line Agreement, signed at Ottawa on August 19, Canada and the United States agreed not to impose any restrictions likely to be of disadvantage to air-carriers of both countries, and to co-operate to prevent the imposition of limitations at airports or connexions with other transportation services. This agreement also provided for the setting up of uniform safety standards and for the operation of non-stop flying services over Canadian and American territories.

In view of the menacing situation in Europe, which had been closely and sympathetically followed throughout the Dominion, the Cabinet met on August 24. Plans were formulated and Departmental Committees, which had been formed for the September, 1938, crisis, worked busily on measures of protection and mobilisation. Mr. Mackenzie King added his voice to that of President Roosevelt in cabling a direct peace appeal to Herr Hitler, M. Moscicki, and Signor Mussolini.

In a broadcast address to the Canadian people on the evening of September 3, following Great Britain's declaration of war against Germany, the Canadian Premier reviewed all the efforts made towards a peaceful solution and described the issues at stake. Parliament would be recalled and in the meantime all necessary measures had been taken, consultations were being carried on continuously with Great Britain, and promises of full co-operation had been received from all party leaders. Referring to the King's broadcast call to his people on the outbreak of war, Mr. Mackenzie King said :—

Canada has already answered that call. In what manner and to what extent Canada may most effectively be able to co-operate in the common cause is something which Parliament itself will decide. There is no home in Canada, no family, no individual, whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up with the present struggle. Canada, as a free nation of the Commonwealth, is bringing her co-operation voluntarily.

Parliament met in special war session on September 7. The debate on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was continued for two days on a high level. The Prime Minister informed the House that the Government would construe the adoption of the Address as parliamentary approval of the policy of participation, and would take steps immediately to declare that a state of war existed between Canada and Germany. The most striking feature of the debate was a verbal duel between Mr. Maxime Raymond (Montreal), who voiced the views of the French-Canadian opposition to entry into the war, and Mr. Lapointe, Minister of Justice, also a French-Canadian. Rising to great heights of eloquence Mr. Lapointe dealt powerfully with the arguments advanced by French-Canadian isolationists and made an almost unanswerable case against their attitude, showing how neutrality was virtually impossible for Canada in any major war in which Britain might be engaged.

In the Senate Mr. Meighen, a former Prime Minister, made a fervent appeal for a united Canadian effort. "If we do not win this war on the banks of the Rhine, we shall have to fight it on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the Indies, and on the Mississippi."

Mr. Woodsworth, Leader of the C.C.F., attacked the idea of Canadian participation in another of a series of Imperialist wars which, he said, must go on as long as the capitalist system with its exploitation of the working classes and its rivalries for markets existed. He found himself, however, at variance with the rest of his party, and the Address was adopted without a division amid dramatic scenes.

Proclamation announcing the declaration of war appeared in a special edition of the *Canada Gazette* dated September 10. This Proclamation was issued in the name of the Minister of Justice over the printed signature of the Prime Minister and under the seal of the Governor-General in the name of His Majesty the King. This was the first time Canada had declared war. In 1914 the Dominion merely published the British Declaration in the *Canada Gazette*.

Under provisions of the War Measures Act of 1914 the sum of 100,000,000 dollars was voted for war purposes, and a War Budget was introduced (September 12) imposing a variety of new taxation, including a new excess profits tax and increases in the income tax and corporations tax. Substantial increases were also made in rates of taxation of certain household commodities, with minor adjustments in the Customs tariff and sales tax. An amendment of the Social Credit Group urging the establishment of a committee to consider the conscription of wealth was heavily defeated, and the Budget was passed with little opposition. Other war measures, notably a Bill for the creation of a Department of Munitions and Supply and of a Canadian Patriotic Fund, were also approved, and Parliament prorogued on September 13.

Soon after the War Session Mr. Mackenzie King slightly reorganised his Cabinet, of which a War Committee was formed, consisting of the Prime Minister, Colonel J. L. Ralston (who had recently succeeded Mr. Dunning who had resigned on grounds of ill-health), Minister of Finance; Mr. Lapointe, Minister of Justice; Mr. Norman Rogers, Minister of Defence; Major C. G. Power, Postmaster-General; Mr. Crerar, Minister of Mines and Resources; and Senator Dandurand, Leader of the Senate.

On September 28 the War Committee held a long conference with the heads of the various branches of the Department of National Defence, and also called in Mr. Wallace Campbell, Chairman of the War Supply Board, and other prominent officials to make a comprehensive survey of Canada's war effort. On the same day Mr. Rogers issued a statement on the mobilisation

of the Canadian armed forces. He announced that the Canadian Active Service Force then under arms included a reserve force of two divisions and a quota of ancillary troops. One division would be sent overseas when required, and the second kept under arms as a further measure of preparedness. Great care, he said, had been taken in the mobilisation of the Force to ensure an equitable distribution throughout the Dominion, so as to give a reasonably equal representation of every part of Canada, and to consult the desires and aspirations of each Province.

On September 30 a conference between the Federal and Provincial authorities met at Ottawa to plan co-operation in carrying out an agricultural war programme, and on October 3 a delegation from Ontario, headed by the Premier, Mr. Hepburn, conferred with the Prime Minister and other Ministers about the Province's contribution to the national war effort. Colonel Drew, the Ontario Conservative leader, who also attended the conference, urged the cessation of shipments of any essential raw material, such as nickel, from Canada except to friendly Powers.

The Government announced on October 3 that the Canadian War Supply Board had been made the agents for the British Purchasing Commission which had arrived from England, and to ensure uniformity in contracts and the prevention of competition between the two Governments, the Supply Board would place orders in Canada for supplies by the British Government.

The British Air Mission, headed by Lord Riverdale, arrived in Canada on October 15. The mission included Captain Balfour, Under-Secretary of State for Air, Air-Chief-Marshall Sir Robert Brooke Popham, Mr. F. T. Hearne, with technical and other officers, to establish the Empire Air Training Scheme. By this scheme, one of the largest co-operative enterprises ever undertaken by the British nations, Canada was selected by the British Government as the chief training ground for the Air Forces of Great Britain and other Dominions. Plans for the establishment of training schools with modern equipment and expert staffs, the construction of aerodromes, barracks, and other buildings provided for an organisation which, at its peak, would train in a single year 25,000 pilots, observers, gunners, and wireless operators drawn from Canada, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. Large orders for certain types of aircraft were also placed with Canadian firms working together as the Canadian Associated Aircraft Limited, with headquarters at Montreal.

In the Province of Quebec the declaration of war precipitated a General Election. Mr. Duplessis, leader of the Union Nationale Party, which had been in power since 1936, had described the Dominion Government's action under the War Measures Act as an "infringement of Quebec's provincial rights," and the

Federal Government therefore regarded the election as a deliberate challenge to their war policy. Contrary to the usual practice, Federal Ministers, including the redoubtable Mr. Lapointe, took part in the electioneering campaign. Although strenuously opposing the isolationist policies of the Union Nationale Party, Mr. Lapointe reiterated his pledge that neither he nor any of his colleagues from Quebec would remain in any Ministry which tried to introduce military conscription. Polling took place on October 26, and after drawing voters in record numbers resulted in the decisive defeat of the Duplessis Government, six of whose Ministers were defeated. The Liberal Party, under the leadership of Mr. Adelard Godbout, secured 68 seats against Union Nationale 15, Independent 3.

Repercussion of the Bren Gun Inquiry, which the Government had ordered early in the year, following allegations of excessive profits by certain Canadian arms manufacturers, occurred when Mr. Mackenzie King announced on November 7 that specific instructions had been issued by the Government that there must be no patronage or favouritism in war appointments, promotions, or the awarding of war contracts. The Prime Minister repeated his offer to investigate charges about abuses and added that the whole fuel industry would, after December 1, be subject to a system of licences, and that a Coal Administrator would make arrangements for next year's imports of coal from overseas.

Early in November Mr. Crerar, Minister of Mines and Resources, accepting an invitation of the British Government, arrived in England to attend a series of Empire Conferences with British Ministers on the development and co-ordination of war activities. With other delegates he also paid a short visit to France and the Western Front.

In New Brunswick a General Election was held on November 20. Mr. A. A. Dysart, Premier of the Province, stated that the election was arranged for that date "to avoid any inopportune political campaign next spring or summer when every effort should be directed to other matters." After a close contest in which the main issues were of purely Provincial significance, Mr. Dysart's Liberal administration was returned to power by securing 27 seats against 21 Conservatives led by Mr. F. C. Squires.

Colonel Ralston, Minister of Finance, reviewing the national war effort in a broadcast address on November 27, stated that the Government were planning on a three-year basis, with war expenditure in the first year estimated at 315,000,000 dollars. He added that 60,000 men had enlisted in the two overseas divisions, and that for local defence the War Supply Board had placed contracts for 44,000,000 dollars, including 9,000,000 dollars with the United Kingdom and 10,000,000 dollars with

the United States. After referring to collaboration in the construction of new anti-submarine and mine-sweeping vessels, the Minister explained the system of repatriation of Canadian securities and added that Great Britain was building up a fund of 92,000,000 dollars with which the British Government would purchase Canadian foodstuffs, raw materials, aeroplane bodies, and finished munitions. The first Canadian War Loan of 200,000,000 dollars had been issued (October 12), and would be used principally for refunding purposes.

In order to preserve the value of the dollar in the foreign exchange market a Foreign Exchange Control Board was set up. The Board was designed as a protection of the whole Canadian financial structure in meeting all contractual obligations and to control the export of funds.

Lord Tweedsmuir, who had travelled extensively during the year and whose health had given cause for concern, delivered a noteworthy address at Toronto on November 28 on the issues of the war. The present contest, said the Governor-General, was not between armies and navies, but between peoples. Canada was fighting for something greater than democracy—namely, the things essential to humanity, freedom within the law, toleration, and all the decencies of life.

Details of the completed Air Training Scheme, signed at Ottawa on December 17, were announced by the Prime Minister. After describing the personnel of 40,000 men required for the 67 training schools projected under the executive command of the Royal Canadian Air Force, with general control by the Ministers of Finance and Transport and representatives of the other participating Governments, Mr. Mackenzie King estimated that the cost of the scheme for three and a quarter years would be about 600,000,000 dollars, of which Canada would contribute 350,000,000 dollars. Her share until September 1, 1940, would be 48,000,000 dollars, which, added to 315,000,000 dollars already appropriated, meant that the Dominion would be spending 1,000,000 dollars a day on the war effort.

On December 18 the first contingent of the Canadian Active Service Force, under the command of Major-General A. G. L. McNaughton, arrived in England. Transportation had been arranged with the utmost secrecy and the unexpected arrival of Canadian troops was greeted with enthusiasm throughout Great Britain. The contingent was welcomed at the port of arrival by Mr. Eden, Secretary of State for the Dominions, who brought a personal message from King George. The Dominions Secretary was accompanied by General Sir Charles Grant, Mr. Vincent Massey, High Commissioner for Canada, and other officials. Within two weeks (December 31) the second contingent arrived and were similarly welcomed. Tribute to the co-operation of the French naval units which had assisted the British convoys in

transport of the Canadian troops was paid by the **Dominions** Secretary, and both contingents proceeded immediately to their quarters in the south of England for final training before leaving for the Western Front.

CHAPTER III.

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

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR PATRICK DUNCAN, the Governor-General, opened the second session of the eighth Union Parliament on February 3.

Mr. Pirow, then Minister of Defence, soon after his return from Europe at the end of the year, was optimistic enough to predict a lessening of international tension "unless Spain provided an unexpected crisis." The crisis—inevitable, as General Smuts had foreseen—came not through Spain but Germany. The Deputy Prime Minister speaking at the Cape Province Congress of the United Party had uttered a strong warning against the "nazification" of the Nationalists, and had urged that the tendency to adopt the "fuhrer" principle would threaten religious life and freedom—for the preservation of which the ancestors of many of those people who were now playing with a dangerous doctrine had fled to South Africa three hundred years ago.

General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, in the House a week or so later, also thought it necessary to rebuke "these extreme Nationalists." The occasion was the presentation of Dr. Malan's motion that "Die Stem van Suid Afrika" should forthwith be recognised as the National Anthem of the Union. This provocative motion was promptly and decisively rejected by 88 votes to 22, the Prime Minister having given a definite lead to the House by declaring that his party would never allow the Afrikaans-speaking section of the community to inflict inequality or unfairness on English-speaking South Africa. A week or so earlier the Prime Minister had had to grapple with the racial problem in another and more insidious form: to decline to support in any circumstances a movement backed by his son, Dr. Albert Hertzog, and other extremists. The proposal, which was set forth in a document submitted to the leaders of the United and Nationalist Parties, contained, among others, the following conditions: (a) determination of a Union citizenship demanding undivided allegiance to South Africa as **the only fatherland**; (b) the obtaining, as the symbols of freedom, **of one flag and one anthem**; (c) the declaration by South **Africa**

of a policy of peace and friendship towards all nations and of neutrality in war ; (d) defence methods aimed at the protection of our own soil; (e) the untiring endeavour to achieve as soon as possible the Voortrekker ideal of an independent republic.

The Prime Minister's answer to this calculated attempt to divide the two white races was an emphatic negative. He declared that one of the conditions of unity in South Africa was that co-operation with other national groups must not occur under any circumstances at the cost of the unity of the Afrikaner people. He was not prepared to buy co-operation at a price which would doom both Afrikaans- and English-speaking sections to endless strife in the future, with self-destruction the ultimate outcome.

It would thus seem that from the very beginning of the session—before even the creation of a grievance, real or imagined, justifying a division of racial opinion—the time-worn and desolating creed of republicanism was being exploited for the purpose of rallying the non-fusionists and undermining the solidarity of the newly-inaugurated United Party. Uncompromising as he then was towards this disruptive movement, the Prime Minister failed as his predecessors have failed to eradicate it from the national life. Later in the year these disintegrating influences seriously involved the Prime Minister himself and brought about the downfall of his Government on an issue which he had previously asserted to be unconstitutional and therefore unacceptable. For a time at least there were certain indications that increasing tension in Europe might have a chastening effect upon South Africa and cause wiser counsels to prevail.

At one period Dr. Malan, a sincere but utterly implacable non-fusionist, himself inspired a faint hope. He was speaking at Stellenbosch where he appealed to other political groups for co-operation with the Nationalists on other than the republican issue. He declined to surrender the right of the party to make republicanism propaganda, but he promised that no use would be made of the addition of this co-opted strength to declare a republic. He promised that that form of government would not be introduced until a Nationalist Government had been returned and time given for the people to express their wishes in a plebiscite.

Meanwhile subterranean movements were creating political uneasiness and playing upon half-articulated fears. General Smuts sensed something of what was brewing. Early in March he ordered an investigation of all movements calculated to divide the white races and threatening the principles of democracy. It was not without significance that the South-West Protectorate—always a thorn in the flesh of constituted authority—came within terms of the review. Throughout the Union steps were taken to guard communications and vital services; leading

citizens were allotted key positions to ensure maximum efficiency. In Cape Town Mr. H. Lawrence, Minister of Labour, assured public opinion that if the Union of South Africa was in danger the Government would defend her independence to the last ditch. But as yet there was no cause for alarm. The Prime Minister informed the House in March that the time for the Union's intervention in Europe had not arrived. He stated that when European activities were of such a nature that it might be adduced that their purpose and aim were the domination of other countries, and their freedom and interests thereby threatened, would be time to warn the people of the Union and ask the Assembly to concern itself with events in Europe, where under other circumstances it had no interests.

The Government's position at this stage was admittedly a difficult one. Members of both political parties were suspicious of its intentions, or lack of intentions. On the one side there was a feeling that it feared to declare itself with Great Britain in the event of war, and at the other extreme an undisguised belief that it was "slavish" in its support of British policy. At this stage General Hertzog could do little more than assure the House that neither accusation was justified. Speaking on April 12 he said that because the Union possessed an independent status which entitled her to be neutral in the case of war it did not follow that she must break off all connexion with her greatest friend. He would be the last to do anything to break that friendship with Great Britain; but there was no question of their accepting responsibility or obligations. The Union was in the same position as Canada whose Prime Minister had said that Parliament would have to decide about participation in a war.

General Smuts, at a United Party Congress in Malmesbury a few days later, was even more emphatic, his speech suggesting that he was prepared to go to lengths to which the Prime Minister dared not follow. Nevertheless, although the parties, and to some extent the Cabinet itself, appeared to be divided on this question of war policy, there was nowhere any failure to appreciate the possible consequences of war or to neglect to organise the Union's defences on a semi-war footing. As early as May a compulsory national register was introduced. All men between the ages of 17 and 60 not serving or who had not served in a unit of the Defence Force were ordered to register on the National Reserve. The introduction of the measure was popularly acclaimed. The members of the Cabinet were among the first to register. Some of them, notably General Hertzog and General Smuts, signed on the special over-age form. Citizens of eighty years enrolled. Several were members of the German Army during the Great War, while one served with the Cossacks. Parliament further empowered the Government to strengthen the forces of law and order by adopting an amendment to the Aliens

Registration Bill providing for the deportation of persons other than Union nationals whose presence was considered harmful to the State.

These evidences of unity on the Home front did not, unfortunately, extend beyond. The Government became more and more divided on the neutrality question, and with the outbreak of war the Cabinet's position became untenable. The split occurred during the debate in the House on September 4. It was a memorable occasion. At the outset the Prime Minister read the following declaration: "Existing relations between the Union of South Africa and the various belligerent countries will, in so far as the Union is concerned, persist unchanged and continue as if no war was being waged; upon the understanding, however, that existing relations between the Union and Great Britain or any other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, in so far as such relations or obligations result from contractual undertakings relating to the naval base at Simons-town, or from its membership in the League of Nations, or in so far as such relations or obligations result implicitly from the free association of the Union with other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, shall continue unimpaired and shall be maintained by the Union, and no one shall be permitted to use Union territory for the purpose of doing anything which may in any way impair the said relations or obligations."

After the Prime Minister had proposed a motion in terms of his declaration, General Smuts, the Deputy Prime Minister, moved the following amendment: "This House declares that the policy of the Union in this crisis is to be based on the following principles: (1) In the interests of the Union, its relations with Germany should be severed, and it should refuse to adopt an attitude of neutrality in this matter; (2) the Union should carry out the obligations to which it had agreed and continue its co-operation with its friends and associates within the British Commonwealth of Nations; (3) the Union should take all necessary measures for the defence of its territory and of South African interests, and the Government should not send forces overseas as in the last war; (4) this House is profoundly convinced that the freedom and independence of the Union are at stake in this conflict and therefore opposes the use of force as an instrument of international policy."

After General Hertzog's motion had been put and defeated by 80 votes to 67, the Deputy Prime Minister's amendment was carried by a similar vote. The Prime Minister resigned, the Governor-General declining "in the prevailing circumstances" to grant his request for a General Election. The voting revealed the following Ministers as supporting General Smuts: Mr. H. G. Lawrence (Labour), Colonel W. R. Collins (Agriculture and Forests), Mr. R. Stuttaford (Public Health and Interior), Colonel

Denys Reitz (Mines), Mr. C. F. Clarkson (Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs), Mr. R. H. Henderson (without Portfolio). Members supporting General Hertzog were: Mr. O. Pirow (Defence), Mr. N. C. Havenga (Finance), Mr. H. A. Fagan (Native Affairs and Education), General J. C. G. Kemp (Lands), Mr. A. P. J. Fourie (Railways and Harbours). There was a feeling of relief throughout the country that the Union had at last adopted an unequivocal war policy. General Hertzog's subsequent declaration that his action had been a matter of opinion which should not be made into a racial issue by his followers, was also widely approved. Parliament was prorogued until December 31. The new Cabinet, under the leadership of General Smuts as Prime Minister (and Minister of Defence and External Affairs), was fully representative of that section of the United Party which had supported him in his fight against neutrality. It was hoped that the Prime Minister would have been able to secure the co-operation of the other section of the Party—which had voted with General Hertzog—in forming his Government, but the break became complete when negotiations were opened between General Hertzog and Dr. Malan for a fusion of party interests. One consequence of the defeat of General Hertzog was the resignation of Mr. de Water, Union High Commissioner in London, only a short time after he had accepted the invitation of the Government to retain office for a further five years. He was succeeded by Mr. S. F. Waterson, Union Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE.

Dr. Lierau, the new German Consul appointed to the Protectorate, arrived at Windhoek, the capital, in March, having served in a similar capacity at Reichenberg, in the Sudetenland, until the annexation. Disaffection arising from economic stringency was aggravated by political unrest, obviously inspired by Nazi influences. So serious did the situation become that the Mandatory Power was at length brought to realise that an armed rising might be attempted. The danger was averted when the Union Government boldly took over the administration of the Protectorate's police and drafted strong armed forces to garrison the chief towns. Thus confronted with concrete evidence of the Government's firm determination to resist any attempt at rebellion against its authority, the malcontents were driven under ground, and but for provocative speeches (notably on the occasion of Herr Hitler's birthday celebration), and a certain truculence of demeanour, the prospect of grimmer trouble receded.

Even extreme Nationalists in the Union were disinclined to consider a surrender of the Mandate, although they still continued under the delusion that the future of the territory could

be settled by "direct friendly negotiations with Germany." The Protectorate marked time on developments in the Union, and the Union kept a watchful eye on Europe.

At the beginning of August the Union Government assumed control of the Caprivi Zipfel, "the fifty-mile finger" of territory between Bechuanaland and Angola which had given former German South-West Africa a road to the Zambesi. To that extent it was of considerable strategic importance, although the Union authorities asserted that their action in taking it over from mandated South-West Africa was strictly non-political and utilitarian.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Recognising that an outbreak of war in Europe might seriously jeopardise the safety of Southern Rhodesia, the Government lost no time in strengthening its defences and demonstrating its whole-hearted support of British policy. In April a Bill was gazetted providing for the compulsory registration of non-native men residents between the ages of 18 and 60 and non-native women residents between the ages of 18 and 50. Sir Herbert Stanley, the Governor, at the opening of Parliament on May 3, announced plans for the reorganisation of the Defence Force and the decision, in co-operation with His Majesty's Government, to raise and equip a battery of artillery, armoured reconnaissance and engineer units. When at a later stage in the session Parliament adopted the Emergency Powers Defence Bill (which generally followed the measure passed by the House of Commons a week earlier), a motion was unanimously adopted expressing the "unflinching loyalty and service of the citizens of Southern Rhodesia to the Motherland in the hour of grave national emergency."

Mr. G. M. Huggins, the Prime Minister, arrived in London in July to discuss with the British Government the findings of the Bledisloe Commission regarding the proposed amalgamation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and questions relating to defence and aviation. Towards the end of the year the Government renewed the appointment of Mr. S. M. Lanigan O'Keefe, C.M.G., as High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

MOZAMBIQUE.

Friendly relations between Portugal and the Government of South Africa continued to expand under mutual recognition that the economic interests of the East African colony were largely bound up with those of the Union. In May both countries agreed to extend the Mozambique Convention (which regulates the entry into the Union of native labourers from the Portuguese colony for work in the gold mines of the Rand) for a further period

of five years, from April 21. It was further agreed that after that period the Convention will remain in force under the conditions laid down in Article 54, stipulating that either Government may call for a revision of terms at the end of the period.

President Carmona of Portugal, paid an official visit to the Republic's African possessions during the year, and by cordial invitation of the Union Government extended his itinerary to the Union. He was entertained at a State banquet in Pretoria at which the Governor-General proposed the health of the distinguished visitor. The function was attended by most members of the Union Cabinet, representatives of the civic and administrative authorities, Defence Force, and Diplomatic Corps. Enthusiastic scenes were witnessed when the President returned to Lisbon at the end of his tour in September.

CHAPTER IV.

AUSTRALASIA.

AUSTRALIA.

THE Duke of Kent was to have gone to Australia as the representative of the Crown, and the coming of the first Royal Prince as Governor-General had been awaited with satisfaction by all classes in the Commonwealth. The declaration of war in September, 1939, disappointed these hopes, and on September 11 the Duke sent a message to Mr. Menzies, the new Prime Minister, expressing his personal disappointment and that of his Duchess and adding the hope that an opportunity to assume the duties of Governor-General would come again when hostilities ceased. King George VI, on the recommendation of the Government of the Commonwealth, approved of Lord Gowrie continuing in office as Governor-General, and Lord Gowrie occupied the post through 1939.

When the year opened, the Right Hon. Joseph Lyons was Prime Minister in the Federal Parliament and leader of a Coalition Government which had been in office since the General Election of October, 1937. Joseph Lyons died on April 7, and an early act of the Australian Parliament was to vote a Lyons Annuity Bill, for the benefit of Dame Enid Lyons and the children of the dead leader. The Labour Opposition opposed the Bill but it received its third reading by 32 votes to 24, as the Country Party voted solidly in its favour. The Senate agreed to the Lyons Annuity Bill by 17 votes to 10 on May 15.

The fact that such a measure was not unanimously accepted suggested that the political situation in Federal politics was troubled, and this was plain even before the death of Mr. Lyons.

On March 15 Mr. Menzies, who seemed destined to be the next Federal Prime Minister, resigned from the Lyons Cabinet, following bickerings in November, 1938, when Mr. Lyons had to make changes in his Government in order to placate critics who were dissatisfied with a National Insurance Scheme which had passed into law and was shortly to come into operation. The critics considered that the scheme was too expensive in view of the heavy cost of military, naval, and air force defence which was in prospect. Mr. Menzies fully realised the importance of defence measures, but considered that the insurance scheme was fully justified because the bulk of the money, which would reach 10,000,000Z.A. in a few years, could be regarded as a community fund, available for investment in defence loans. Mr. Lyons, on the contrary, wished to placate dissident members of the Country Party. In the end a compromise was reached. Mr. Menzies returned to the Cabinet and the Coalition remained in being until it was ended by the unexpected death of Joseph Lyons.

Almost the last important declaration of Mr. Lyons was a national broadcast on March 23, in connexion with the German invasion of Czechoslovakia, which Mr. Lyons regarded as proof that the Munich Agreement negotiated between Herr Hitler and Mr. Neville Chamberlain in September, 1938, could no longer be regarded as effective. As Mr. Lyons said, "If Czechoslovakia now, what country next?" He continued: "We made a strong effort for peace, but it failed. The time for making further concessions in the hope of preserving peace has passed. If we are not firm at this hour we can never be certain of peace again in our generation. We cannot rely now on negotiation and consultation as means of adjusting international disputes."

Speaking three days earlier, Mr. Lyons had said that no persuasion was required to convince the plain Australian man that the security of his country was bound up in the security of Great Britain, and that the security of Britain was bound up with the security of the other democracies; that the principles which Britain defends were Australian principles; and that these principles were the foundation of the democratic way of life, now imperilled by German cynicism and ruthlessness. Mr. Lyons closed his national broadcast with an appeal for unity. It was a national crime to allow minor issues to separate them. All political questions must be subordinated to defence. Australians must put away their differences till happier days.

When the question of reconstructing the Coalition Ministry was faced, it soon became plain that the unity for which Mr. Lyons had pleaded would not be forthcoming. The United Australia Party elected Mr. Menzies its leader by a narrow majority, after a contest in which Mr. Hughes, Mr. Casey, and

Colonel White, a former Minister for Customs, were candidates. Mr. Bruce, the High Commissioner, might also have been nominated, but refused unless he was assured of a non-party following. Before the United Australia Party met, the Country Party had decided that it would take no part in a Coalition Ministry if Mr. Menzies was elected leader. The Country Party, however, was by no means desirous of a General Election, and it was not certain that it would vote against a Government headed by Mr. Menzies, though its vote was ample to defeat such a Government. The state of the parties in the Federal House of Representatives was : United Australia Party, 26 ; Country Party, 17 ; Labour, 31.

Meanwhile, Sir Earle Page, Leader of the Country Party, had been asked by Lord Gowrie to act as Prime Minister, by virtue of his position as second-in-command to Mr. Lyons. When the time for resignation came and Mr. Menzies was asked to form a Federal Government, he was the object of a bitter attack by Sir Earle Page on April 20. This display of ill-feeling made joint action between the Country and the United Australia Parties impossible and, indeed, was greatly resented by Sir Earle's own party. Mr. Menzies, realising that his party only represented a minority in the House of Representatives, formed what he called a Government of Supply and Development, consisting entirely of members of the United Australia Party. The members were :

Prime Minister and Treasurer : Mr. Menzies.

Attorney-General and Industry : Mr. W. M. Hughes.

Supply and Development : Mr. R. G. Casey.

Defence : Brigadier G. A. Street.

External Affairs : Sir Henry Gullett.

Interior : Senator H. S. Foil.

Health and Social Services : Sir Frederick Stewart.

Commerce : Senator McLeay.

Vice-President of the Executive Council, Civil Aviation, and Assistant

Defence Minister : Mr. W. V. Fairbairn.

Postmaster-General and Repatriation : Mr. E. J. Harrison.

Customs and Trade : Mr. J. N. Lawson.

Assistant Ministers : Mr. J. A. Perkins, Mr. R. C. Spender, Senator P. A. McBride, Senator H. B. Collett, and Mr. H. E. Holt.

The general impression in Australia was that throughout the crisis Mr. Menzies faced a difficult situation with dignity, and it was an advantage that his Cabinet included six young Ministers, selected, as Mr. Menzies said, " because I believe that, as the future of Australia rests largely upon the shoulders of youth, so youth should be given its fair chance of influencing the policies by the results of which it will have to live." Mr. Casey, head of the Department of Supply, had been Treasurer in the Lyons Cabinet. Mr. Menzies said that the new Department would assist in organising the country for defence. It was necessary for industry to make adequate plans to preserve

Australian economy in the face of a blockade or interruption of trade.

On September 15, after the outbreak of war, Mr. Menzies announced the formation of an inner War Cabinet comprising Mr. Hughes, Mr. Casey, Brigadier G. A. Street, Sir Henry Gullett, and Senator G. McLeay.

Later, Mr. Menzies approached Mr. Cameron, leader of the Country Party, with a view to the re-formation of a Federal Coalition. The Country Party were offered four seats in the Cabinet but it was a condition that Sir Earle Page was not one of the four or five. Negotiations were still in progress at the end of 1939.

Throughout the year Labour was the largest party in the Federal House of Representatives, but made no effort to turn out Mr. Menzies' Government. Like the Country Party, Labour had no wish to force a General Election. On June 15 the difficult question of National Insurance was revived. A Government motion to appoint a Select Committee to re-examine all its phases was rejected by 42 votes to 19 in the House of Representatives, the Country and the Labour Parties voting against the motion. A Bill annulling the proclamations giving effect to the Act passed in September, 1938, was then passed without a division, thus postponing the operation of the scheme indefinitely. It should be added that Labour objected to National Insurance owing to the contributory clauses in the Act, while the farmers of the Country Party considered the scheme would harm their industry. In the circumstances Mr. Menzies decided that the parliamentary defeat did not necessitate his Government's resignation.

The British declaration of war in September made Labour still less anxious to force a dissolution, with the alternative of taking office without a parliamentary majority. Australia heard the news that Britain was at war at 6.15 P.M. on the Daventry broadcast, and at 7.15 Mr. Menzies made his broadcast, declaring that Australia was also at war. Parliament reassembled on September 6, the Wednesday after the fateful Sunday. Already the Australian Navy and Air Force had been mobilised on a war basis and several Militia units had been called up for special duty. Mr. Menzies had also conferred with Mr. Curtin, Leader of the Opposition, and received a pledge regarding Labour's support in the prosecution of the war. The Communist Party issued a manifesto supporting the mobilisation of all Australia's man-power and resources for the defence of Australia and the defeat of Hitlerism, urging a more intensive training of the Militia, and advising members to enlist in any voluntary force sent overseas.

The Prime Minister, in his broadcast on September 3, spoke for a United Australia when he said :—

Hitler has been steadily pursuing a policy deliberately designed to produce either war or the subjugation of one country after another by the threat of war. Bitter as we all feel about this wanton crime, this moment is not one for rhetoric, but for quiet thinking—that calm fortitude which rests on the unconquerable spirit of man created by God in His image; truth is with us in the battle, and truth must win. In the bitter months ahead, calmness, resoluteness, confidence, and hard work will be required as never before. Our staying power, particularly that of the Mother Country, will be best assisted by our keeping production going as fully as we can and maintaining our strength. Australia is ready to see it through. May God in His mercy and compassion grant that the world may soon be delivered of this agony.

A National Security Bill was introduced in the House of Representatives at Canberra on September 7, conferring sweeping powers of government by regulation. Thus it authorised the acquisition and control by the Commonwealth of any property undertaking other than land; prescribed action against enemy aliens or persons with enemy associations with regard to their possessions, ownership of property, conduct of business, and civil rights and obligations; prescribed conditions for the disposal and use of any property, goods, and articles of any kind; authorised action prohibiting aliens from doing anything and applying to naturalised citizens any regulations referring to aliens; required any persons to disclose any information about any prescribed matter; controlled the export of money and goods; and authorised the entry and search of any premises. A drag-net clause also authorised the regulation of all matters considered necessary for the effective prosecution of the war.

Other Bills were introduced prohibiting trading with the enemy and establishing the High Court as a War Prizes Court. A Ministry of Information was also created under Sir Henry Gullett, its functions including censorship; while Professor Copland, Dean of the Faculty of Commerce at Melbourne University, was appointed Economic Adviser to the Commonwealth for the duration of the war. Earlier in the year, on May 24, the Menzies' Government instituted a compulsory register of factories and industrial organisations, to ensure full production of war necessities. On July 25, after consultation with the Federal Labour Advisory Committee, Mr. Menzies was able to announce that Labour's boycott of the register would cease. Labour's dislike of the register was really based upon an extraneous issue and was due to a desire for legislation preventing any Australian being compelled to serve in the armies of the Empire outside the mainland of Australia or Tasmania.

The policy of the Australian Labour Party in regard to the war was outlined in more detail by Mr. Curtin, in a speech in Sydney Town Hall on November 20. The Leader of the Opposition said: "The Labour policy contained four main points—namely, (1) the party stood inflexibly behind Great Britain; (2) the primary obligation of Australians was to defend Australia;

(3) the party was opposed to conscription and to the dispatch of forces overseas ; (4) the Commonwealth should not be plunged into exorbitant debts, but the war should be financed from national credit. The country," he added, " could not afford to drain away its man-power by sending an expeditionary force overseas."

The Federal Government felt itself unable to accept the Labour Party's point of view, and on September 15 Mr. Menzies announced the immediate enlistment of an infantry division with ancillary units of 20,000 men for service at home or abroad, as circumstances permitted or required. Enlistment was to be for the duration of the war and a year after, or until discharge. Conditions and rates of pay would be substantially the same as in the A.I.F. One brigade each would be raised in New South Wales and Victoria, and the remainder in other States. The ages of enlistment for privates and N.C.O.s would be from 20 to 35, for warrant officers and specially qualified N.C.O.s up to 40, and for officers up to 45, according to rank. In reply to criticisms that Australia was not exerting the maximum effort and lacked the spirit of 1914, Mr. Menzies pointed out that in 1914-15 Australia spent 15,000,000*l.*, of which 640,000*l.* was from revenue. In 1939-40 she would spend over 40,000,000*Z.A.*, of which 14,000,000*Z.A.* was from revenue.

On September 29 Major-General Sir Thomas Blarney was appointed to command the Special Force of 20,000 men. Sir Thomas commanded the third Australian Division from 1931-37 and was Chief of Staff, Australian Corps, in 1918, and of the Australian Imperial Force in 1919.

On October 20 Mr. Menzies announced the re-introduction in January, 1940, of compulsory military training, which was abolished in 1929. Immediately trouble arose regarding rates of pay, and the Government narrowly escaped defeat, following upon a temporary union of the Labour and Country Parties in favour of more generous rates than Mr. Menzies and his Cabinet judged desirable. The Government's policy was to maintain a force of 75,000 Militiamen, subject to three months' training in camp. Mr. Menzies added that the allowances to the wives of men serving in the second Australian Imperial Force and who were doing an extra three months' Militia training would be increased from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* a day for a wife and from 9*d.* to 1*s.* for a child. In the case of married men with two children, the wife would be allowed 35*s.* a week.

The rates of pay announced for Militiamen were judged inadequate by a majority in the House of Representatives when the matter was debated on December 1. Mr. Forde, Deputy-Leader of the Labour Party, proposed to increase the pay of private soldiers in the second A.I.F. from 5*s.* a day to 7*s.*, in addition to 3*s.* for a wife and 1*s.* 6*d.* for each child. Sir Earle Page

similarly attacked Mr. Menzies, pointing out that Militiamen received 8s. for their first month in camp, but that their pay was later reduced to 5s. Sir Earle Page described this as "a breach of contract." The Government said that Mr. Forde's proposal would increase the cost of the Army by 2,500,000Z.A. a year, and pointed out that all members of the A.I.F., whether Militiamen or not, were aware of the rates of pay on enlistment. Mr. Menzies' general attitude was that the Government preferred to accept defeat and seek a dissolution rather than yield to what was regarded as an unnatural political alliance between two parties whose war aims had nothing in common. On December 5 the Government agreed to pay Militia privates in training the 8s. a day, with the same rate for the second period of three months' training, early in 1940, after which, subject to special arrangements for officers and non-coms., all Militiamen would pass to the Reserve. The cost of the extra pay would be 900,000Z.A. The Country Party supported Mr. Menzies' compromise and it was approved by 38 votes to 29.

On November 1 Mr. Menzies announced that the total defence expenditure in the financial year would be 59,500,000Z., being 26,250,000Z. more than the pre-war estimate. The Government proposed to build three destroyers of the Tribal class, and were chartering many vessels for mine-sweeping and anti-submarine work, while defensive guns had been mounted on more than sixty vessels plying overseas. The personnel of the Australian Navy had been doubled and totalled 10,000 men. The revised estimates were considered by the Loan Council on November 9, and it was agreed that the loan requirements for the year should total 75,850,000Z.A., 21,300,000Z. being on ordinary account, while defence and war loans accounted for 46,000,000Z., and semi-Government programmes for 8,550,000Z. The State Premiers were critical of the overriding effect of the national security regulations, urging that they encroached upon State rights in respect of semi-Governmental borrowings.

On December 10 the Federal Parliament adjourned until April, the closing day of the session being noteworthy for a generous tribute which Mr. Curtin, on behalf of the Labour Party, paid to Mr. Menzies for his war-time leadership of the Australian people. Broadcasting upon the work of the parliamentary session on the same day, Mr. Menzies said that there must not be a patched-up peace with an unrepentant Germany, because it would only be an armed peace, not worth having, with continued need of huge armed forces, a declining standard of living and general tension. Shortly afterwards, the arrival of the first Australian airmen was announced in Britain, forerunners of the Australian Army which would give the lie to the fatuous German hope that some fatal disease had overtaken British unity.

In State politics the outstanding event was the defeat of the New South Wales Ministry led by Mr. Stevens, which had held office since May, 1932, when the Labour leader, Mr. Lang, was dismissed for his unconstitutional defiance of Commonwealth authority. The issue over which Mr. Stevens resigned was the establishment of a special trust account, earmarked for unemployment relief. Mr. Spooner, who tabled the motion, was Deputy-Leader of the United Australia Party, and his action followed upon Cabinet difficulties in connexion with the New South Wales Budget, which caused Mr. Spooner to resign on July 20. Mr. Alexander Mair was elected Leader of the United Australia Party in New South Wales on August 6 and became Premier, with a Cabinet much the same as that which served under Mr. Stevens, though the retiring Premier and Mr. Spooner were both omitted. Mr. W. J. Kell was elected Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party in New South Wales, defeating Mr. Lang by 20 votes to 12.

Mr. A. G. Ogilvie, K.C., Premier of Tasmania, died suddenly on June 11, and his Treasurer, Mr. E. Dwyer Gray, formed a new ministry.

NEW ZEALAND.

Though repercussions due to the European War dominated social, political, and economic events in New Zealand throughout 1939, the Dominion did not fail to prepare for the hundredth anniversary of New Zealand's presence within the British Empire. Officially, the celebrations were to extend from January 7 to November 14, 1940, the latter being the date on which will be celebrated New Zealand's separation from New South Wales. The Centennial Exhibition at Wellington, however, was opened on November 8, 1939, and King George graciously extended his patronage to the venture. The exhibition occupies 65 acres on an isthmus overlooking Wellington Harbour and promises to be highly successful, in spite of a state of war.

For a large part of the year Mr. Savage, the Prime Minister, was a sick man and Mr. Fraser deputised for him, while Mr. Nash led the Government when both his leaders were absent. Mr. Savage, however, gave a broadcast message from his home on September 5 and made a powerful appeal for common action against Nazi Germany. Mr. Savage said :—

Not a moment too soon have Britain and France taken arms against so faithless and unscrupulous an adversary. Nowhere is the issue better understood than in New Zealand, where liberty has been enjoyed for a century behind the sure shield of Britain. With gratitude for the past and confidence for the future, we range ourselves without fear beside Britain. Where she goes we go ; where she stands we stand.

Mr. Savage's message echoed a cablegram despatched to the Government of the United Kingdom, following upon the declaration of war on September 3. In this message the people of

New Zealand, through their Government, expressed their entire concurrence with the action taken, which they regarded as inevitably forced upon the British Commonwealth "if the cause of justice, freedom, and democracy is to endure in this world."

The Dominion Parliament was in session at the time, having been opened on June 28 by Lord Galway, the Governor-General. The session ended on October 8, when Parliament was prorogued until February, though provision was made for an earlier meeting, if necessary. Lord Galway, in his Speech from the Throne, reviewed the extensive military preparations which the Dominion was already making. He said that the Government were in communication with other Governments of the Empire, with a view to implementing in practical fashion the recommendations of the Pacific Defence Conference. A further programme of naval development had been begun, which included dockyard repair facilities and the establishment of a training centre, with three sea-going modern trawlers. The land force establishment was being raised from 9,500 to 16,000, and, except for the Mounted Rifles, was now fully motorised, and would soon be fully mechanised. Air stations were being extended as rapidly as possible. Lord Galway added that the expansion of secondary industries in New Zealand would secure a more balanced economy and assure supplies in the event of war.

During the four years of Labour Government in New Zealand a considerable growth of public expenditure had taken place and this gave special significance to the Budget statement, made by Mr. Savage, as acting Minister of Finance, on August 1. Up to the end of 1937 the national income of the Dominion expanded owing to rising export prices, so increasing public spending was financed by expanding tax revenue and internal loans. Export prices, however, fell in the 1937-38 season and the sources of internal loans dried up. By resorting to the Reserve Bank, Mr. Savage's Government borrowed 14,000,000Z. in New Zealand currency for public works. In consequence, over-importation took place, the banks' sterling funds fell to low levels, and it became essential to control exchange and imports and restore the sterling funds in London, where considerable debts were shortly due for payment. The need for money to be spent upon defence added to the financial complexities with which the framers of the Budget were faced. The acting Minister of Finance (Mr. Nash was in London at the time) estimated coming expenditure at 38,243,000l., against 35,773,000Z. in the previous year, the increase including 600,000l. for social services and 1,114,000l. for defence. Revenue was expected to show a decrease of 822,000l., loss of income tax and Customs revenue being partly offset by gains of 500,000l. on the railways and by a profit of 990,000l. on silver coinage. The Government proposed to raise 1,000,000l. from income tax by raising the individual basic rate from 1s. 8d.

to 2s. in the pound, and by raising the basic company rate from 1s. to 2s. in the pound. Other increases were 200,000l. from death duties ; 300,000l. by raising the beer duty from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 9d. a gallon ; and 1,000,000l. by an increase of 4d. in the motor-spirit tax, which was regarded as a special contribution to defence.

Mr. Savage estimated public works expenditure at 23,917,000Z., including 5,000,000l. for railways, 7,000,000l. for roads, 3,639,000l. for land settlement and development, and 2,200,000l. for defence, but Mr. Savage stated that the works had reached a peak and that the job now was to bring down the programme to a more economic level. Of the sum required for public works, 19,000,000l. would be derived from loans.

A far less satisfactory solution for New Zealand's financial difficulties would have been announced in the Budget speech had it not been for the generous treatment extended to Mr. Nash, the Finance Minister, in London. He arrived on May 30 and in two months obtained export credits from the British Government to the value of 9,000,000l., of which 5,000,000l. was for the purchase of defence goods in Britain itself. Mr. Nash also arranged for the issue of a 16,000,000l. loan to cover the coming conversions. The new stock will have a life of five years or less, and the New Zealand Government gave explicit undertakings to make available sterling to repay up to 2,000,000l. in 1940 and 3,500,000l. in each of the succeeding four years. Even these somewhat drastic conditions would have been more harsh if the high standing of New Zealand's credit had not made London banking circles disposed to be exceptionally generous. The loan was not underwritten and no commission was charged. Instead, at the request of the Bank of England, which guaranteed 10,000,000l. itself, the rest of the 16,000,000l. was covered by subscriptions by the other British joint stock banks.

Needless to say national loans on such terms are rare and the British bankers must have made it plain to the Dominion Minister of Finance that their action did not constitute a precedent. New Zealand's sterling resources had been reduced to a critically low level and extravagant administration in the Dominion was primarily responsible.

The facts of the financial situation were not fully recognised in New Zealand by all parties and Mr. Lee, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Housing, even complained that " harsh and exacting terms " had been dictated by Mr. Montagu Norman, on behalf of British bankers. Mr. Lee was speaking in the New Zealand House of Representatives, when Mr. Forbes, the former Prime Minister, moved a resolution affirming New Zealand's determination to fulfil all its financial obligations and thanked the United Kingdom Government for its generosity to the Dominion. Mr. Lee said a man would be a fool or a knave to pretend that the terms could be lived up to. In the next five years New Zealand would

have to find an extremely large sum for debt service and principal, and if compelled to repay interest and principal would soon be in the position of Britain with the American debt, driven to make token payment. Unless New Zealand obtained low interest and had all loans refunded on a long-term amortisation plan no Government could meet their obligation.

Mr. Eraser, on behalf of the Government, denied that Mr. Lee's speech contained any suggestion of repudiation and emphatically asserted that New Zealand would honour her debts. There had never been any mention or advocacy of repudiation at any Labour conference or caucus. The Government had already definitely and expressly repudiated any suggestion that in any circumstances could they possibly contemplate such a wholly reprehensible and dishonest course, the very mention of which would be ruinous to the country's interests. The conditions of conversion were not what they liked or felt they had the right to expect, but remembering Great Britain's financial position and the condition of the Dominion's sterling funds, he considered the terms were the best possible at the moment, and the Government accepted them.

Mr. Forbes's motion was rejected by 39 votes to 21. Some Opposition criticism was to be expected in view of the fact that New Zealand's national finances were flourishing when the Labour Government took office at the end of 1935, and the Labour policy was to spend its way to Dominion prosperity. Whereas, in 1935-36 Budget expenditure was 25,800,000Z., by 1938-39 it was 35,800,000Z., an increase of 38 per cent. Earlier in 1939 Mr. Savage was asked to curtail expenditure but stated emphatically that his Government would not reduce wages or retrench on Civil Service staffs. Speaking on May 17 the Prime Minister said that earlier Governments had reduced wages and borrowed overseas, but the Labour Government chose instead to select imports and foster secondary industries to effect the necessary readjustment in the overseas trade balance. The only borrowing he favoured was to buy raw materials for New Zealand factories. The curtailment of public works would not be considered, but the Government intended to transfer men to secondary industries as opportunities became available in order to obtain a better balanced production.

Exchange control and the restriction of imports were introduced on December 6, 1938, and this policy was extended in 1939 with a view to meeting crisis conditions which were increased by the world tension due to the threats and, finally, to the fact of war. On April 23 Mr. Nash announced drastic restrictions of imports, covering 300 tariff items. On May 22, in a test case heard before the Supreme Court at Auckland, Mr. Justice Callan held that the import control regulations, under which imports were restricted, were invalid, on the ground that the power given

by Parliament to make regulations did not include a licensing system, and that by this omission the whole field of importations was surrendered to the uncontrolled discretion of the Minister of Customs. Accordingly, the Court gave judgment for an importer, who claimed delivery of goods that were being held by the Customs Department pending the issue of an import licence.

The Government's answer to the Supreme Court decision was an announcement that the law would be amended so as to give the Government the powers which they thought they had.

Further reductions in imports were announced on October 20, and again the explanation given was the need for more sterling to meet debt charges and pay for the reserve stocks of goods essential to maintaining export industries. Mr. Nash stated that the maximum preference to the United Kingdom was being maintained, and where supplies were unobtainable in Great Britain under existing conditions a preference would be given to some other Dominion. With maximum co-operation in solving the present problem, Mr. Nash said he was confident that difficulties could be overcome within a comparatively short time. It cannot, however, be denied that British manufacturers and shippers throughout the year were troubled by measures which threatened to extinguish important sections of trade between Great Britain and New Zealand. Speaking on August 17 Mr. Fraser pointed out that it was open to British exporters who wanted to obtain payment before the time named in the remittance authority to obtain a guarantee from the Export Credit Guarantee Department, with which he should have no difficulty in obtaining from his own bank accommodation to the extent of at least 75 per cent, of the amount involved.

The war with Nazi Germany necessitated a recasting of the New Zealand Budget and the revised statement was made by Mr. Nash in the House of Representatives on September 26. The Minister of Finance then estimated the expenditure within New Zealand at 9,750,000L, of which the unexpended balance of defence votes would provide 3,200,000Z. and new taxes 2,408,000Z., leaving 4,142,000Z. to be raised from loans or use of the Reserve Bank credit. The Government would see what could be borrowed, but where necessary it would obtain funds from the Reserve Bank. The allocation of expenditure was : Army, 5,000,000Z. ; Air Force, 3,500,000Z. ; Navy, 1,250,000Z. Authority would be sought to borrow 10,000,000L, but that would include credits from the Reserve Bank. Authority would also be sought to borrow from the Government of the United Kingdom any sums required for the payment of men or equipment of New Zealand forces which might be sent overseas.

Following Mr. Nash's statement, the House passed Customs resolutions imposing new duties and passed the first reading of the War Expenses Bill and the Customs Amendment Bill, giving

effect to other Government proposals. Other war-time finance legislation included an amendment of the Reserve Bank Act on October 6.

Two days after the Budget statement, on September 28, Mr. Jones, Minister of Defence, outlined the Dominion's defence proposals. He said that New Zealand had promised to provide 1,300 pilots, observers, and air gunners each year for the Royal Air Force, and by July, 1940, would be working almost at full capacity. Great Britain could produce any amount of aeroplanes and if the Dominion could provide skilled personnel it would be a great contribution. Mr. Jones added that the Budget estimates also provided for six months' training for the first echelon of 6,600 in the special military force, also four months for the second echelon of 5,000, and two months for the third echelon of 5,000.

It must also be remembered that New Zealand will derive considerable revenue from her war-time sales to Great Britain. By the end of 1939 the Mother Country had agreed to purchase the entire wool clip of the Dominion at 12¼d. per lb. (New Zealand currency). This purchase agreement represented a revenue of over 15,000,000Z. N.Z. on the basis of a 300,000,000 lb. clip, and had been arranged, as was the case with Australia, to cover the entire war period and one year thereafter. Mutton, butter, cheese, and pigs were covered by similar agreements. As a result New Zealand had an assured market for her products for the period of the war and the prices guaranteed would provide all the cover needed for overseas debts and essential imports.

A Pacific Defence Conference met in Wellington in mid-April and devised methods for a common Empire effort which bore fruit directly a state of war with Nazi Germany arose. The aid which a New Zealand naval force gave in the battle off Montevideo, which resulted in the scuttling of the *Graf Spee*, was an earnest of even fuller co-operation in the near future.

CHAPTER V.

INDIA AND BURMA.

FROM the anxious August days when war seemed inevitable, Indians of all creeds and communities were in complete accord with Great Britain and France on the necessity for the destruction of Hitlerism and for restoring the standards of fair dealing and of morality between nations. But such is the strength of nationalist feeling in the Peninsula that, with the coming of the vast armed struggle to these ends, political controversy over the future of the Constitution, instead of being suspended, took a different and retrograde direction. The resulting resignation of the Congress Ministries **tended to obscure in the eyes of the**

watching world the earnest desire of India for the victory of the Allies and the great contribution in men and material which she was making to that end.

During the eight months of uneasy peace, political disputation was chiefly directed to the plans for the Federal scheme authorised by the India Act of 1935. The National Congress demand for the nominees of the States in the Federal Legislature to be chosen by popular election, and the propaganda of agitators entering the States, led to a continuance of unrest in the territories of many Princes. The year opened with a sombre instance of the danger of such incitements, for on January 5 Major R. L. Bazalgette, Political Agent of the Orissa States, was killed by a mob in an endeavour to check by persuasion an attack on the palace of the Raja of Ranpur. In another small Orissa principality, Talchar, allegations of serious misrule were dramatically supported by some 5,000 of the people trekking into neighbouring British territory. In the important Rajput State of Jaipur the banning of a local association as illegal and of the entry of Mr. Jamanlal Bajaj, a member of the Congress Working Committee, and who was born in the State, led Mr. Gandhi to intimate at the end of January that an all-India crisis might result.

Within four or five weeks such a crisis had arisen, not in Rajputana but in Kathiawar, Western India. The breakdown of negotiations in respect to the composition of a Reforms Committee in the small but pivotal State of Rajkot between the Thakor Saheb and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, the veteran Gujarati Congress leader, was followed by resort to civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi went to Rajkot, and on March 3 in pursuance of a twenty-four hours' ultimatum to the Ruler demanding acceptance of the Congress view of pledges he had made, began a fast unto death. Nationalist circles were deeply moved, and there were insistent pleas for the Paramount Power to exert pressure on, if not indeed to depose, the Thakor Saheb. Happily the far-sighted intervention of the Viceroy led Mr. Gandhi to abandon the fast on March 7, ninety-eight hours after its commencement. The Thakor Saheb undertook to carry out his promises, and the disputed interpretation of them was referred to Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of India. His award, published on April 3, had a soothing effect, though the controversy was not entirely composed.

Mr. Gandhi expressed contrition some weeks later that he had exercised a moral coercion, but meanwhile the fast had helped in the restoration of his supremacy in Congress policy, which had suffered an unexpected setback. Though he put forward a centre nominee for the presidential chair, the Bengal Left Wing leader, Mr. Subhas Bose, stood for re-election, and on January 30, out of a total of 2,977 votes won by a majority of more than 200. With the exception of Mr. Bose's brother, the members of the

Working Committee thereupon resigned. Two days after the Mahatma had broken his fast, the 52nd annual session of the Congress assembled at Tripuri, a village in the Central Provinces, on the banks of the Nerbudda. After disorderly scenes between the factions, a resolution carried by an enormous majority declared firm adherence to Mr. Gandhi's leadership and the present fundamental policies governing the Congress programme. Finding his position impossible Mr. Bose resigned, while retaining the chairmanship of the Bengal Provincial Committee, and a respected centre leader, Raja Rajendra Prasad, was elected president in his place. Mr. Bose formed a Forward *bloc*, and in August, on grounds of indiscipline, was disqualified by the Working Committee from holding any office in the organisation for three years. Nevertheless, he took a prominent Left Wing part in later discussions by the Committee of policy in relation to the war.

The policy of evolutionary reform pursued by many of the Princes was warmly encouraged by the Viceroy when he inaugurated the session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on March 13. In particular, Lord Linlithgow urged co-operation and combination in the smaller States, the resources of which were so limited as virtually to exclude them from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards. The larger States offered good examples. Substantial advances had been, or were later, announced by the Rulers of Mysore, Kashmir, Gwalior, and Bhopal. The young Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who succeeded his venerated grandfather, Sayaji Rao III, on February 6, signalised his installation by acceptance of far-reaching recommendations by a Reforms Committee, including an enlargement of the Legislative Assembly with a substantial elective majority and the widening of its functions. In July the Nizam of Hyderabad issued a *firman* ordaining a comprehensive scheme of constitutional reform, elections to the Legislature being based on economic rather than territorial and communal interests. His example has since been followed in the state of Rampur.

The minds of the Princes and their advisers were also much occupied over Federal issues. At the end of January each Ruler received from the Viceroy a draft instrument of accession, and was asked to state by the end of July whether he would be prepared to accede on the terms proposed. Following on preparatory consideration in April by the Hydari Committee (so named from the chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari), a large body of Princes and Ministers meeting in Bombay in June pronounced the terms to be "fundamentally unsound" from the point of view of treaty rights and therefore "unacceptable." Modifications were suggested, and the belief was recorded that Government could not intend to close the door to Federation. In response to

requests from various States the time limit for replies was extended to September 1. The coming of war at that time led the Viceroy to announce to the Central Legislature, on September 12, that the need to concentrate on the emergency left no choice but to suspend preparations for Federation, while retaining it as India's objective.

Unhappily the emergency led to a more disturbing domestic result—the breakdown in the greater part of British India of the Provincial Autonomy which had been operating since the summer of 1937. Though the administrative machine had functioned under the control of Congress Ministers better than many observers had expected and social reforms had been pressed forward, much communal friction was generated, and there were widespread allegations of unfair treatment of minorities. In April the Council of the All-India Moslem League, meeting at Delhi, passed a resolution objecting to the intensive propaganda of the Congress Party "in efforts to establish Hindu hegemony all over India, in utter disregard of the just and natural aspirations of the Indian Moslems." More and more the second largest community in India stood for recognition as a national entity and not merely as a minority people. Inter-communal conflicts broke out from time to time, and on July 24 thousands of Moslems carrying black flags marched in procession through Nagpur city to place their grievances before the Governor of the Central Provinces.

Dissatisfaction was rife in the other minority communities and sometimes went beyond the lines of race or creed. From August 1 the Bombay Government, under the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi's moral enthusiasm, enforced prohibition in and around the capital city and in Ahmedabad. Much distress was caused among the small but influential Parsee community, and thousands of Indian Christians and Bhandaris (toddy-tappers) were thrown out of work, while onerous taxation to make good the loss of revenue strained the financial structure of the Presidency. Disorders in Bombay city when the new law took effect led Government to proclaim a curfew and for some days to prohibit five vernacular papers from publishing, without censorship, news of the opposition and even criticisms of the much resented property tax. Order was soon restored, but the crippling effect of the measure on public finance was the more marked by Western India being afflicted with drought, which struck Gujerat with special severity.

With the darkening of the international situation there were premonitions of the unaccommodating spirit of Congress, notably a resolution passed by the All-India Committee on May Day affirming the determination to oppose all attempts to impose a war on India and use Indian resources therein without the consent of the Indian people. The Working Committee meeting

at Wardha in the second week of August ordained that members of the party in the Central Legislature should boycott the then pending session at Simla as a protest against (1) the Viceroy's decision to prolong the life of the Assembly for another year, this being the third extension of the kind ; and (2) the sending of Indian troops abroad for garrison duty without the consent of the Assembly—a step which " might lead to India's entanglement in war."

In the exercise of his constitutional responsibility for defence the Viceroy had been preparing for a European conflict. Every aspect of India's material support of the Allies had been planned by a Defence Co-ordination Department. The British Parliament included, in the many emergency measures passed on the eve of the war, an Act to fill an unintentional gap in the Viceroy's authority. A series of Ordinances for the control of shipping, the registration of foreigners, press, and postal censorship, and so on, paved the way for a general Defence of India Ordinance conferring the widest powers upon the Executive. The recruiting offices set up were besieged by eager applicants seeking to avail themselves of the expansion of the Indian Army. Spontaneous contributions in money and in kind poured in from rich and poor throughout the country, and the Viceroy found it necessary to open a War Purposes Fund. As in 1914, the loyalty of the Indian Princes was reflected in their immediate and unanimous rally, under the leadership of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, to the support of the British Throne. Large cash gifts flowed in from them, and all the States possessing troops offered their services, with, in many instances, an expansion of their number. The independent kingdom of Nepal again gave most valued support, and offered at once 8,000 Nepalese troops for services with the British forces in India. In the field of supply the great resources of the country—remarkably developed on the industrial side since 1914-18—were systematically regimented behind the Allied cause. Sir M. Zafrullah Khan, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, came to London to represent India at the discussions between Dominion Ministers and the Home Cabinet.

The Indian Press was united in condemning power politics in Europe. Mr. Gandhi at once announced his own moral sympathy with the Allied cause, and made it clear that in his judgment the co-operation of India should be unconditional. Yet the Working Committee of the Congress, meeting in the middle of September, decided (by a very slender majority) that for such co-operation there was required a declaration from the British Government in unequivocal terms of their war aims in regard to democracy and Imperialism ; as to how these aims were to apply to India and how they were to be given effect to at once. Mr. Gandhi's claim in defence of this decision that the Congress was

"all inclusive" and could speak for the whole of India was stoutly challenged in many quarters, the protesters including leaders of the Depressed Classes, the Liberals, and the Hindu Mahasabha. The strongest exception was taken to the reiterated demand, which had been made *inter alia* at the Tripura session of the Congress, for the future Constitution to be referred to a Constituent Assembly elected on a wide franchise.

The Viceroy issued a statement on October 17 (Cmd. 6,121), after prolonged private discussions with leading men in Indian political life, fifty-two in number. These talks, he wrote, "revealed marked differences of outlook, markedly different demands and markedly different solutions for the problems that lie before us." He reiterated the British policy of leading India by successive stages to full Dominion status. H.M. Government were ready at the end of the war to regard the Federal scheme "as open to modification in the light of Indian views," and to this end would be willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes. Meanwhile Government had decided to form a consultative group, over which he would himself preside, to be summoned at his invitation, and which would have as its object the association of public interests in India with the conduct of the war and with questions relating to war activities.

Mr. Gandhi described this "profoundly disappointing" statement as showing that the old policy of divide and rule was to continue. The Congress Working Committee assembled at Wardha on October 22 and passed a resolution which, while warning their followers against civil disobedience or political strife, called on the eight Provincial Ministries under its domination to resign, after obtaining from their respective Legislatures resolutions condemning the embroilment of India in the war without the people's consent, and insisting that India should be regarded as an independent nation entitled to frame her own Constitution. Accordingly, Provincial Autonomy was brought to a temporary close in seven Provinces, for in Assam on the resignation of the Ministry a stable Coalition Government was formed. The system also continued to function under the mainly Moslem Ministries in Bengal, the Punjab, and Sind. In the other seven Provinces, in accordance with Section 93 of the Act of 1935, the Governors took charge of the administration, calling to their aid official advisers; and it was arranged that policies which had been endorsed by the Legislatures should, as far as possible, be maintained.

After further private discussions, more particularly jointly with Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and Mr. Jinnah, the Viceroy put forward wider proposals on November 6 (Cmd. 6,129). These provided for the enlargement of his Executive Council by the inclusion of representatives of each of the two organisations

and of one or more representatives of other important groups. Their privileges and obligations would be identical with those of the existing members. This *ad hoc* arrangement was to be regarded as quite distinct from the much wider question of constitutional reform at the end of the war. The Viceroy asked that, as an essential preliminary, the three leaders whom he had brought together should enter into discussions between themselves with a view to reaching a basis of agreement in the Provincial field. Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Rajendra Prasad refused to adopt this course until the British Government complied with the Congress demands. The Viceroy expressed deep regret at this breakdown and intimated that he would continue to use his best endeavours for a settlement.

Mr. Jinnah soon after asked for a Royal Commission to investigate the charges of oppression made by the minorities against the late Congress Ministries, and ordained Friday, December 22, as a day of deliverance and thanksgiving that these Governments had ceased to function. Prayers were offered in the mosques and the widespread observance led to no serious disturbances.

A few days earlier (Dec. 18) the splendid contribution of India to the war effort in men and material was reviewed by the Viceroy in a speech at Calcutta. India had sent British and Indian troops to Egypt, Aden, and Singapore, and the Royal Indian Navy, small but efficient, was mobilised in local waters. The arrival of the first Indian unit for the British zone in France, mostly for mule transport purposes, was announced on December 28.

On the North-West Frontier, after more than two years of intermittent disturbances in Waziristan, more peaceful conditions had been restored by the late spring, though, with the Faqir of Ipi still at large, complete quietude was not secured. There were no such outbreaks, however, as the German Press and wireless claimed, and individual acts of sabotage and kidnapping were not so numerous as to cause official anxiety. In September and October an Afridi war band produced an awkward situation by invading Afghan territory at the instance of Afghan refugees credited with plans for a dynastic revolution. The Kabul Government and their tribes had British co-operation in their active resistance. When the Afridis had withdrawn from Afghanistan, the Government of India instituted an economic blockade which brought about the surrender of the refugees. The other tribal areas on the N.W.F. remained peaceful throughout the year.

By an undesigned but helpful coincidence publication was given on September 5, just after the outbreak of war, to the main recommendations of Lord Chatfield's Committee on Indian Defence, and it was announced that H.M. Government were **prepared** to provide a total net capital cost of 34,330,000Z., three-

fourths of it as a free gift, for the modernisation of Indian defences under a five-years' plan. The Ottawa Trade Agreement, which had been temporarily maintained (after the five-years' currency ended in 1937), pending completion of long-continued negotiations, was replaced by a Trade Pact signed in London on March 21, giving new concessions for Lancashire cotton goods in place of about half the tariff preferences for British shipments provided for in the original agreement.

Burma had a full share of political troubles, but there was no such sharp cleavage when war came as in India. The disturbed political condition of the country after two years of autonomy was analysed in the final report of the Riot Inquiry Committee published on April 20. The causes of the disturbances were held to be social, economic, and political. Attention was drawn to the harmful influence of many of the younger generation of Buddhist priests in exploiting for political ends the reverence in which the Sangha (Buddhist Church) is held.

Sir Archibald Cochrane, the Governor, took leave to England in the summer, but returned by air when the prospect of war became imminent. Many political, religious, social, and industrial associations passed resolutions expressing loyalty to the Crown and pledging full support to the Allied cause. Early in October, with the active help of the Ministry, the Governor constituted a Burma Defence Council, to facilitate the development of Burma's war effort, and it set up nine subsidiary boards, each under a part-time director. In response to a request formulated by the Ministry on October 12 for a statement of British policy, Sir Archibald Cochrane on November 7 made a detailed statement reaffirming the intention of the British Government to use their best endeavours to assist Burma to attain her due place in the British Commonwealth of nations.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

WORLD events during 1939 tended still further to mutilate the League of Nations as an instrument for "the achievement of international peace and security." The shocks and surprises, with which the tragic story of 1938 was continued into another year, stimulated intense diplomatic activity; but foreign policies were conducted more and more with an ominous disregard for the League's existence. As far as the major problems were concerned, Geneva's political influence touched its nadir.

During the first nine months of the year, whilst the strained antagonisms and confused purposes of nations were carrying the world gradually nearer an armed clash of Great Powers, the League's role was virtually that of an uneasy spectator. In March, for example, when Germany struck at Czechoslovakia, the League was not invited to pass so much as a moral judgment on this latest act of aggression. True, the Italian occupation of Albania was followed by some semblance of an appeal under the Covenant; but this, in face of an embarrassing *fait accompli*, was in effect allowed to lie on the table.

The League in War-time.—The act of aggression committed by the German Government against Poland on September 1 precipitated a state of war in Europe. France and the United Kingdom, in communications dated respectively September 5 and September 9, placed the facts before the Secretary-General, who transmitted the two documents to all members of the League. Lord Halifax, in his communication, emphasised that everything that the British Government had done was in conformity with the spirit of the Covenant. No request for any further action through the League, however, was made.

September 11 had been fixed as the date for the opening of the Assembly at Geneva. The British Government took the initiative in proposing that the meeting should be postponed until "the earliest date on which it would be possible to arrange that delegations should attend." This adjournment was accepted by majorities of both the Assembly and the Council.

During September and October a large number of Member States informed the Secretary-General of their intention of remaining neutral in the conflict.

All the normal activities of the League were overshadowed and partially interrupted, in greater or lesser degree, by the outbreak of war. Mobilisations seriously affected the Secretariat. It was certain that the League's finances would suffer. Also, in the panic and confusion of the early weeks of war, the extent to which the League would be able to carry on its work could not be foreseen.

Soon, however, the reassuring fact emerged that a good deal of the League's usefulness could be preserved, even in war-time. The majority of its members were not directly involved in hostilities, and expected the League to continue to perform various services. Three fields of activity lying before the League were enumerated by Mr. Sean Lester, Deputy Secretary-General, in a broadcast address for "League of Nations Day" at the New York World's Fair. They were re-adaptation of the League's work to meet the requirements of the crisis, preparation of material for assisting in the settlement at the end of the conflict, and examination of the economic conditions which would have to be faced in the problem of reconstruction.

A strong emergency Committee set to work at Geneva to plan and direct a programme of activities even in the absence of the Assembly and Council. As the year neared its end, the prospects that the principal bodies of the League would be summoned seemed remote. Proposals for a session of the Assembly early in December were abandoned. In order to transact the essential business of voting the Budget for 1940, the Fourth Committee of the 1938 Assembly (which had not, in fact, been dissolved) was resurrected.

Finland's Appeal.—Despite these elaborate arrangements, the real intention of which was to prevent any thorny political questions from coming before the League, the year was destined to conclude on a dramatic note. Yet another act of aggression changed the outlook almost overnight. On November 30 the U.S.S.R. attacked Finland. The latter country decided to reinforce her own resistance by appealing to the League under Articles 11 and 15 of the Covenant.

The Secretary-General summoned the Council, which made it virtually certain that the Assembly also would meet. Ironically enough, the news became known on the very day that the Fourth Committee met to adopt the Budget and thus obviate the necessity for calling the Assembly.

The interest and excitement aroused at Geneva were reminiscent of the anxious days of the Ethiopian crisis. Delegations from forty-three countries attended the League sessions. It may be added that the proceedings were closely watched by countries

outside the League. In the Press Gallery, the strongest contingents of journalists came from the United States of America and Germany.

Finland's action compelled the League, in some measure, to abandon its temporary policy of not discussing important political issues. Not unnaturally, in the circumstances, the probable results of League intervention in the dispute were anxiously debated behind the scenes at Geneva. Certain of the smaller European States, with fears for their own security, were most apprehensive. At the other end of the scale, some of the Latin American States, to whom distance lent safety, vehemently urged the expulsion of Russia. The situation was still further complicated by the realisation that the League, in its weakened condition, could ill afford to lose another Great Power. Russia's contribution, too, represented a large slice of the League's Budget. Amidst these conflicting considerations, nevertheless, relief that the League had been given a definite job to do predominated. It was significant that there were few traces of hesitation at the public sessions. As a concession to the more cautious members, who wished the League to do nothing which might be interpreted as prejudicing their neutrality, the political side of the agenda was strictly limited to the Finnish appeal.

In dealing with this matter the League acted promptly and vigorously, only five days (December 9 to 14) being needed to reach definite decisions. Moreover, in every detail, the appropriate procedure as laid down in the Covenant was faithfully followed.

As expected, the Council, after its preliminary examination of the Finnish appeal, transmitted the question to the Assembly. In accordance with the established practice, a special Committee was set up for the purposes of the dispute. The Soviet Government, which had refused to send representatives to either the Council or the Assembly on the ground that it was not in a state of war with Finland, was expressly invited to take part in the discussions and assist in reaching a peaceful settlement. This invitation was met by an uncompromising refusal. Thereupon the Assembly adopted the report of its special Committee, setting forth the facts and drawing from them the conclusion that " the Soviet Government has violated, not only its special political agreements with Finland, but also Article 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris."

Two resolutions were then adopted by the Assembly. The first urgently appealed to every member of the League to provide Finland with such material and humanitarian assistance as might be in its power, and authorised the Secretary-General to lend the aid of his technical services in the organisation of this assistance. The second recorded that the U.S.S.R. had " by its own action placed itself outside the Covenant," and asked **the**

Council to consider " what consequences should follow from this situation."

The Council, meeting the same afternoon, associated itself with the Assembly's condemnation of the Soviet Government's action against the Finnish State. " It follows," concluded the Council resolution, " that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is no longer a member of the League."

Certain States, with the intention of safeguarding their neutrality, abstained from voting. Thus Switzerland and the three Baltic States did not vote in the Assembly, whilst the three Scandinavian States maintained their objection to sanctions. Greece, Yugoslavia, and Finland abstained in the Council. Dr. Wellington Koo (China) briefly explained his abstention " in circumstances which you all know "—a reference to the fact that Russia had been almost the only country to send material aid to China.

The course adopted by the Assembly and the Council was, in view of the clear evidence of aggression, perfectly proper. The verdict was open to criticism only on the ground that similar action had not been taken in earlier cases brought to the League's attention. Both Japan and Italy had been allowed to leave the League after giving two years' notice—which implied, according to the wording of the Covenant, that they had fulfilled their international obligations.

Despite the understanding that other political issues should not be raised, references to earlier aggressions did creep into some of the speeches. M. Paul-Boncour of France mentioned the names of three other victims—Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. He then welcomed what he described as " this rather late awakening of universal conscience."

Finland, the country best qualified to express an opinion, declared herself well satisfied with the outcome of the League meetings. Her delegate, M. Holsti, told the Assembly that his appeal had achieved " a practical result," which " in the main does correspond with Finland's expectations."

The Bruce Report.—One other decision reached by the Assembly received all too little public attention. The adoption of the " Bruce Report," for the development of the social and economic work of the League, may have far-reaching influence upon the adaptation of the League's machinery to the changing international conditions of the modern world.

This may be regarded as one aspect of the problem of " League reform," which has been one of the main preoccupations at Geneva since the decline of the League's political prestige. Loss of membership has given a special urgency to the formulation of plans for securing the collaboration of non-Member States.

Towards the end of February an encouraging Note reached the League from the United States Government. This was in

response to the previous Assembly's resolution inviting "any comment or suggestion for the wider development of technical and non-political collaboration which non-Member States would care to make." "The League," declared the Note, "has been responsible for the development of mutual exchange and discussion of ideas and methods to a greater extent and in more fields of humanitarian and scientific endeavour than any other organisation in history. The United States Government is keenly aware of the value of this type of general interchange and desires to see it extended. . . . It will continue to collaborate in those activities and will consider in a sympathetic spirit means of making its collaboration more effective."

At its May session the Council decided to set up a Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. S. M. Bruce (Australia), to study and report to the Assembly on the best means of developing and expanding the League's machinery for dealing with technical problems, and of promoting the active participation of all countries in the efforts made to solve those problems. The report of the Bruce Committee is so highly condensed that it cannot be easily summarised. After stressing that the League is not, and never has been, an institution concerned solely with the prevention of war, it gives an impressive review of the League's economic and social activities—work accomplished, work in hand, aims, methods, and scope. The League's resources, it is shown, enable it (a) to collect and sift evidence drawn from all over the world ; (b) to obtain the services of the best experts in the world ; (c) to arrange meetings between experts working in the same fields ; (d) to provide the essential links between the experts and those responsible for policy ; (e) to provide constant and automatic opportunities for statesmen to meet and discuss their policy ; (f) to provide thereby means for the better understanding of aims and policies of different nations ; and (g) to provide machinery for the conclusion of international conventions. The fact is stressed that Governments may seek the League's technical help, not as a favour, but as from an institution which they themselves maintain and on whose services they have a right to call.

All this part of the report is a prelude to the concrete proposals for reforming the existing organisation of the League's economic and social work. The plan aims at bringing all this part of the League's work under the supervision of an agency which should be both effective and representative. A Central Committee for Economic and Social Questions is to be set up, to consist for the first year of representatives of twenty-four States chosen by the Assembly and not more than eight unofficial members co-opted in virtue of their special competence and authority.

Under the constitution of the new body the United States, **for** example, will be able to collaborate as easily as she now does in the work of the International Labour Organisation.

This, in essence, is the scheme to which the 1939 Assembly gave its blessing. Changes in detail may, of course, appear necessary in the light of experience. Meanwhile a smaller Organising Committee has been set up to do the necessary spadework.

Political Action by the Council.—Most of the political questions which came before the Council in the course of 1939 had originally been placed upon the agenda in previous years. Behind them was a background of long and inconclusive discussions, so that it was scarcely to be expected that the Council would make much headway in again traversing old ground.

At both the January and the May sessions Dr. Wellington Koo continued his forlorn task of trying to induce the Council to take effective action to restrain Japanese aggression. He emphasised that this was not a matter concerning the fate of China alone, and in support of his contention he instanced the Notes of protest which had been sent to Japan by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom. The League, in his opinion, could still serve the cause of peace if the States Members were willing to support its efforts.

The Council's response was another resolution, on January 20, inviting members to examine in consultation the taking of effective measures, especially measures of aid to China. In accepting this weak resolution, Dr. Koo protested against restrictions on the transport of war material to China.

At the next meeting in May, Dr. Koo reminded the Council that, since the beginning of the conflict he had been urging upon the Council the adoption of three measures, "modest in character,"⁵ which did not involve any risk of complications. The Council adopted two resolutions, the first on the practical application of measures and the second condemning the aerial bombardment of open towns. These, Dr. Koo complained, did not mark much progress over those previously adopted.

The conflict in Spain came before the Council only at its January session. First, the findings of the International Military Commission regarding the withdrawal of foreign combatants from Governmental Spain were noted with satisfaction. The next matter to be discussed was that of air attacks directed against civilian populations. After recording its considered opinion that "several of the air attacks which have been investigated must be deemed to have been directed intentionally or by negligence against civilian populations," the Council condemned this "recourse to methods contrary to the conscience of mankind and to the principles of international law." The Spanish Government's assurances that it would not resort to reprisals were noted. Finally, the Council dealt with the question of food supplies for refugees from the point of view of technical assistance.

Before the next meeting, the closing phases of the long-drawn-out struggle in Spain had seen the collapse of Governmental resistance and the entry of General Franco's troops into Madrid. In May the final report of the International Military Commission was examined by the Committee of Three but it was not deemed necessary to place this item on the Council's agenda. On May 8 the new Spanish Government gave notice of withdrawal from the League.

The question of the 1921 Convention for the non-fortification and neutralisation of the Aland Islands was placed on the Council agenda in May at the request of the Finnish and Swedish Governments. The Council was asked to give its assent to the measures proposed as a result of negotiations between the two countries. M. Maisky, the Soviet representative, announced that his Government desired a postponement until a later session and that, if a decision had to be taken, he would vote against the proposals. A report setting forth the facts and the various declarations made were recorded in the minutes of the Council.

The Permanent Court.—In spite of the unsettled international situation the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague continued its unspectacular but useful work of peace-making. Four cases were handled in the course of the year.

In the Panevezys-Saldutiskis Railway Case, brought by Estonia against Lithuania, the hearings took place between January 19 and 30. On February 28, by 10 votes to 4, the Court held that one of the objections of the Lithuanian Government was well founded and accordingly that it could not entertain the Estonian claim.

Complicated proceedings in the case of the Electricity Company of Sofia and Bulgaria, involving Belgium and Bulgaria, lasted throughout the year. The Court's first task was to give judgment on the preliminary objections raised by the Bulgarian Government. Although one objection was upheld, two other points remained for a continuance of the proceedings. On December 5* the Court made an order that, pending its final judgment, Bulgaria should refrain from any steps capable of prejudicing the rights claimed by the Belgian Government.

The dispute between Belgium and Greece concerning the Societe Commerciale de Belgique reached the stage of public sittings and oral arguments between May 15 and 19. The Court, in a judgment delivered on June 15 by 13 votes to 2, decided that it could not entertain the Greek claims.

On June 17 Liechtenstein made an application instituting proceedings against Hungary. The dispute concerned judgments given by the Royal Curia of Hungary during 1932 and 1933 in the affairs of M. Felix Gerliczy, whose claim the Liechtenstein Government was upholding. Compensation was claimed.

Owing to the state of war, the Assembly decided that it

would not hold elections to fill the places of the fifteen judges of the Permanent Court, whose term of office would in normal circumstances have expired on December 31, 1939. In consequence of this decision, the present judges will continue in office for an indefinite period.

Other League Activities.—The war imposed extra responsibilities upon the Health Organisation of the League. Although the projected European Conferences on Nutrition and Rural Life had to be postponed, Rumania took the initiative in asking the League to draw up a plan for joint action against epidemics, which might threaten those countries near the war zone with floating refugee populations round their borders. In the new situation, the League's broadcasting system for the rapid dissemination of epidemiological information proved extremely valuable.

The 1936 convention for the suppression of the illicit traffic in dangerous drugs, having received the requisite number of ratifications, came in force on October 26. In urging that the international campaign against the drug traffic should continue unabated in war-time, the United States told the League that on the Permanent Central Opium Board "rested the entire fabric of international drug control."

One Nutrition Conference, for Latin American States, was held at Buenos Aires in October. It resulted in a useful exchange of experience and conclusions between experts.

In dealing with refugees the Council decided to extend the powers of the League High Commissioner to cover refugees coming from the former Czechoslovak territories.

The five States elected to non-permanent seats on the Council at the December session were South Africa, Finland, China, Egypt, and Bolivia.

The League of Nations Pavilion attracted much attention at the New York World's Fair. During the Spanish Civil War, a unique collection of Spanish art treasures was entrusted to the care of the Secretary-General and was on exhibition in Geneva for three months.

International Labour Organisation.—The growing importance of the International Labour Organisation was evidenced by the fact that more than thirty countries urged that full use of its machinery should be made during the war. President Roosevelt, in a personal message to the Regional Labour Conference at Havana, expressed the hope that "there will be no lessening of the activities of the I.L.O. during the existing world emergency." He added, "We pledge ourselves to continue our full part in its constructive non-political international effort for the betterment of living standards."

Forty-six States were represented at the International Labour Conference in June. After discussion of the problems of road transport, contracts of employment to indigenous workers, the

protection of migrant workers, and technical and vocational education and training, the conference adopted four draft conventions and six recommendations.

The Emergency Committee, to which the Governing Body had delegated its powers, met in September and October. On this Committee, belligerents and neutrals worked harmoniously together, and the Director said that there was no reason to expect that their respective interests would be in conflict.

The I.L.O.'s war-time policy was based on the guiding principle that, during a war situation, the preservation of standards of labour was more important than ever. Attention must be devoted to meeting the problems of unemployment and reconstruction after the war.

In the course of the year the number of ratifications of International Labour Conventions increased from 835 to 866. Seven of the new ratifications were effected after the outbreak of war in Europe.

The healthy, constructive influence exerted by the I.L.O. on an almost world-wide front, and the high standard reached by the League in its social, humanitarian, and technical services, were bright spots in a year of unprecedented difficulty. The December meetings of the Council and the Assembly did something to raise the League's stock on the political side. In sum, the League could echo the words of the celebrated Abbe Sieyes who, when asked what he had done during the Terror, replied, "I have kept alive."

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

FROM the very beginning of 1939 France found herself living in a war atmosphere. The very slight *déjà-vue*, more apparent than real, which had followed the signature of the Franco-German accord of December 6 had brought her no real tranquillity, nor did she feel any confidence that Germany, in spite of her undertakings, would abstain from presenting her with surprise *coups* and *faits accomplis*.

Italy also had interpreted Munich to mean that she might be able to browbeat France without interference from Germany, and strong anti-French manifestations were taking place in Italy, with secret encouragement from Germany. It was under such auspices that France commenced the year 1939.

The Budget adopted by the Chamber on January 1 tabled

revenue as 66 milliards, 388 millions, and expenditure 66 milliards, 364 millions. This did not include extraordinary expenditure for National Defence.

At the beginning of the year M. Daladier made a tour in Corsica, Tunis, and Algiers, being everywhere received with enthusiasm. At a reception given in his honour by the Bey of Tunis he addressed a message of friendship from France to North Africa. He returned to France on January 6, after having affirmed categorically that he would maintain the integrity of the Empire. On January 10 Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax stopped at Paris on their way to Rome ; and immediately afterwards a debate took place in the Chamber on foreign policy which closed with a resolution "for maintaining the integrity of the Empire and the security of the Imperial routes," which was carried by 379 votes to 232. Other signs of French determination were the prolongation of military service beyond two years, for 1939, and the launching of the *Richelieu*, the first battle-ship of 35,000 tons.

In her anxieties over the international situation France derived great encouragement from the declaration of Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on February 6, that every threat to the vital interests of France would immediately enlist the co-operation of Great Britain.

Meanwhile the Spanish situation was urgently demanding attention. Barcelona had fallen and the Spanish Government had taken refuge in France. A vast number of refugees had also streamed from Spain into France, where at first they had to be kept in concentration camps. The French Government sent M. Leon Berard on a mission of inquiry to the Burgos Government. The negotiations were suspended on February 6, after several interviews between M. Berard and General Jordana, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs. Questioned in the Chamber about his intention to recognise the Franco Government, M. Daladier justified it on three grounds : (1) A common frontier of 600 kilometres along the Pyrenees with General Franco made it France's interest to keep on good terms with her neighbour. (2) Great Britain was about to recognise General Franco. (3) France had immense interests in Spain which it was necessary to guard on the spot. A few days later M. Berard and General Jordana signed an agreement at Burgos (February 25), and the Cabinet decided to recognise the Franco Government *de jure*. By the terms of this agreement France undertook to restore the Spanish property which had been transferred to France, in particular the gold, the arms, and the war material which had been carried into France at the time of the retreat of the Catalanian army, and the Spanish Fleet which had taken refuge in Bizerta. On March 2 Marshal Petain was appointed French Ambassador at Burgos.

The events in Czechoslovakia, **and the brutal seizure of that country by the Reich, necessitated fresh measures of precaution.** On March 17 M. Daladier demanded special powers to ensure national defence, and proclaimed the necessity of extremely vigorous and rapid action to combat the regimes whose strength lay chiefly in rapidity and secrecy of action. It was recognised that the Munich agreement had been destroyed and the joint declaration of Franco-German collaboration violated in the spirit and the letter ; and plenary powers were granted to the Government by Parliament up to November 30.

Soon after, the President of the Republic paid a visit to London, where his enthusiastic reception bore witness to the close solidarity of France and Great Britain.

On March 23 Signor Mussolini made reference in a public speech to the Italian Note of December 17, 1938, adding that the Italian problems in regard to France were summed up in the words Tunis, Suez, Jibuti. M. Daladier replied that the Note of December 17 mentioned none of these places ; and he went on to affirm in a broadcast address that France would not yield " an acre of her territory or a single one of her rights."

On April 5 M. Alfred Lebrun, who had intended to retire from public life on the expiry of his seven-year term of office, allowed himself to be nominated again on account of the gravity of the international situation. He was re-elected President of the Republic by 506 votes out of 910 electors.

In view of developments in Albania, both military and naval measures—but particularly naval—were taken by the Permanent Committee of National Defence. On April 13 M. Daladier stated that these measures were being taken jointly by the Governments of the Republic and of Great Britain, which were anxious to prevent any modification by force of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean and in the Balkan Peninsula. The French Government, like the British, gave Rumania and Greece particular assurances that in case of any action being set on foot which threatened the independence of either country, it would consider itself bound to lend it immediately all the assistance in its power. The Franco-Polish alliance was confirmed in the same spirit. Finally, in the same period, the text of Mr. Roosevelt's message to Hitler and Mussolini was communicated by Mr. Bullitt, the United States Ambassador, to M. Daladier, who declared that " France adhered to it completely."

France associated herself closely with Great Britain in the endeavours to bring Soviet Russia into the " peace front." French opinion was divided on the matter ; while the majority were in favour of a pact with Russia, a large minority—by no means confined to the Right—regarded that country with grave mistrust. On the reassembling of the Chamber in May M. Daladier obtained a vote of confidence by 367 votes to 233,

The subscription list for the Peace **Loan** opened on May 15, was closed the same evening, the first issue of 5 milliards of francs having already being covered. A French naval force left Brest to pay a series of visits to Belgian, Dutch, and British ports. About the same time, the French Government concluded with a group of Dutch and Swiss banks an agreement which converted the short-term foreign debt of France into a long-term one.

Towards the end of May France joined with Great Britain in drawing up a definite project of an Anglo-French-Russian pact of mutual assistance. On June 21 M. Georges Bonnet, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced the imminent signature of an agreement with Turkey, conceived in the same spirit as the Anglo-Turkish Treaty and culminating in a mutual declaration of support. The surrender of the Sanjak of Alexandretta passed almost unnoticed, and was in any case recognised in France as a necessity. On June 23 the Franco-Turkish declaration of mutual assistance was duly signed. Annexed to the declaration was an affirmation of M. Georges Bonnet that "there was no intention on the part of France to renounce in favour of any third party the mission which she had assumed in Syria and the Lebanon."

On June 27 M. Daladier read the decree closing the Chambers, and declared that for twenty years the situation of Europe and the world had not been so grave. He stated that facing the frontiers three million men had been recalled or incorporated under the colours. He denounced the propaganda carried on within the country, and the connexion of which with foreign countries had been demonstrated, for disturbing French unity and Franco-British solidarity.

In response to fresh German threats concerning Danzig, M. Bonnet on July 1 requested the German Ambassador, Herr von Welczeck, to inform Chancellor Hitler, that France, in full accord with Great Britain, was firmly resolved not to allow the *status quo* in Danzig and in the Polish Corridor to be modified by forcible action from without or unilateral action from within. Credits for national defence were opened up to a sum of 4 milliards, 400 millions out of a total of 15 milliards voted on April 21. A Commissariat-General for Information was created under the direction of M. Jean Giraudoux.

The first half of August passed quietly, but in the second half events quickly moved to a climax. The publication at Moscow of the text of the Russo-German Agreement came like a thunderclap. It rendered worthless the Anglo-French-Russian Agreement which was in course of preparation, and the French military experts who had gone to Moscow with the British were recalled after its signature.

In view of the change in the international situation caused by the Russo-German collusion, new groups of reservists were

called to the frontier, and M. Daladier declared in a broadcast that " France knew how to respect scrupulously her pledged word." The French Communist Party, however, did not shrink from issuing a manifesto placing its own interpretation on the action of Russia, which, according to it, was making a new and invaluable contribution to the preservation of peace. Against this the C.G.T. raised a moderately worded protest. M. Daladier sent a letter to Herr Hitler, and the recall of reservists was accelerated. On August 28 a censorship was instituted; on the 30th a general order was issued against the Communists. M. Daladier supported all the steps taken by Mr. Chamberlain to prevent the outbreak of war, but, faced with the *fait accompli* of German aggression against Poland on September 1, the Cabinet approved the decrees ordering general mobilisation as from September 2, the establishment of a state of siege, and the summoning of the Chambers.

On the 2nd the Government published a statement dealing with the responsibility for the war. " Without declaration of war," it said, " Germany has attacked Poland. The *communiqué* read in the night by the German wireless and indicating at the last moment a plan for peace between Germany and Poland is only a gross pretence. The German proposals were never presented officially to Poland, or even in any manner which could be regarded as valid, whether directly or through the intermediary of Britain. The German Government presented them to the public as having been practically rejected, even before Poland had learnt of them or had been able to express any opinion of them. Germany has in its *communiqué* appealed to the fact that a Polish plenipotentiary ought to have presented himself at Berlin before the 30th of August, the date fixed as the limit. But this date had never previously been invoked as having this character." In the Chamber M. Daladier said : " The honour and the vital interests of France are at stake . . . to-day it is France which summons us."

A decree was read closing the extraordinary session of Parliament on the same day as it opened, September 2, after a debate in which the Socialist Parliamentary group (S.F.I.O.) severely criticised not only the Communist Party, but also the Russian Government. All Communist town councils were thereupon suspended.

On September 3 M. Daladier addressed an appeal to the nation. A request was made to the Reich to withdraw its troops from Poland before 5 o'clock in the afternoon. No reply having been received by the hour fixed, France found herself at war with Germany.

On the next day a new Franco-Polish agreement was concluded, under which France and Poland bound themselves not to make either a separate armistice or a separate peace. French

troops crossed the German frontier and made contact with the enemy between the Rhine and the Moselle. The extraordinary tax on professional earnings for national defence was raised from 2 to 4 per cent. In addition, this tax was carried to 15 per cent, for individuals from 18 to 49 who belonged to no military unit. A decree-law prohibited or regulated in time of war the export of capital, exchange operations, and traffic in gold. An exchange office was established. The necessity for this control of exchange was explained by M. Paul Reynaud, the Minister of Finance, in a public speech.

On September 13 M. Daladier re-formed his Ministry, certain posts having fallen vacant—that of M. Zay, who had joined the Army, of M. de Chappedelaine, through illness, and of M. Marchandau, who had resigned in order to remain Mayor of the city of Rheims. M. Daladier, who was already Prime Minister and Minister of War, took in addition the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which M. Bonnet exchanged for the Ministry of Justice. M. Yvon Delbos became Minister of National Education; M. Georges Pernot, Minister of Blockade; M. Dautry, Minister of Armaments; M. Rio, Minister of the Merchant Marine. M. Hippolyte Ducos became Under-Secretary of State for National Defence, and M. Champetier de Ribes Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. An invitation to collaborate was addressed to the Socialists, the Ministry of National Education being offered to M. Serol and of Blockade to M. Spinasse, but the Executive of the party, in a letter addressed by M. Leon Blum to M. Daladier, while promising the support of the Parliamentary group and of the party, refused to participate in the Government.

The Executive of the C.G.T., along with M. Jouhaux, decided to break with the Communists. The Federated Bureau and the Executive published a manifesto stating that in face of the treacherous deal between Stalin and Hitler there could be no more collaboration with those who had not been willing or able to condemn such a denial of the principles of human solidarity. Nevertheless, the dissolution of the Communist Party by decree-law was received with reserve by M. Leon Blum, who feared lest such a step might arrest the disintegration of the party which was already in an advanced stage.

To the peace feelers put forward by the Reich after the conquest of Poland M. Daladier had one answer to make in the Cabinet, in the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber, and on the radio: France refused to bow before violence and the *fait accompli*; she desired no mere truce between two aggressions. In reply to Hitler's speech of October 6 he joined with Mr. Chamberlain in proclaiming the impossibility of negotiating with those who treated their pledges with contempt.

In the first two or three weeks of the war, while the Germans were busy in Poland, French forces had advanced some miles

into Germany, capturing the forest of Warndt and threatening the town of Saarbruecken. After the annihilation of the Polish armies, however, they were withdrawn back across the frontier, into the shelter of the Maginot line, where they were now joined by troops from Great Britain.

On October 19 the treaty with Turkey, negotiations for which had been commenced in May, was at length signed [*vide* English History]. To the peace appeal issued on November 7 by Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold, the President of the Republic replied in the same spirit as the King of England, though in different terms. On November 17 the economic co-ordination between France and Great Britain, which had existed since the beginning of the war, was tightened up [*vide* English History], and M. Jean Monnet was appointed President of the Co-ordinating Committee.

Meanwhile the country's war organisation had been intensified by a decree charging the Ministry of Blockade to propose or take all measures necessary for checking the provisioning of the enemy or for collaborating with the Finance Ministry and the organisations appointed to supervise the movement of capital.

On November 28, in retaliation for the new mine-laying campaign initiated by the German Government, a decree was published extending to exports from Germany the regulations of control and seizure which since the beginning of September had been applied to imports of contraband into Germany.

The second extraordinary session of Parliament was opened on November 30. After some discussion, the Chamber adopted by 315 votes to 172 the proposal of the Cabinet for the grant of exceptional powers. The Senate also approved the grant by 259 votes to 23. A conflict of opinion showed itself over the role of Parliament in the emergency, some speakers desiring to see it associated more closely and in a less general manner in the responsibilities of government. On the same day the Chamber authorised the suspension of parliamentary immunity in the case of eleven Communist deputies. Shortly before, M. Albert Sarraut, the Minister of the Interior, had declared at Carcassonne that Communism ought to be banished from France, and that its defeatist propaganda ought to be combated till it disappeared.

On December 4 the French Treasury and the British Treasury concluded at Paris a financial agreement which assured in the financial sphere a co-operation corresponding to that which had already been announced by the Supreme Council in other domains [*vide* English History].

Unanimously and without discussion the Chamber voted the military credits—55 milliards for the first three months of 1940 and 249 milliards for the year. Out of this latter figure, aviation claims more than 106 milliards.

During the last three months of the year, the Allied and

German armies remained facing one **another behind** their ramparts, closely hugging the frontier on either side, and no operations of importance took place, though several minor successes were gained by the French in the air. At sea the French Fleet acted in close co-operation with the British, and by December 19 had destroyed twelve German submarines. By the middle of December 360,000 tons of enemy merchandise had been seized by the French Fleet. On December 22 M. Daladier stated in the Chamber that the total losses of the French forces on land, at sea, and in the air during the first three months of the war had been respectively 1136, 256, and 42.

ITALY.

Italy's foreign policy up to the outbreak of European hostilities was activist and even aggressive, its most typical achievement being the occupation of Albania on April 7. Subsequently it became static, and showed itself disposed to support any proposals for a "just peace." Her internal policy was consistently directed towards developing the corporative and autarkic regime, as instanced especially by the inauguration of the Chamber of Fasci and Corporations and the Ministerial reshuffle on November 1.

The collaboration of the Italian troops with those of General Franco was continued up to the victory of the Caudillo. On January 26 the Italian legionaries took part in the occupation of Barcelona, and Signor Mussolini signalled the occasion by an address to a great crowd outside the Palazzo Venezia. Telegrams were exchanged between the Duce and General Franco. The Italian troops were the first to march past in the great military parade in Barcelona on February 21. Similarly, the legionary divisions *Littorio* and *Frecce* made their entry into Madrid on March 28 at the side of the Franquist troops. In a telegram to General Franco Signor Mussolini declared: "I regard as indissoluble the ties which have been established between our two peoples," and Italian public opinion dwelt with satisfaction on the blow dealt to Bolshevism by the victory of Nationalist Spain. Several visits of generals and other prominent Spanish personalities followed one another alongside of the triumphal return of the legionary corps. The most important was that of Senor Serrano Suner, the Minister of the Interior (June 7 to 14). Count Ciano returned this visit on July 10 to 17. In spite of the enthusiastic welcome accorded to the Italian Foreign Minister, his suggestions for a strengthening of the Italo-Spanish *entente* do not seem to have obtained a favourable reception. On October 9 General Gambaro, chief of the legionary forces in Spain, who had been appointed Italian Ambassador in Spain, presented his credentials to General Franco.

The vitality of the Rome-Berlin axis was affirmed in a series of conversations and partial agreements which culminated in the conclusion of the so-called "Pact of Steel." The most notable steps in this process were the visit of Dr. Funk to Rome (January 7), the signing of the tourist agreement on February 21, the meeting of the Grand Fascist Council, which affirmed the fidelity of Italy to the Axis, on the morrow of the occupation of Prague and the establishment of the German Protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia (March 21), the staff conversations between General Pariani and General Keitel on April 5 and 6, the journey of Marshal Goering to Libya and Rome on April 11 to 15, and the visit of General Brauschitch to Rome on April 29. In view of the reactions of France and Great Britain to the German *coup* in Czechoslovakia and the Italian occupation of Albania, of the guarantees offered by those countries to Poland, Rumania, and Greece, and of the opening of conversations between them and Russia, Herr von Ribbentrop and Count Ciano arranged a meeting at Milan on May 6 in order to conclude a military alliance, which was signed at Berlin on May 22, and which became known under the name of the "Pact of Steel." It contained a preamble and seven articles. Article 2 laid down that "if the common interests of the two Parties were endangered by any occurrence, the two Parties would immediately enter into consultation." Under Article 3 each of the contracting Parties was to give its total military support to the other in the case of "warlike complications," without any distinction being made between offensive and defensive war. Article 5 stipulated that in case of a war conducted jointly, neither of the two Allies would sign a separate armistice. At the time, as Count Ciano disclosed in his speech in the Chamber on December 16, Germany and Italy did not contemplate warlike action before four or five years at least.

Among the Italo-German consultations which followed, the most notable were the conversations at Friedrichshafen between Admirals Cavagnari and Raeder on June 20, those of General Valle, Under-Secretary for Aviation, at Berlin with General Milch and Marshal Goering on June 29, and the Press agreements negotiated between Dr. Goebbels and Signor Alfieri on July 18 at Salzburg, and on August 8 at Venice. From August 11 to 13 Count Ciano had interviews at Salzburg and at Berchtesgaden with Herr von Ribbentrop and Chancellor Hitler relative to the impending action of the Third Reich against Poland. In spite of the insistence of the other parties, Count Ciano refused to associate Italy with an action which, in his opinion, might give rise to a general conflict. On August 20 Count Ciano, who was then on a tour of inspection in Albania, returned precipitately to Rome, where the Palazzo Chigi had just been informed of the imminent signature of the Russo-German accord. The conclusion of this accord by Germany without previous consultation with Italy,

and its theoretical incompatibility with the anti-Comintern Pact, restored to Italy her complete liberty of action in case of a European conflict.

At the beginning of 1939 an attempt to reconcile the interests of Italy with those of the Allies was made at Rome, where Mr. Neville Chamberlain and Lord Halifax paid an official visit from January 11 to 14. But the hope expressed by the Italian Press of detaching England from France or seeing England detach herself from France, or at least acting as mediator between France and Italy in the matter of the latter's claims to Jibuti and Tunis, was completely disappointed. After the occupation of Albania and the British guarantee to Greece, relations between Italy and Britain became strained, and on July 12 Count Grandi, the Italian Ambassador in London, who had been the principal architect of the "gentleman's agreement" between the two countries, was recalled to Rome to become Minister of Justice. His successor at London, Signor Giuseppe Bastianelli, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was only appointed several weeks later. Against France, Italy did not cease to press her claims with increasing stridency up to the commencement of the European war. In particular, M. Edouard Daladier's tour in Corsica, Tunis, and Algeria on January 2 to 7 gave rise to interminable polemics in the Press of the Peninsula.

In her relations with Russia, Italy continued to distinguish between the Comintern and the Soviet Government. She was thus able, on January 13, to obtain the adhesion of Hungary to the anti-Comintern Pact, and on February 7 to sign a Trade Agreement with the U.S.S.R. with the object of increasing their mutual trade, Russia undertaking to furnish wheat and solid and liquid fuels in return for Italian manufactures, especially metallurgical and mechanical products.

With Poland, Italy continued to cultivate friendly relations, and Count Ciano paid an official visit to Warsaw on February 25 to 27. None the less, in the quarrel between Poland and Germany Italy supported the German claims on Danzig and the Corridor, though never for a moment did she contemplate the destruction of the Polish State.

On April 7 Italian troops disembarked simultaneously at the ports of Santi Quaranta, Valona, Durazzo, and San Giovanni di Medua in Albania, and from there marched on Tirana, which they entered the next morning, and from which King Zog had already fled. According to a speech of Count Ciano in the Chamber on April 15, this occupation was instigated by the anti-Yugoslav manoeuvres of King Zog, and his refusal to enter into closer alliance with Italy. A Constituent Assembly formed of notables, which met at Tirana on April 12, offered the crown of Albania to King Victor Emanuel III, who accepted it on the 16th, with the approval of the Chambers. On the 22nd Signor Jacomini, Italian

Minister at Tirana, was appointed Lieutenant-General in Albania. Subsequently a certain number of Albanian notabilities were summoned to represent their country in the Italian Senate, and a Fascist party was created in Albania, where the Italian corporative regime was brought into force. Numerous public works were undertaken for exploiting the resources of the country, especially the mineral wealth.

The occupation of Albania by Italy was followed by great diplomatic activity on her part in the Danubian and Balkan States, after she had assured Greece on April 11 that she had no designs on Corfu. On the 18th Count Teleki, the Hungarian Prime Minister, came to Rome, accompanied by his Foreign Minister, Count Czaky, and had conversations with Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano. The chief object of these interviews was to pave the way for a *rapprochement* between Hungary on the one side and Yugoslavia and Rumania on the other. On April 22 Count Ciano met at Venice M. Cincar-Marcovitch, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, with whom he had already had conversations at Belje in January. In their interview at Venice they discussed the questions raised by the occupation of Albania, and agreed that it did not affect the vitality of the Italo-Yugoslav Agreements of 1937, or the cordiality of the relations of the two countries based on them. The interview was also thought to have promoted a closer conformity of Yugoslav policy to that of the Rome-Berlin Axis, and a *rapprochement* between Yugoslavia and Hungary. The official visit of Prince Paul the Regent of Yugoslavia to Italy on May 10 to 17 confirmed the results obtained at Venice. In the interval M. Gafencu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, had visited Rome (April 30 to May 3) on his way back from his diplomatic tour to Berlin, London, and Paris. His conversations with Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano referred chiefly to relations between Hungary and Rumania.

The attitude adopted by President Roosevelt towards the totalitarian and autarkic regimes provoked lively reactions in Italy. The message addressed by him on April 15 to Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler in favour of the maintenance of peace and a renunciation for ten years of any act of aggression on the part of the totalitarian States was publicly rejected by Signor Mussolini in his speech at the Capitol on April 20 on the preparations for the 1942 Universal Exhibition. He protested against the Axis Powers being placed in the dock, characterised as absurd the mechanism of "ten-year reciprocal guarantees," and declined the international conference proposed by the United States.

The entry of the German troops into Poland was followed immediately by a meeting of the Fascist Grand Council, at three o'clock on the afternoon of September 1. The Council "declared and announced to the people that Italy would not take any

initiative in military operations." On the same day Chancellor Hitler sent to Signor Mussolini a telegram of thanks for "the diplomatic and political support accorded to Germany and her good right," and released Italy from all obligation of giving him military support. Italian opinion, while giving Germany right and ascribing her military action to Polish intransigence, stimulated by France and still more by England, desired the localisation of the conflict and envisaged the cessation of hostilities after the German occupation of Danzig and the Corridor, with the Polish State retaining its independence.

On September 4 an official *communiqué* disclosed the details of the initiative taken by Signor Mussolini on August 30 for convoking an international assembly on September 5. The Governments of London and Paris had accepted in principle, but on September 2 demanded as a preliminary the evacuation of the territories occupied by the German armies. In the circumstances the Duce renounced his project, while conveying the answer of the Allies to the notice of the Führer.

The intervention of the Soviet troops in Poland and the partition of that country between the U.S.S.R. and the Third Reich was regarded in Italy as an historic fact of great importance. The reappearance of Russian Imperialism in Europe was everywhere put down to the Anglo-French policy which for the first time sought to bring Russian intervention into the dispute between the totalitarian countries and the democracies. After the annihilation of Poland, Italy associated herself with all the "peace offensives" of Germany, throwing on Great Britain the essential responsibility for the war, and trying to detach France from her Ally. The Italian Government insisted on numerous occasions that the position of Italy was not one of neutrality but one of non-belligerence, and that whatever might be the issue she persisted in her Mediterranean claims, and would not tolerate being left out in the peace negotiations.

At the same time, she took steps in the Balkans to prevent any extension of hostilities in the south-east of Europe. On the one hand, she drew closer to Yugoslavia (by the signature of a commercial protocol at Belgrade, on October 24), to Greece, and even to Turkey, on the other hand she exerted herself to bring about better relations between Rumania and Hungary and between Rumania and Bulgaria by moderating Magyar and Bulgarian revisionism, and striving to obtain from Rumania promises for a more liberal treatment of the minorities in Transylvania and the Dobrudja. Further, the Grand Council of Fascism on December 10, and Count Ciano in his speech on the 16th, laid stress on Italian interests in the Balkans and "the desire of Italy to see order and peace maintained and consolidated in Balkan and Danubian Europe." All the same, Count Ciano declared himself opposed to the formation of a Balkan *bloc*. A little later

the Fascist Government declared that it would not tolerate any Soviet action south of the Carpathians.

The Soviet attack on Finland aroused great indignation in Italy, although the Government abstained from any official declaration on the subject. The Finnish resistance was warmly praised by all the Press, and the check administered to the Red troops was regarded as a sign of the organic weakness and impotence of the Soviet State.

Some aviation material which had been ordered by Finland before the outbreak of hostilities was forwarded through Germany. The fourth consignment was stopped by the authorities of the Third Reich, who returned it to Italy. The departure which was announced of Italian volunteers for Helsinki did not take place. Relations between Italy and Germany remained officially unchanged by the war; the Rome-Berlin Axis continued to function. Count Ciano visited Berlin on October 2 to discuss with Herr Hitler and Herr von Ribbentrop the Polish question. According to Italian papers, Herr Hitler stressed the fact that the U.S.S.R. had not occupied any territory which was ethnically Polish, and Count Ciano insisted that an autonomous Polish State should be maintained.

On October 21 was signed at Rome the agreement relating to the transfer of the non-Italian population of the Upper Adige. It was stipulated that the non-Italians who should have opted for Germany before December 31, 1939, would have to leave the Upper Adige before December 31, 1942. The property of the optants would either be sold freely or acquired by a national Italian office which would transfer the sum realised to Germany in manners specified. In the end a total of 183,365, or more than 80 per cent, of the non-Italians, opted for German nationality.

The death of Pope Pius XI on February 10 was deeply mourned in Italy. The obituary notices dwelt on the fact that he had been the Pope of conciliation, passing over in silence his anti-totalitarian encyclicals. The Fascist Government would have liked a "religious" Pope for his successor, and regarded the candidature of Cardinal Pacelli as a "political" one. Nevertheless, the election of Pius XII was received with approval. Similarly, the nomination of Cardinal Maglione as Secretary of State, although not desired by the Fascist Government, was not the subject of disapproval. Count Ciano was received by Pius XII on March 18, and the Prince of Piedmont on March 19. After the opening of hostilities a perceptible improvement took place in the relations between the Vatican and the Fascist Government. The Italian Government manifested its sympathy with the sovereign Pontiff's appeals for a "just and durable" peace. This *rapprochement* was sealed in December by the nomination of Signor Dino Alfieri as Ambassador to the Vatican, by the official visits of the Italian sovereigns to the Pope on December 21,

and above all by the visit of the Pope to the Quirinal on December 28.

The First Chamber (non-elective) of Fasci and Corporations was inaugurated on March 23 by King Victor Emanuel, who in his Speech from the Throne emphasised the continued existence of the Rome-Berlin Axis and the anti-Comintern Pact, as also of the Anglo-Italian accords of April 16, 1938, and recalled the denunciation of the Franco-Italian accords of January 7, 1935. The twentieth anniversary of the foundation of Fascism was celebrated on March 26, when Signor Mussolini delivered an address in which he embodied the "natural aspirations" of Italy in the terms, "Tunis, Jibuti, Suez Canal." He added that the Mediterranean was a vital region for Italy, and that it was necessary to arm.

Beginning with April 12 a certain number of classes were recalled to the colours. This partial mobilisation was kept up with some variations till the end of the year. At that date Italy had about 850,000 men under arms. Great aero-naval manoeuvres took place from July 25 to 30. They were followed by Army manoeuvres from August 1 to 9. The plan of action was the assembly of a motorised army in Lombardy to bar the passage of an army attempting to invade Italy by the passes of the Alps. The technical results of the manoeuvres were not entirely satisfactory.

On November 1 a great reconstruction of the Ministry was announced. All the "technical Ministers," i.e. those of Agriculture, Public Works, Communications, Corporations, and Foreign Trade and Exchanges, as also the Minister of Popular Culture (Propaganda), and the three military under-secretaries were transferred to new positions. Marshal Graziani was appointed Chief of Staff of the Army in place of General Pariani. Signor Starace, the Secretary-General of the Fascist Party, was replaced by Signor Ettore Muti. All the new office-holders are old Fascists from the period of "squadrist" (the earliest Fascist formation), and are known for their Fascist intransigence and their blind devotion to the orders of the Duce. The new Secretary of the Party at once began a purge.

Among the economic and social measures taken by the regime in the course of the year the most notable was the decision to break up the Sicilian latifundia (July 20). On October 4 the Council of Ministers decided upon the immediate breaking up into lots of 500,000 hectares of land, and the construction of 20,000 peasant houses. On October 28, 8,000 new colonists left for Libya. The white colonisation of Ethiopia was also advanced, but on a smaller scale. 250,000 Italians, not including members of the armed forces, are supposed to be now established in Ethiopia, Erythrea, and Somaliland.

The system of autarky was further developed in the course of

the year. Restrictions grew more and more severe. The sale of coffee was forbidden. Oil and sugar were adulterated, and it was decided to introduce rationing from February 1, 1940. On September 30 the Council of Ministers decided to impose a tax on inheritances at the rate of 0.5 per cent, on the net capital. A tax of 2 per cent, on payments was also decided upon, to come into force on January 1, 1940.

The racial policy was on many occasions confirmed in the course of the year. As from February 1, 1940, Jewish lawyers will no longer be able to exercise their profession. The Council also approved a Bill relating to half-breeds, and tending to subject them to the same conditions as natives.

The Grand Fascist Council, at its sitting of February 15, adopted the School Charter presented by Signor Bottai, Minister of National Education. This Charter, analogous to the Labour Charter promulgated in 1926, has for its object to "fascistise" entirely the three classes of instruction. To "fascistise," according to the report of Signor Bottai, is "to give to the school a social and political content" of a certain type. The school studies are intended to form the character of "the Fascist politician and warrior," in close connexion with the Italian Youth of the Littorio. Among the reforms proposed by the Charter one may note the great limitations placed upon the instruction of Latin and Greek, as well as the complete separation of male and female education, with a view to reducing the number of women in the Universities.

In 1940 Italian commercial aviation commenced a service from Rome to Rio de Janeiro by the Isles of Cape Verde. The inaugural flight was marred on the return journey by a tragic accident.

CHAPTER III.

GERMANY.

NAZI Germany in 1939 threw off the mask—which even before then had deceived only those who wished to be deceived—of a peace-loving Power claiming for herself only the redress of admitted wrongs. She came out in her true colours as a predatory Power whose ambitions knew no bounds and were restrained by no scruples. This revelation at length brought the long-suffering democracies of Britain and France into the field against her, and unleashed the war which they had vainly tried to avert by the surrender of Munich.

In his New Year speech, Herr Hitler, after thanking Providence and his people for the "prosperous year of 1938," had declared that the year 1939 would be devoted to the task of forging the complete National-Socialist unity of the German people and

the strengthening of its armed forces. With this end in view, and, incidentally, the better to prepare the nation for war, a new decree, issued on January 22, created a huge Army Reserve by obliging all men over 17 years of age, who were not otherwise receiving "defence education," to obtain such training from the Nazi Storm Troopers organisation, the S.A. Those who had already completed their period of military service had to enrol for continuation courses, in order to keep fit for the days to come. The scarcity of labour, due to the needs of rearmament, was met by the more or less general introduction of the 60-hour week, hitherto in force only in the armament and related industries, and partly also by the transplanting of Czech unemployed to various industrial centres of the Reich. To ensure the prompt execution of the four-year plan, labour conscription was extended; every worker was now obliged to take up any job for which the State might require him, and not to quit it save with special permission.

On January 21 the President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Schacht, was suddenly removed by Herr Hitler and replaced by the Minister of Economics, Walter Funk, who now united both functions in his own person. This change—all the more surprising because Dr. Schacht had hitherto successfully managed to uphold confidence in the German currency and economy—was explained as aiming at "assuring the unified leadership of economic, currency, and capital-market policy." Funk was expressly charged "to secure in future as in the past the absolute stability of wages and prices, to uphold the value of the Reichsmark, to open up the capital market, and to place it in an increased degree at the disposal of the private demand for money." There was nothing in these directions which could not have been accomplished with at least equal success by Dr. Schacht; in deciding to replace him, therefore, the Führer must have been guided by other motives. These were to be found in Dr. Schacht's resistance to the demands of the Führer and his policy; instead of promoting vigorously the industrial and arms expansion in face of the rising public debt and the increase of legal tender circulation despite almost exhausted reserves, he had insisted on reduction of armaments, economy in public works, and higher taxation to meet the demands of the Treasury. Now Hitler was himself the undisputed master of the Reich economy, since Funk, a hundred per cent. Nazi and blindly obedient to his Führer, was sure never to refuse him any aid the Reichsbank was able to offer.

A revision of economic and financial policy immediately followed. On March 1 the new Reichsbank President decided to guarantee German export trade, which had experienced a marked decline in 1938, against oscillations of foreign exchange, the corresponding risks being assumed by the Reichsbank. Any

improvement, however, which this measure might have effected was frustrated by the action of the United States in raising duties on German imports by 25 per cent, as a counterpoise to the German trade discrimination in Czechoslovakia. Further, to disguise the actual inflation of the currency, which had nearly doubled in two years, vouchers and I.O.U.s were issued by the different Reich Departments in payment of their purchases. The financial situation of the Reich, the methods employed in meeting its needs, the details of public expenditure and State purchases, were kept secret. The Budget, published on April 2, contained no figures at all, except for some specific Government guarantees totalling 1500 million Rm.; everything else was covered by a blanket order stating that "the Reich Minister of Finance is authorised, in agreement with competent Reich Ministers, to allot to the respective Reich administrations the necessary working funds and to determine their mode of employment."

While the Reich was thus making all efforts to prepare the economic and other armament which it might soon be requiring, the National-Socialist unity of the German people demanded by Herr Hitler was still hindered by the continued opposition of the Confessional Church. Many of its pastors—among whom was the brother of Pastor Wilhelm Niemöller, still in a concentration camp—were punished by the Nazi regime because of their protests against the anti-Jewish excesses, while one of them, Pastor Mueller, the acknowledged leader of the Confessional Church, was accused of misusing the pulpit by offering a prayer for peace. When Dr. Friedrich Werner, head of the Supreme Council of the German Evangelical Church, declared himself in agreement with the principles of the German Christian movement—viz. that an international or independent church is a political perversion of Christianity and that Christian faith stands in immovable contradiction to Jewry—"Confessional" pastors read a proclamation from their pulpits declaring that the Synod of the Confessional Church no longer considered orders of Dr. Werner as legally binding. Catholic students of Munich University boycotted a professor appointed by the Minister of Education in violation of the Concordat between the Holy See and the Reich, whereupon the Minister ordered the closing of the Roman Catholic Faculty. Cardinal Innitzer, when visiting some parishes near Vienna, was threatened and insulted by members of the party, and the German Primate, the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, Dr. Waltz, on returning in May, 1939, from a trip to Vienna, found himself expelled from his palace at Salzburg, where the S.S.—the Black Guards of Himmler—had meanwhile installed themselves. Reich controllers took over the property of the Catholic Church in Austria, valued at about 25 million pounds; in nearly all convents party organisations took up their quarters; and a large number

of now homeless nuns and monks had to leave the country. *Die Nationalkirche* in its issue of April 30 reported that the Baden Ministry of Education had ordered the interpolation in the Gospel of St. John, "Salvation is of the Jews/" to be deleted from the Bible-readers.

In a speech to the Reichstag on January 30, Herr Hitler dealt at length with Germany's serious economic position, and stated that his chief difficulty was to supply the Reich with sufficient foodstuffs. He suggested two remedies. One was to export more in order to import more. The other was to extend what he called the German *Lebensraum*—a word which as the year rolled on was to acquire a sinister and even terrible significance. At the time of speaking he seemed to incline more to the former alternative, and he received every encouragement to persevere in it from the British Government and the British Ambassador in Berlin. A delegation from the British Federation of Industries which visited Berlin in March made an agreement with their German opposite number which was reckoned very favourable for German trade. But concurrently Herr Hitler was paving the way for military aggression by bringing pressure to bear on Czechoslovakia, which was now enclosed by Germany on three frontiers out of four. He demanded delivery of one-third of the gold reserve of the Czechoslovak National Bank, radical reduction of the Czechoslovak Army, solution of the Jewish problem—hitherto non-existent—on Nuremberg lines, German control of Czechoslovak foreign policy and, finally, the provision of raw materials regardless of the needs and even to the detriment of her own industries. So long as these demands were not agreed to, the German guarantee of the new Czechoslovak frontiers, as provided by the Munich Agreement, remained in suspense. Taking advantage of a treacherous appeal from Dr. Tiso, an ex-Premier of Slovakia and now a German agent in that country, and of renewed clashes between Czechs and Germans in regions of mixed population, especially at Moravska-Ostrava, Hitler once more intervened. On the eve of March 14 he summoned the Czechoslovak State President, Dr. Hacha, and his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Chvalkovsky, to Berlin, where he demanded the division of the Czechoslovak Republic into three separate states, and the reduction of Bohemia and Moravia to the status of a "Reich Protectorate," and threatened, if the proposal were rejected, to reduce Prague to a heap of ruins by means of aerial bombardment. While the ultimatum was still being discussed, German troops had already marched into Moravska-Ostrava, "to restore order." The Czechs, after a desperate and tragic struggle, finally accepted, and on March 15 the world learned with surprise and dismay from an official *communique* that "the Fuhrer, at their request, and in the presence of the Reich Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop,

had received the Czechoslovak State President and the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had trustfully laid the fate of the Czechoslovak people and country in the hands of the Fihrer of the German Reich." Once again the man who had so often proclaimed to the world that he had no further territorial ambitions in Europe was proved to be an arrant and inveterate liar. By a ruthless exercise of force and deception, with complete disregard of world opinion, the Reich appropriated to itself a fertile land of more than 18,000 square miles, subjugated a foreign people of nearly seven millions, and seized military equipment for one and a half million troops, and the gold and foreign exchange reserve of the Czechoslovak National Bank.

This stroke was immediately followed by others of the same nature, if not so drastic. Warned by the fate of Czechoslovakia, Rumania on March 20 signed a Trade Agreement, by which Germany was entitled to found and to finance enterprises in the Rumanian mining and other industries, to provide them with German staff, and to reserve for its own needs one-half of the Rumanian petrol production. On March 21 the Lithuanian Foreign Minister received an "invitation" to Berlin, and on the following day—"quick surrender to avoid clashes" having been inculcated—Lithuania and Germany signed a treaty by which the former ceded the territory of Memel to the Reich. These successes greatly raised the prestige of the Nazi Government within the country, and gave the younger Germans an occasion to express their pride and joy in belonging to the National-Socialist community which no foreign Power dared to resist. They had, however, a somewhat different effect on those who were no longer young enough to enjoy the much-praised "dangerous life," and who could not fail to remark that the suppression of Czechoslovak independence had nothing to do with "justice for Germany."

Germany's acts of aggression drew from the British Prime Minister a warning that "any attempt to dominate Europe would rouse the successful resistance of this and other countries who prize their freedom." The Nazi Government, however, refused to take the British warnings seriously. Believing that its maxim that "anything is right and lawful by which the German people profits" was followed by other nations also, it maintained that it had only served the cause of peace, and *Das Schwarze Korps*, the organ of the S.S., invited Britain to "join hands with Germany in dictating the peace of the entire world." When Britain replied by making pacts with Poland and Turkey, the German Government raised the cry of "encirclement," and denounced England as the enemy of peace. The imminence of war began to be felt, and no one who still remembered the last war could help being frightened.

In his quest for *Lebensraum*, Hitler next turned his atten-

tion to Poland, with which five years before he had concluded a Non-Aggression Pact for ten years, and which he had only recently assured of his continued friendship. In a speech on April 28 he denounced without warning the Non-Aggression Treaty, accusing Poland of having joined the encirclement policy of Mr. Chamberlain instead of accepting the German demands for the return of Danzig and the Corridor to the Reich. Matters soon became serious. Incidents and clashes between Poles and Germans multiplied suddenly in Danzig and in Poland. German troops and members of the S.A. and S.S. guards poured into Danzig and East Prussia, along with large quantities of ammunition, artillery, and tanks. These steps were accompanied by a most violent Press campaign against Poland, which was accused of "criminal war agitation," of forming plans to extend her frontiers on German territory up to the river Elbe, and of persecuting and murdering her citizens of German origin. The German Press threatened that Poland "would be wiped off the map with a mailed fist," if she continued her resistance and supported Mr. Chamberlain in his policy of encirclement. In August the tension between the Senate of Danzig and the Polish authorities was intensified and the Polish resistance accentuated; German troops were concentrated along the Polish frontier, and the Nazi Gauleiter of Danzig, Herr Forster, a young, inexperienced Bavarian, was nominated President of the Danzig Senate.

Hitler was well aware that his anti-Polish policy threatened to involve him in a war on two fronts—with Britain and France on the West and with Russia on the East. To avoid this danger, he began as early as April to make overtures to the Soviet Government, and when Molotov succeeded Litvinov at the Russian Foreign Office, negotiations were carried on in earnest, though in profound secrecy. On August 26 they were crowned with complete success by the conclusion of a Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression [see under Public Documents]. In the meanwhile Hitler had not neglected his old friends, and on May 22 an alliance for ten years was concluded with Italy providing for consultation in case of danger and full mutual support in case of war. It was understood, however, that Italy would not be ready for war for three years.

Having by his pact with Russia secured himself against the danger of a war on two fronts, Hitler soon brought matters to a head with Poland. Disregarding appeals from President Roosevelt, from the King of Belgium, and from the British and French Governments, he made impossible demands on Poland, and when they were refused, German troops crossed the frontier at dawn on September 1. The diplomacy which preceded the attack was characterised by *The Times* in its issue of September 2, in words which expressed what all the world felt: "For bullying,

chicanery, and bad manners, it would be difficult to find anything worse even in the record of the Nazi Government."

Assisted by the great superiority of the German air force, the invaders made rapid progress, and in three days had taken Czestochowa, thus opening the road to Warsaw. They were soon joined by forces from East Prussia, and the combined armies, having overcome fierce Polish resistance at the junction of the rivers Narew and Bug—where they claimed to have taken 105,000 prisoners—laid siege to Warsaw. German detachments also penetrated as far as Lwow (Lemberg). On September 17 the Russians invaded Poland from the East, and completed the Polish debacle. On September 28 the country was partitioned between Russia and Germany, and the western part was incorporated for the time being in the Reich.

The treaty of non-aggression with Soviet Russia left a large part of the German public dumbfounded. For seventeen years, since the first days of the National-Socialist movement in Germany, Nazi functionaries, the Nazi Press, Nazi books, the Nazi Party programme, Hitler, Goebbels, and all the party leaders had never ceased to preach a crusade against "Jewish Marxism," and the Asiatic pestilence of the Comintern. Herr Thyssen, the leader of the Rhineland metal industry, and his friends had spent many millions of Reichsmarks in subsidising the Nazi Party in order to fight the Bolsheviks. Now they found that they had been trying to exorcise the devil by Beelzebub, and that the Communists, hitherto silenced and in concentration camps, were beginning to stir. But that was not all; the Russian friendship was to be well paid for. As the Polish campaign proceeded, the public learnt that not only was a large portion of Polish territory to go to Russia, but also that the Reich had sacrificed the Baltic Germans, who now had to leave the Russian part of Poland and the Baltic States, where their ancestors had been settled for hundreds of years.

By September 20 the Polish campaign was virtually ended, and the bulk of the troops in Poland were at once transferred to the Western Front, where the French were beginning to penetrate into Germany. The Reich Government had been disagreeably surprised when at the beginning of September Britain and France carried out their pledge to Poland by declaring war on Germany; they were still more disagreeably surprised when those countries determined to prosecute the war after the disappearance of their Polish ally. They were thus faced with a task on which they had not reckoned and for which they were only indifferently prepared. Rationing of food, clothing, linen, and foot-wear, even of boot repairs, had taken place immediately at the outbreak of war, and the quantities allowed were by no means sufficient. Oil and petrol were so scarce that nearly the whole private motor traffic was brought to a standstill and the new

motor roads, the pride of the Nazi Government, constructed at considerable expense, had become useless. The condition of the railways was deplorable ; money spent on the motor roads had to be obtained by restricting expenditure on railway material, but now the whole burden of the troop transport lay on the railroad. Between November 4 and December 25 nine railway accidents occurred, causing heavy damage and loss of 300 lives. Neither Rumanian oil nor the much-advertised Russian supplies arrived in Germany save in dribbles, owing to the lack of means of transport. The situation became the more difficult as discontent began to grow among the masses.

At the outset of the war the Reich Government had sought to bring about a quick decision in the West by means of a U-boat campaign which should paralyse British shipping. The British on their side instituted a blockade of Germany which was much more successful, depriving her of about half her imports, including some raw materials essential for war purposes. In the middle of November Germany began to lay mines indiscriminately without warning, and Britain and France retaliated by cutting off Germany's overseas export trade. On land and in the air, after some tentative and unsuccessful moves by Germany in the middle of October [*vide* English History], neither side seemed willing to take the offensive, though the Germans lost a considerable number of men and machines in sporadic actions. Early in November the Germans massed about a million and a half men on the frontiers of Holland and Belgium, and reports were current that Hitler had planned an invasion of these countries, but was dissuaded by the Higher Command of the Army, which considered the enterprise too risky.

That the nation was far from being united was shown on November 8, when a bomb exploded in the Munich Burgerbraukeller, where the anniversary of Hitler's Munich *Putsch* of November, 1923, was being celebrated. About fifteen minutes before the explosion Hitler had left the assembly, accompanied by a number of high Nazi officials ; of the persons present at the time of the explosion six were killed and about sixty injured. The German propaganda service immediately accused the British Intelligence Service of being the instigators of this attempt and thanked Providence for the escape of the Fuhrer, who, as Herr Goebbels declared, still enjoyed the special favour of the Almighty. Two weeks later the Gestapo announced the arrest of Georg Elser, a former prisoner of a German concentration camp. He was declared to have committed this crime with the complicity of the British Intelligence Service, operating from the Hague ; but no evidence was produced to support the charge. Whether the attempt was really the work of Georg Elser or of some German anti-Nazi, or whether it was staged by the Gestapo in imitation of the famous Reichstag fire, and for a similar purpose, is still

unknown; what is certain is that the Munich bomb—the third aimed at Hitler since the beginning of the war—furnished a welcome pretext for a new purge on the model of June 30, 1934. A large number of arrests was made and many of those taken were immediately executed. Among the victims of this purge were many Nazis who had expressed their discontent and their distrust in the Führer's new policy of friendship with the Bolsheviks of Moscow.

In any case it was clear that wide circles of the nation disapproved strongly of the war, the friendship with Russia, and the policy of the Führer in general. The German positions in the Baltic had been surrendered to Russia without apparent need; Russia's attack on Finland, a country very dear to many Germans, was met by the Nazi Government not only with non-intervention but with positive assistance. Finally, German South Tyrol, the Italian province of Alto Adige, and its German minority, were made the object of a transaction of which no German could approve and which was resented with special bitterness in Austria. The inhabitants of South Tyrol of German origin were to declare by the end of the year whether they wanted to leave their country and their homestead and go to Germany, or whether they preferred to remain Italian citizens; in the latter case they would equally have to leave their homes and accept new settlements in other parts of Italy. Out of a German-speaking minority of about 250,000 some 185,000, or 74 per cent., voted for emigration to Germany. Most of them were inhabitants of the province of Bolzano, where they constituted the majority of the population. They saw now all their hopes of liberation and return to their mother-country frustrated. For twenty years they had fought and hoped; the success of the Nazi Party in Germany had given them new force and confidence in the happy issue of their struggle and now they found themselves bought and sold like cattle by the man in whom they had put all their hopes. Their vote for return to Germany was therefore no sign or proof of their attachment to the Führer and the Nazi cause—this time there was no thanksgiving demonstration—but only the inevitable consequence of the national oppression exercised by Italy and the bitter hatred which this oppression had roused in the hearts of the South Tyrolese.

The blockade, along with the requirements of the war economy, still further depressed the already very low standard of living of the German masses. Overtaxed and underfed, they gave vent to their discontent in ever louder murmurings. To appease them the Reich Propaganda Ministry held out glowing prospects of plentiful supplies from Russia; and when these failed to materialise, it fed them on fairy tales of German successes at sea and the dire straits to which England was being reduced by the blockade, at the same time taking stringent measures to

prevent them obtaining news from outside sources. It also laboured unceasingly to inflame hatred against England, with such success that by the end of the year this passion had probably become the inspiring motive in the war effort of the German people.

In Poland the victorious Germans behaved with a barbarity scarcely credible in a people still commonly regarded as civilised. They set themselves deliberately to enslave the native population, if not even to exterminate it. Thousands of Poles were killed in cold blood ; hundreds of thousands were set to forced labour, and hundreds of thousands were turned adrift from their homes. The cruellest stroke of the Germans was perhaps to herd hundreds of thousands of Jews, utterly destitute, into a reserve near Lublin where they had not the slightest chance of making a livelihood; but their treatment of the Poles was little if at all better. In Bohemia also they ruled with an iron hand, robbing the Czechs of every vestige of their liberties, and even of their means of livelihood.

The guiding principle of German foreign policy in 1939, as also of her treatment of vanquished peoples, was aptly stated by Dr. Hans Frank, Governor-General of Poland, Minister of Justice, and President of the German Academy of Law, in a speech on December 4, before an assembly of National-Socialist jurists : " Pale phantoms of objective justice do not exist for us any more. We have only one aim : to prevent for all future time every overthrow of our ideals and every class delusion. The law of war is the legal principle of the new world order, which will be created by the might of the German arms."

CHAPTER IV.

**SOVIET RUSSIA — ESTONIA — LATVIA — LITHUANIA — POLAND—
DANZIG — CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RUMANIA — YUGO-
SLAVIA—TURKEY—GREECE—BULGARIA—ALBANIA.**

THE SOVIET UNION.

THE most striking feature in the year's events in Russia was the amazing change which took place in her international orientation and foreign policy. From being a pacific Power she became an aggressive one ; from the bitterest enemy of Nazi Germany she became—at least ostensibly—her friend and ally. Apart from its effects on conditions in Russia itself, this change was largely responsible for the outbreak of the European War in September.

At the beginning of the year Russia felt herself somewhat isolated, The treatment meted out to her during the Munich

Conference confirmed the Soviet Government in their suspicion that the democracies would sooner come to an understanding with Hitler's Germany than with themselves, and this led to a certain estrangement. Her attitude towards Poland also became more unfriendly on account of that country's preparations for its coming assault on Czechoslovakia and its toying with the idea of joining the anti-Comintern Pact or even assisting Hitler in his Ukrainian plans. This, however, did not prevent a Trade Agreement being signed with Poland on January 19. Trade with Germany had also become quite insignificant, although early in the year the Trade Agreement between the Union and Germany was renewed. At the same time Russia demanded that the German Embassy and Consulates in Russia should not employ Russians, and about a thousand Germans (including German Communists) were rounded up, some being imprisoned and others deported.

The militarisation and fortification of the Aaland Islands, which at that time was suggested by Sweden and Finland, was considered as a threat to Russia from Germany, which was reported to be planning the bottling up of the Gulf of Finland and the seizure of the Aaland Islands, and the Soviet Government accordingly refused to give its consent. Japan, which had joined the anti-Comintern Pact, was, together with Italy and Germany, pressing Hungary to assume a similar attitude towards Soviet Russia, so that the Soviet Government thought fit to ask the Hungarian Minister to leave Moscow. Relations with Japan had not improved and the Far-Eastern Armies were engaged in ceaseless skirmishes with the Japanese, several sanguinary conflicts having taken place between the Russian and Japanese troops at the end of January and the beginning of February.

In order to strengthen its military preparedness, the High Command of the Red Army carried out several new purges and drastic replacements of Generals and ordered a considerable increase in its naval programme. As a further precautionary measure Russia settled in February her trade dispute with Italy, took delivery of a battle cruiser which had been built for her by Italy and detained pending payment, renewed her Trade Agreement with that country, and suggested a Black Sea Pact between herself, Rumania, and Turkey. Rumania, however, received the suggestion with reserve.

On February 21 it was stated in a Havas Agency despatch from Moscow that after the events of September, 1938 (Munich), the Soviet Government considered itself released from any obligation towards England and France, that it would adopt a policy equally detached from the Berlin-Rome Axis and the London-Paris Axis, and that Russia regarded German aggressiveness as being in the first instance directed against the West rather than against the East.

In a four-hour speech at the Eighteenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party on March 10, Stalin laid down the following principles of Russian foreign policy :—

- (1) Russia was for peace and for strengthening her trade relations with all countries as long as they did not attempt to violate the interests of the Union.
- (2) Russia was for close and peaceful relations with all her neighbours as long as they did not attempt to violate the integrity and the frontiers of the Union.
- (3) Russia was in favour of supporting peoples who were victims of aggression and who struggled for the independence of their fatherland.
- (4) Russia was not afraid of aggressors and was ready to render blow for blow to war instigators attempting to violate the integrity of the Soviet Union.

He added that in her foreign policy Russia relied on the good sense of the Powers not interested in violating the peace. He also complained that the non-aggressive Powers, England, France, the United States, were making concession after concession to the aggressors without ever trying to repel them, although they, the democracies, were stronger. They allowed Germany to take Austria, they gave her Czechoslovakia, and they did not worry over the German designs on the Ukraine, thus encouraging German aggression, which they hoped to direct eastwards. But, said he, " we shall not be deceived and we shall take other steps."

Immediately after the German seizure of Czechoslovakia (March 17) the Soviet Government made a proposal to the British Government to call a conference of certain Powers to deal with the problem of further aggression. The British Government replied that " at present " it was preferable to conduct consultations through normal diplomatic channels. At the same time Lord Halifax asked M. Maisky to ascertain from his Government whether they were prepared to co-operate in stopping further aggression from the side of Germany. At the beginning of April the *Journal de Moscou*, a Soviet publication issued primarily for influencing opinion abroad, definitely stated that the Soviet Government did not consider separate consultations and bilateral agreements sufficient to stop aggression and recommended (failing a conference) a full agreement between England, Russia, and France, suggesting that this agreement should also cover the Far East. On April 16 Litvinov handed the British Ambassador in Moscow Russian proposals on the subject of opposing aggression amounting to a full military alliance between the three Powers. On April 21 M. Maisky brought Lord Halifax's reply to Moscow. A few days later it was reported from Moscow that Russia was willing to accept the British proposals for a treaty of mutual assistance if the agreement would guarantee also Latvia and Estonia against German aggression (but not apparently against Russian interference), and if the treaties of England and France with Poland and Rumania were to be so amended as to prevent these two States turning against

Russia. In addition to the negotiations with England (acting in agreement with France) the Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. Potemkin, made an extensive tour to Turkey and other Balkan countries. On the way back he visited Poland, where the Press began to preach the vital necessity of an agreement with Russia.

The main negotiations between Great Britain and the Soviet Government did not go well, on account of mutual distrust. The British statesmen were not sure of the importance Russia attached to indirect aggression and the advantage she was going to take of that alleged menace. The Soviet Government believed that the British Government was reluctant to oppose aggression, citing as evidence developments in the Far East and Albania, and Britain's *de facto* recognition of Slovakia, and they began to suspect that Britain was really hoping and working for a patched-up agreement with Germany and might at any time turn against Russia. It was then that Litvinov, who supported the Western orientation of the Soviet Union, was "at his own request" relieved of his post of Foreign Commissar. This was a warning to Britain and France and also a hint to Germany, which that country was not slow to take. All the same the Soviet Government took steps to improve relations with Poland by appointing a new Ambassador, and Molotov (who was appointed Foreign Commissar in place of Litvinov) assured the British Ambassador, on the latter's inquiry, that there was no change in the Russian anti-aggression policy (May 6).

In the meantime German aggressiveness became more threatening, and to its guarantee to Poland the British Government had to add a guarantee also to Rumania. In a new set of proposals, Russia was asked to undertake to give immediate assistance in case Britain and France were involved in military operations on account of these guarantees. Russia seems to have demanded a complete military understanding with Staff talks and assistance to herself in similar conditions.

While in France there was an inclination to hasten the agreement with Russia, Britain hesitated. There was apparently a lingering hope in British Government spheres that some understanding was still possible with Germany, and the sudden return of Sir Neville Henderson to Berlin after he had been recalled only increased Soviet suspicions that England did not really mean business, and would not hesitate to leave Russia in the lurch if it suited her. There were other indications of this nature to irritate the Soviet Government (articles in leading newspapers that Danzig was not worth a fight, all kinds of assurances to Japan, Britain's attitude in the Spanish conflict). Japanese attacks were becoming fiercer throughout May, and in one of **the** Moscow papers (*Stroitelstvo*) a hint was given that if agreement with England should turn out to be impossible there would

be agreement with Germany, which must have by then submitted definite and "tempting" proposals to Molotov. To thrash the whole question out finally it was suggested that the Foreign Secretaries of Britain, France, and the Soviet Union should come together at the approaching meeting of the League Council, and for this purpose and at the request of the Russian Ambassador (M. Maisky) the session of the Council was postponed to May 22 to enable M. Potemkin (Assistant Foreign Commissar), who had just returned from his tour to Eastern Europe, to go to Geneva. The session of the Council of the League of Nations took place at the time appointed after the postponement. A Russian Commissar did not go after all (the idea had been to give Lord Halifax a chance of going to Moscow, which would be superfluous if he should have met a member of the Soviet Government in Geneva), and Lord Halifax brought with him strong representations from the French Government that an agreement with Russia was vital. The French paper *Ordre* published on May 26 a report from Berlin from which it appeared that Germany had offered Soviet Russia, for joining in Germany's future "activities," the eastern half of Poland, acquiescence with regard to Bessarabia, and full security from the Ukrainian separatist movement. Nothing was said about the Baltic States.

On May 31 M. Molotov, addressing the Soviet "Parliament," made his long-awaited first statement on his Government's foreign policy. He disclaimed any sympathy for aggressors, and reproached the democracies for their endless concessions to them in the hope of turning aggression into a channel more acceptable to themselves. The way Germany was allowed to finish off Czechoslovakia made him wonder what the real aim of the Munich Agreement was. He then referred to the treaty between Germany and Italy, obviously directed against the chief European democracies which had not yet shown definitely enough that they meant to resist that aggression effectively and give up non-intervention. Signs of a change for the better were in his opinion the Mutual Assistance Pact between Great Britain and Poland, and the Anglo-Turkish Agreement. Britain and France wished Soviet Russia also to join in resisting aggression, and the negotiations which began in the middle of April were still continuing. For such co-operation, Molotov said, three conditions were indispensable :—

- (1) An effective defensive pact of mutual assistance between Britain, France, and the Union.
- (2) A guarantee against attack to be given by Britain, France, and Soviet Russia to the States of Central and Eastern Europe, including all European countries bordering on Russia.
- (3) A concrete agreement between these three Powers regarding the forms and the extent of the immediate and effective assistance to be given to each other, and to the guaranteed States in the event of aggression.

In the new proposals recently received from Britain and France the basis of reciprocity was recognised, Molotov continued, but was hedged round with such reservations that the step forward might prove to be fictitious. Also the British proposals spoke of Soviet assistance to the States they themselves had guaranteed, but did not mention the States on the north-western border of Russia which would be unable to defend their own independence.

In view of the strong German element and the methods of German propaganda in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland (even Poland was infested with German agents, spies, and secret military organisations, as was proved later on), Russia in fact demanded the recognition of her right to intervene in those States should she become aware that the aggressor (*i.e.* Germany) was active there preparing outbreaks, risings, or sabotage which would enable him under some excuse or other to step in with armed force.

Having considered the Russian demands the British Government decided to send Mr. William Strang, an expert of the Foreign Office, to help the British Ambassador in Moscow to accelerate the negotiations. Mr. Strang arrived on June 14 with certain concessions to the Soviet point of view, but with new reservations distinguishing between attacks on the signatories and on those in whose independence they were interested, and suggesting consultations in certain cases before coming to the assistance to the party threatened.

Further suspicions were aroused in Russia by the difficulties raised in Geneva in connexion with bringing to the notice of the next Council meeting of the League Dr. Benes's letter protesting against Germany's mutilation of Czechoslovakia and the occupation of Ruthenia by Hungary. A good deal of expert ingenuity was used to find technical reasons for a refusal to circulate Dr. Benes's letter until the Soviet Government, as a Member of the Council, formally requested it.

On June 13 *Pravda* reiterated with great emphasis the Russian point of view on the position of the Baltic States and Finland, quoting Czechoslovakia as an instance of a State which could not withstand German aggression alone, and openly accusing the Foreign Ministers of Finland and Estonia, who objected to a Russian guarantee, of a desire to prevent the realisation of the anti-aggression front and of submission to German influence.

On June 25 it became known that the German Government had inquired of the Governments of Estonia, Latvia, and Finland whether they were willing that their independence should be guaranteed jointly by Germany and Russia, promising that if BO Germany would approach Russia formally. This *d-marche* by the German Government plainly indicated to the Soviet leaders that Germany was prepared to concede to Russia more

than Britain and France were ready to do, that Germany was apparently certain that a military conflict with the Western Powers would take place (as was disclosed later on December 16), i.e. that an attack upon Poland had been more or less decided on, and that, in her anxiety to avoid a struggle on two fronts, Germany would have to leave Russia a free hand to take her own measures of security if it really came to a conflict in the West.

In the meantime the negotiations of Russia with Britain and France were dragging on, Britain showing herself reluctant to make any advance, sending new and "better" proposals about every fortnight, without, however, definitely recognising Russia's position in regard to the Baltic, and the strategic importance of Finland, Estonia, and Latvia for the defence of her territory against Germany. As proved by her experiences after the Great War, Zhdanoff, known to be a confidant of Stalin, published an exceedingly sharp article in the *Pravda* reproaching Britain and France with deliberately delaying the conclusion of the anti-aggression agreement. He pointed out that the negotiations had lasted seventy-five days, of which the Bolsheviks took sixteen to prepare their replies and the British and French fifty-nine, and that the difficulties were purely artificial. He bluntly asserted that France and Britain did not want a real pact acceptable to Soviet Russia, for when they wished to conclude pacts with Poland and Turkey it had not taken them long to agree to the necessary concessions.

Meanwhile it was announced that the autumn manoeuvres would take place in the Leningrad district, just around the borders of Latvia, Estonia, and Finland. Also, in order apparently to impress the Baltic States and Finland with Russia's naval strength, the Soviet Government sent out a large squadron of fifty ships, which steamed along the south coast of Finland, showing themselves in the Helsinki waters, and proceeding from thence to the Estonian and Latvian coasts and across to the Swedish Island of Gottland, thus giving a warning, as it were, of the extent of sea in the Baltic the Bolsheviks considered should be under their control. This naval parade in the Baltic was followed by celebrations of the Russian Navy Week, during which it was announced that the submarine force of Russia was being considerably increased and that by 1942 the Soviet Union would be one of the leading naval Powers. According to information published by the German Admiralty, Russia was already then building seventy-two submarines, a 35,000 ton battleship, and two aircraft carriers. The White Sea Canal was to be widened, so that Russia would be able to appear, when necessary, in the North Sea without depending on the route through the southern half of the Baltic, which, since the Anglo-German Naval Agreement, had been strongly held by Germany.

From this it would seem that already by the end of July the Bolshevik Government was conceiving big plans of imperialistic expansion which fitted in with the new nationalism reviving in Russia and its dreams of restoring the old frontiers of the Russian Empire. Even among the Russian anti-Bolsheviks living in Western Europe and strongly suspicious of the Soviet Government its imperialist plans met with approval, and the trouble brewing in Europe was considered a good opportunity for Russia to undo the work of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty (which undoing was left unfinished by Russia's old Allies in 1919). This would seem to have been the real aim of Soviet foreign policy, directed equally against Germany and the Western democracies.

The negotiations with Britain and France, even with the help of Mr. Strang, had not made progress. In order to accelerate the work it was suggested to begin discussing the practical details of military co-operation even before political agreement had been reached, as this would show that real co-operation was intended. While, however, Mr. Chamberlain was assuring the House of Commons that the Anglo-Russian talks were proceeding fairly satisfactorily and that Molotov himself had said so, Herr Ribbentrop met Count Ciano in Salzburg and informed him of the German plan of agreement with Russia. The Military Mission sent by Britain and France arrived on August 12 and conversations began at once.

Russia had now to make her choice. According to a report which reached Russian circles in Paris later, the issues were stated by Stalin at a meeting of the Politbureau on August 19 in the following words, which, whether actually spoken or not, certainly seem to provide the key to Russia's subsequent conduct.

We have reached the final stage in the negotiations and we must take a decision. Shall it be peace or war? Much will depend on the position of the Soviet Union in this matter. I am convinced that if we sign the agreement with England and France, Germany will have to retreat from her present position; Hitler will come to an understanding with the Western Powers. The war will be avoided, but, comrades, consider how dangerous our own position will then be. On the other hand, if we accept Germany's proposals already known to you and sign an agreement of non-aggression with Hitler, he is sure to attack Poland. England and France will have to go to war. In these circumstances we shall have good chances to stay out of the struggle and unconcernedly await our opportunity. I think our interests demand such tactics. It is obvious that before England and France make a move Poland will be destroyed. In this case Germany concedes to us Western Ukraine, including the Ukrainian portion of Galicia, and White Russia. Hitler agrees to us having a free hand in the three Baltic States, and he will raise no objection to the return of Bessarabia. He is also prepared to recognise Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary as our sphere of interest. The position of Yugoslavia will depend on the attitude of Italy. If Italy remains friendly with Germany, Germany will claim Yugoslavia for herself in order to obtain a footing on the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. If Italy does not go with Germany, Yugoslavia will be in our sphere of interest. All this of course is if Germany wins. But we cannot be sure of that and Hitler may be defeated. It is quite possible for England and France to occupy Berlin

and destroy Germany, if the Soviet Union does not come to Hitler's assistance. It is to our advantage that Germany should drag out the war as long as possible, since England and France will, in this case, be so exhausted that they will not be able to destroy Germany completely. We should therefore help Germany economically, sending her raw materials and foodstuffs, in so far, of course, as is compatible with our own requirements and without weakening our own military strength. It is also necessary to carry on our Communist propaganda, which will be costly. If this work is done properly Germany will be saved. But supposing Hitler wins. The opinion is widely shared that Hitler's victory may prove a grievous danger to us. There is some truth in this apprehension, but the danger is more remote and not so great as people imagine. Germany, too, will be exhausted and would hardly dare to venture into a military conflict with us for ten years at least. I suggest we accept Germany's proposals and try to make the war last as long as possible, without taking part in it.

On the next day (Aug. 20) it was announced that Russia had concluded a Commercial Agreement with Germany by which the Union was granted a credit of about 10,000,000Z. The day after (Aug. 21) it was officially announced that in order to relieve the tension in their political relations the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and Germany desired to conclude a non-aggression pact and that Herr Ribbentrop would come to Moscow to sign it. [See under Public Documents.] It was also stated that Russia was prepared to conclude a similar agreement with all nations.

Poland was invaded by Germany on September 1. During the first two weeks of the war Russia mobilised an army of nearly 4,000,000 and, copying the Nazi pattern, the Soviet Press turned on its propaganda machine and began accusing Poland of terrible oppression of the Russian and Ukranian minorities. Russia was obviously preparing for taking part in the final stages in the war in Poland. To keep her hands more free for this campaign, the Soviet Government stopped the war in the Far East [*vide* Japan] and hurriedly concluded a truce with Japan, ceasing operations from September 16 and leaving the Soviet and Japanese troops in the positions held on that date. On the same day the Politbureau, on the strength of a report from Berlin, decided to move Russian troops into Poland. In the middle of the night the Polish Ambassador was called to Molotov and handed a note informing him of that decision. A little later the same morning Molotov broadcast the official explanation: Two weeks of war had been sufficient for the whole structure of the corrupt Polish State to collapse. No one knew where the Polish Government was. As the Polish State had ceased to exist, the treaties of Russia with Poland were no longer valid. In such circumstances Poland became a fertile ground for any unexpected contingency and Russia was compelled to secure her own interests. No one could expect Russia to forsake the Ukrainian and White Russian populations which formed part of the former Poland, and she would take them under her protection. Russia would also take every measure to "deliver" the Poles themselves from their corrupt and unwise rulers.

For the fixing of the new frontiers Ribbentrop arrived in Moscow a second time on September 27, and on September 28 signed a treaty of amity, of which the principal points were (1) frontiers according to a map attached ; (2) Germany and Russia not to allow any interference in their territory by any other State ; (3) the organisation of the territories to be the responsibility of the respective Governments. In a Declaration attached to this treaty the Soviet Government undertook to participate in an effort, " in the interest of all nations," to bring about a cessation of the war between Germany and Britain, and, if this effort failed, to consult with Germany what further measures might be necessary. [See under Public Documents.]

On September 24 the Estonian Government received an invitation from Moscow to send their Foreign Minister for the conclusion of a new agreement with Russia. Whilst M. Karl Selter, the Foreign Minister of Estonia, was in Moscow two Russian cargo ships were alleged to have suffered attacks from hostile submarines apparently hiding in the bays of the Estonian coast. A squadron of Soviet aeroplanes was sent over Tallin, creating a panic. On September 28 Estonia signed a Treaty of Mutual Assistance and Trade Agreement with Russia [see under Public Documents] by which Russia received naval bases and several aerodromes on two islands (Oesel and Dago) and in Baltiski Port.

On October 5 Latvia, " wisely " following the Estonian example, accepted a Pact of Mutual Assistance similar to that of Estonia [see under Public Documents], granting to Russia naval bases at Libau and Windau and the right to " keep " a limited number of troops in the country.

On October 10 Lithuania decided to accept a Treaty of Mutual Assistance with Russia in case of aggression against or through the territory of either party. Russia was given air bases and facilities for maintaining troops, but promised to respect the sovereignty of the Lithuanian Republic and returned to Lithuania the city and district of Vilna, forcibly seized by Poland. [See under Public Documents.]

In this way Russia brought up her western line of defences to the new frontier with Germany and acquired naval bases in the Northern Baltic commanding entirely the south side of the Gulf of Finland. Yet even so, Russia did not feel herself entirely secure against aggression from Germany, as the Gulf of Finland was not completely covered by her guns and the German naval forces in the Baltic were too powerful for her liking. To put Russia at ease and by way of further security Germany agreed to remove from these countries most of the German population, although the vast majority were citizens of those States. The fact that hardly any of these Germans failed to recognise the authority of the Nazi Government showed that the possibilities for

indirect aggression through these States were quite considerable, if only Hitler wished to make use of them, as he did in other cases.

As a further measure of security, the Soviet Government concentrated large divisions of troops in the neighbourhood of the Finnish frontier and sent an invitation to Finland to commence discussions on various matters of common interest. Before the Finnish delegation was received by Molotov and Stalin the United States Ambassador, supported by the Ministers of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, appealed to the Russian Government not to demand anything which would prevent Finland from maintaining her independence and neutrality. Kalinin, the nominal President of the Union, replied to the American message that the violation of Finland's independence was not intended. By October 16 it became known that Russian demands to Finland amounted to the cession of certain islands in the Gulf of Finland, a pledge not to fortify the Aaland islands, the conclusion of a military pact, and one or two other demands which had not been revealed.

The talks between Finland and the Moscow Government continued until December, the Finns coming and going several times, resisting pressure and eventually agreeing to certain concessions affecting the Hogland Island and a few other smaller islands in the Gulf of Finland in return for certain guarantees about the predominance of Russian naval power in the Northern Baltic. At first the talks proceeded in a not "unfriendly" atmosphere, the Finns endeavouring to be as accommodating as possible and the Russians abstaining from making an open display of force. However, during all these negotiations Finland was taking military measures to provide against the eventuality of a breakdown, and the Russians, not satisfied with their own military preparations and their overwhelming strength, began mobilising the Finnish Communists, partly in Russia and partly in Finland, thus resorting to the method of "indirect aggression" so much deprecated by them when they feared it from Nazi Germany in the Baltic States. By the end of October tension in Northern Europe was further aggravated by reports that Sweden, too, had received an invitation from Moscow to discuss several new matters affecting the two countries.

In the meantime Molotov, in a speech on October 31, had given Russia's interpretation of the "further steps" which she proposed to take if Britain and France failed to respond to Hitler's "peace offensive." He declared that the war for Poland was senseless as Poland had been finished for all time, that to fight under the pretence of defending democracy was a crime, and that Britain was now the aggressor. He went on to say, however, that Russia would nevertheless remain neutral, would reserve a free hand in her foreign policy, and would try to prevent the spreading of the war.

With regard to Finland he stated that that country had rejected Russia's offer for exchange of territory and the handing over of certain islands for military purposes. Russia claimed a small strip of land near Leningrad in order to move the Finnish defence lines beyond the reach of their guns ; (Leningrad is within 15 minutes' flying from Finland). He warned Finland that their refusal to come to an agreement with Russia was harmful for the cause of peace and reproached President Roosevelt for interfering in Russo -Finnish relations. Molotov also resented Finland's military defensive preparations, considering them as provocative.

The Soviet Press now began a furious anti-Finnish propaganda, accusing the Finnish Government of hatred of Russia, of being non-representative of the masses and reactionary, and of supporting aggressors. The climax came when on November 27 an official *communiqué* was issued by the Russian Press Agency stating that Finnish troops had fired across the Russian frontier and killed several Russian soldiers. Molotov immediately sent a note of protest and demanded that Finland should move her troops from the frontier to a line situated about 16 miles further inland. Finland declared herself ready to comply if Russian troops were moved further back from their own frontier, which would have meant leaving Leningrad undefended. On November 29 Russia denounced her Pact of Amity with Finland of 1932, accusing the Finnish Government of systematically violating it. Immediately afterwards, and before Finland had time to reply to the note denouncing the treaty, Russia broke off diplomatic relations.

A Russian invasion of Finland was immediately launched, Soviet airmen bombarding Helsinki and other cities and the Soviet Fleet shelling Finnish ports. An offer of mediation from the U.S.A. was not accepted. The Finnish Government resigned and another Government was appointed from which were excluded all those members against whom the Soviet Press carried on their propaganda. It was declared from Moscow, however, that no Finnish Government would be recognised which did not adopt a friendly attitude towards Russia.

On December 1 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland (with its seat in Moscow) published an appeal to the workers of Finland to revolt against the bourgeois rulers of their country. Immediately after the issue of the appeal a radio message announced that a Provisional Government had been formed in the township and district of Teryoki with Comrade Otto Kuisinen as Prime Minister. This "Government" issued a manifesto expressing its approval of the Red Army hurrying to their assistance and appealing to the Soviet Government to destroy the reactionary clique and help them to establish themselves in Helsinki. Within a day this puppet Government made a pact with the Soviet Government, which on its side undertook

to assist in the " War of Liberation " and cede to the new Finland a vast tract of territory in Eastern Karelia as compensation for the strips of land claimed from Finland by Russia for itself, viz, five islands, part of the Karelian isthmus, and the lease of Hangoe and the region around, including a few more small islands in which the Soviet Army, Navy, and Air Force could establish their bases. The same treaty spoke, however, of maintaining Finnish sovereignty.

The manner in which the Soviet Government had advanced its claims against Finland, and especially Russia's refusal to renew negotiations after several nations and the Finnish Government itself had appealed to her, could not be viewed by the outside world as anything but aggression. On an appeal by Finland to the League of Nations, both the Council and the Assembly of the League declared Russia to be the aggressor in this case, and Russia was expelled from the League of Nations (December 16) after she had refused to attend.

In view of the enormous disparity in resources between the two combatants, the Soviet Government proceeded on the assumption that they could crush Finland in a few days by sheer weight of numbers, and sent their men into the fray very imperfectly equipped to stand an Arctic winter, and very indifferently trained and led. They soon had a rude awakening, the Finns proving much more redoubtable opponents than anyone had expected. The Russians, it is true, captured Petsamo, the Finnish port on the Arctic, but apart from this they had by the end of the year scarcely obtained a foothold in the country, while their losses both in men and material had been colossal. (For details of the campaign, *vide* Finland.) The complete failure of the Soviet *Blitzkrieg* dealt a heavy blow at the prestige of the Union as a military power, and the defects of organisation and preparation which it revealed raised grave doubts about Russia's value as a partner or her strength as an opponent.

On January 30 there was published in the *Isvestia*—thirteen months late—the draft of the Third Five-Year Plan, drawn up by M. Molotov, the Premier. The Plan aimed at the maximum output of " means of production "—machinery, " black " metallurgy, electric power, and fuel—while giving consumers' goods only second place, its avowed object being to make the U.S.S.R. independent economically and technically, and its defences invulnerable. The Plan among other things prohibited the erection of new industrial plant not only in the Moscow and Leningrad areas, but also in Kiev, Kharkov, Gorky, and other centres, and shifted industrial development eastwards to the Volga-Ural territory and beyond to Siberia and the Far East. It also condemned the " giant-mania," i.e. the erection of gigantic plants, which had been a basic feature of the First Plan. The Plan was adopted at the Communist Party Congress in March—the first since

1934—when the average annual increase in industrial production was fixed at 13.6 per cent., viz. 15.7 per cent, for producers' and 11.5 per cent, for consumers' goods. It was admitted in the preamble to the Plan that so far the U.S.S.R. was well behind many capitalist countries in the output both of heavy industries and of many consumption goods.

On December 20 M. Stalin's sixtieth birthday was made the occasion of great celebrations throughout the Union, and he was the recipient of many tributes of an extraordinary fulsomeness, being entitled among other things "the greatest man humanity had produced" and "the Hero of Socialist Labour."

The Budget Estimates laid before the Supreme Council on May 25 gave revenue 155,607 million roubles and expenditure 150,000 million. Revenue showed an increase of 22 per cent, over that of the previous year. The Defence Estimate at 40,885,000,000 was over 17 thousand million more than in the previous year.

A Decree of May 27 stated that "serious breaches" were being committed in the party system of collective land tenure, and drastically tightened up the system in various ways.

The preliminary results, published in June, of a census taken in January gave the total population of the U.S.S.R. as 170,467,186.

THE BALTIC STATES.

After nearly twenty years of complete independence, the three Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—in 1939 once more fell under the dominance of Russia, though they still retained their sovereign status, and one of them, Lithuania, even gained an important accession of territory. From the beginning of the year they had foreseen the danger, and in meetings of the Baltic Entente had arranged for joint action to meet it. On June 7 Estonia and Latvia signed identical Pacts of Non-Aggression with Germany in Berlin. A little later the Press of both countries bitterly reproached England for trying to persuade them to accept the Russian proposal to guarantee their independence, on the ground that such a guarantee might pave the way for the entry of Russian troops into their territory. The policy of neutrality which they frequently proclaimed in the early part of the year was based on the idea that they could play off Russia and Germany against one another. This basis was destroyed by the Russo-German Pact; and when the testing time came, they went back on their declarations and, without a struggle, allowed Russia to occupy key positions in their territory and turn them virtually into Protectorates.

ESTONIA.

In the middle of April a law was promulgated raising the period of compulsory military service to eighteen months. To meet the increased expenditure on defence, an additional tax of approximately one-tenth of existing taxes was imposed. The powers of the Minister of the Interior were strengthened in order to combat sensation-mongers and the spread of false information through the Press. In July a supplementary Trade Agreement was concluded with Germany, by which Estonia undertook to import German textiles in order to release her frozen credits in Germany. The arrangement caused dissatisfaction in the Estonian textile industry, which was itself able to satisfy the home demand.

Towards the end of September the Estonian Government was charged by Moscow with connivance at the escape of the Polish submarine *Orzel* which had been interned in Estonian waters, and the Estonian Government at once dismissed the officials responsible. Immediately afterwards M. Selter, the Foreign Minister, left for Moscow, ostensibly to conclude a new Trade Agreement. While he was in Moscow, however, he was presented with a document of a very different kind—a Mutual Assistance Pact [see under Public Documents], under which Estonia and the U.S.S.R. were to render each other active military assistance in case of an attack by any great European Power against the Baltic Sea frontiers or through Latvia, and the Soviet Government acquired the right to establish naval bases on the islands of Saare Maa (Oesel) and Hiiu Maa (Dago) and at the port of Baldiski (Baltic Port), and a number of aerodromes and garrisons to be specified later. The economic system and political organisation of Estonia were not to be affected by the pact. As Russia had massed troops on the frontier, and Germany showed no sign of interfering, the Estonian Government judged it best to accept the proposals, and the pact was duly signed at Moscow on September 28, along with a Trade Agreement which aimed at increasing the trade turnover between Estonia and Russia four and a half times. Towards the end of October Russian troops occupied the new bases and other posts arranged by the pact. Their movements were shrouded in complete secrecy, and no untoward incident occurred either then or subsequently.

On October 19, in accordance with the order issued by Herr Hitler on October 7, the exodus commenced of the German elements in Estonia—both the "Reich Germans" who were still German citizens, and the "Baltic Germans," whose ancestors had been settled in Estonia for generations. Out of 15,000 of the latter, some three thousand elected to throw in their lot with the Estonian nation. The others were all conveyed

in German ships to Gotenhafen (Gdynia). Among those who went was Admiral Baron Salza, who had formerly been Commander-in-Chief of the Estonian Fleet.

On October 11 M. Eenpalu resigned the Premiership, and a new Government was formed with Professor Uluots as Prime Minister and Professor Piip as Foreign Minister. M. Selter, the retiring Foreign Minister, became Estonian Minister to the Vatican.

LATVIA.

In foreign affairs Latvia worked throughout the year in close co-operation with Estonia, with results which were exactly parallel. As soon as the Soviet Government had concluded its pact with Estonia, M. Munters, the Latvian Foreign Minister, was summoned to Moscow, and there, after some days of bargaining, he signed on October 5 a pact on very similar lines. The Soviet obtained naval bases at Liepaja (Libau) and Ventspils (Windau), and facilities were granted for Soviet coast artillery between Ventspils and Pitrags, as well as for aerodromes in unspecified places. On October 18 a Trade Agreement was concluded providing for a four-fold increase in the trade turnover between the two countries. The Soviet troops took up their stations in the first half of November, with very little disturbance to the normal life of the country.

The evacuation of the German elements from Latvia, in accordance with the order of Herr Hitler on October 7, was a more complicated matter than in Estonia, partly because the numbers were much larger, partly because in Latvia the " Baits " were large owners of real estate in the country. Negotiations for their transfer were not concluded till October 30, and the first batch left on November 5. Out of about 60,000 some 15,000 elected to stay. Those who left included the whole of the Lutheran clergy. It was arranged that the winding-up of the property left behind should be in the hands of a Trustee Society known as U.T.A.G. (*Umsiedlungs-Treuhand-Aktien-Gesellschaft*), and that whatever had not been disposed of by the end of 1941 should pass into the hands of the Latvian Government at valuation prices.

The Budget for 1939-40 showed revenue 198,852,182 lats, and ordinary expenditure 198,695,955 lats.

LITHUANIA.

In the early months of the year the German population of Memel continued and even intensified their agitation for separating Memel from Lithuania and attaching it to the Reich, in spite of Herr Hitler's declaration that he had no further territorial claims in Europe. The " Nazification " of Memel went on apace, and the efforts of the Lithuanian Governor, M. Gallius,

at appeasement were treated with derision. The crisis came on March 20, when M. Urbshis, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, while passing through Berlin on his way home from the Coronation of the Pope, was told by Herr von Ribbentrop that if Lithuania desired to remain on good terms with Germany it would be advisable for her to give up Memel. The Lithuanian Government had no alternative but to take the hint, and Memel was duly ceded to the Reich in return for a pact of non-aggression and the promise of a free harbour in the port.

The incident gave a profound shock to public opinion in Lithuania, but no disturbances occurred. The Government of Father Mironas resigned, and a "National Government" was formed with General Chernius as Prime Minister, M. Urbshis remaining Foreign Minister. On May 20 a Trade Agreement was concluded with Germany, giving that country approximately 30 per cent, of Lithuanian foreign trade—much the same as before. Shortly afterwards a supplementary agreement was concluded giving Lithuania free access and privileges in a part of the Memel port, and 600,000,000 lits as compensation for the Lithuanian property in Memel, to be paid in the form of German agricultural machinery and agricultural equipment. The loss of Memel meant a great fall in revenue to Lithuania, to make up for which a great increase in direct taxation was necessary. The Budget for 1939, which in February had been balanced at 367,000,000 lits, was, in July, reduced to 342,000,000 lits. In order to render the country more independent of Germany the Government began to turn the fishing village of Shventai, a little north of Memel, into a seaport, and at the end of July it was visited by its first overseas ship, a Dutch cargo steamer of 500 tons.

Early in October Lithuania shared the fate of Estonia and Latvia by being brought under the virtual control of Russia, being compelled to receive Russian garrisons at a number of selected points. In return, however, she obtained the long-coveted city of Vilna, which the Russians had taken from Poland and now restored to her. Lithuanian troops entered the town on October 28. They found the whole region in a condition of great distress, partly from the effects of the Russian occupation, but even more from the presence of a vast number of refugees—said to number 100,000—from Poland. In the task of relieving them the Government was assisted to a certain extent by foreign organisations. In the middle of November a new Government was formed with Colonel Merkys as Premier, and at the end of the year it was announced that the Soviet Government had undertaken to buy from Lithuania 5,000,000/. worth of pigs, bacon, and fat.

On November 1 the Government decided to transfer to Vilna the national Bell of Freedom, presented to the Republic in 1919 by Lithuanians living in America.

POLAND.

The year 1939 was for Poland a year of profound tragedy, equalling if not surpassing the worst of former years. After a short twenty years of independence her land was once more dismembered, while her population was subjected to unspeakable barbarities. Yet her spirit remained unbroken, and she never lost hope of being restored after no long interval to full nationhood and independence.

The Munich Agreement of September, 1938, cast a deep shadow over Poland. Through the capitulation of Britain and France, the cardinal point of Poland's policy, that the inevitable aggression on the part of Germany towards the East should begin with a war in Czechoslovakia and not in Poland, was frustrated. As soon as the continued independent existence of Czechoslovakia had been rendered impossible, it became obvious that the programme of aggrandisement undertaken by Hitler had reached the point at which the turn of Poland would soon arrive.

At the opening of the year it is true there was no special ground for expecting an outbreak of hostilities between Poland and Germany. Relations between them were governed by the Pact of 1934, which had still more than five years to run, and it was reaffirmed by both sides on the occasion of a visit by Herr von Ribbentrop to Warsaw on January 25 to 27. It was known that Herr Hitler regarded Danzig and also the Corridor as part of the German *Lebensraum*, but there was no sign at present that he was preparing to go to war for them. Ill-treatment of Poles in Danzig and in Germany itself caused great indignation in Poland and led to student demonstrations throughout the country, but the Government made no formal protest.

The situation changed after the German annexation of Bohemia in March. Poland at first thought that Slovakia would be left independent in fact as well as in name, but when Germany began to mass troops in that country she realised that she was being threatened. Poland was therefore delighted to receive a guarantee from Great Britain on March 24. Immediately afterwards (March 26) Germany formally demanded of Poland the return of Danzig to the Reich and a motor road and railway—to be extra-territorial—across the Province of Pomorze. Both demands were met with a firm refusal, and, recognising her danger, Poland began to take strong defensive measures. Numbers of reserves were called up, forces were massed in the neighbourhood of Danzig, and subscriptions were invited for an "Anti-aircraft Defence Loan" of unspecified amount.

At the same time the sense of danger produced a remarkable change in the internal condition of the country. Warring factions sank their differences, and an unprecedented degree of national unity was attained. All the Opposition parties, including even

the Ukrainians, offered their support to the Government, and Polish leaders who had years before gone into exile to escape imprisonment returned to Poland and voluntarily gave themselves up to the authorities. Prominent among these were M. Witos, the Peasant leader, and M. Kiernik, a former Minister. After "symbolical" imprisonment for a few days they were all released in order to serve their country.

On April 2 the Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, visited London to negotiate the conversion of the unilateral British guarantee into an Anglo-Polish Pact of Mutual Assistance, and on April 6 Mr. Chamberlain read in the House of Commons a joint declaration of the two Governments announcing the exchange of mutual guarantees and leaving the formal conclusion of an agreement to subsequent negotiations. The announcement was celebrated with great manifestations of joy in Warsaw and other Polish towns; Herr Hitler replied to it on April 28 by annulling the German-Polish Pact of Non-Aggression and demanding again Danzig and an extra-territorial strip of Polish Pomorze. These demands were politely but firmly refused on May 5 by Colonel Beck in a speech in the Sejm, and in a Memorandum handed by the Polish Charge de Affaires to the German Government in Berlin. At the same time Poland expressed her willingness to discuss all questions in an atmosphere free from the suggestion or menace of force. The Government again had the united support of the nation. The Anti-Aircraft Defence Loan yielded 404,000,000 zlotys (16,000,000Z.), the largest sum ever produced by an internal loan in Poland, and at the beginning of May President Moscicki received almost unrestricted powers to legislate by decree during the recess of Parliament, which was prorogued on June 18.

When Herr Hitler refused to withdraw his demands, Poland realised that a conflict with Germany was imminent if not inevitable, and sought to strengthen herself both on the financial and the military side. On June 13 a mission headed by Colonel Adam Koc left for England in order to negotiate a loan, ultimately securing credits for 17,000,000Z. Polish arms factories increased their production, and a partial mobilisation of the Army, commenced in March, was unobtrusively continued through the summer months. Polish military centres were inspected by the French General Faury in June and the English General Ironside in July. On the other hand, though her relations with Russia had grown somewhat more cordial in the course of the year—a Trade Agreement had been concluded in March, and in May a Russian Ambassador came to Warsaw after an interval of more than a year and a half—Poland showed no interest in the Anglo-French negotiations for a pact with Russia, and no desire to have that country as an ally, excellently placed as it was to assist her in a conflict with Germany. And though she was on most friendly

terms with Hungary and Rumania, she knew that she could count on no help from them.

In July the German Press grew highly provocative, and flagrant violations of Polish rights took place in Danzig. Poland throughout maintained a conciliatory attitude, while refusing to give up any of her territorial rights. Any hopes that war might be avoided vanished with the announcement on August 23 of the Russo-German Pact. War was deferred for a week by Franco-British intervention, but on August 29 Hitler at length delivered his ultimatum. He peremptorily requested the appearance in Berlin of a Polish plenipotentiary "by midnight, Wednesday, August 30, 1939," who would have power to sign away Danzig and Pomerania. The request was ignored, but the Polish Ambassador in Berlin, M. Lipski, asked to be received by Ribbentrop to discuss matters. The German Foreign Minister instead invited the British Ambassador Sir Nevile Henderson to the Wilhelmstrasse, and there read out to him, so rapidly as to be unintelligible, sixteen demands which Germany presented to Poland for acceptance before midnight, August 31. These demands were never even communicated to Warsaw, and were obviously meant only as a smoke screen to cover the final deployment of the German armies against Poland.

At 5.40 A.M. on Friday, September 1, German troops crossed the frontier into Poland without warning, and with this act of wanton aggression the second great war of the century was started.

Strange as it may sound, Poland, in spite of the prolonged crisis, and of the ample warning which she had had, was but imperfectly prepared for the war. Her Army was not fully mobilised; out of approximately 2,000,000 first-line troops only about a third were in the field. The passes over the Carpathians, which could have been rendered almost impregnable, were neglected. Against the highly mechanised German Army Poland could pit only her cavalry, magnificent it is true, but no match for tanks. And the country was riddled with German spies who were constantly supplying the enemy with information of the highest value.

Poland made a further mistake by attempting at the outset to defend her strategically impossible western frontier. The distribution of her main troops, consisting of 22 divisions of infantry and 7 brigades of cavalry with auxiliary units, was as follows: 6 infantry divisions and 1 cavalry brigade were defending the western frontier of Pomerania, while 3 infantry divisions and 1 cavalry brigade covered the westernmost frontier of Poznan. In South Poznan another 3 infantry divisions with 1 cavalry brigade protected the frontier against German Lower Silesia, while Polish Silesia further south was covered by 5 infantry divisions and 1 cavalry brigade. The long southern frontier of Poland was covered by only 2 divisions of infantry. Facing

East Prussia were 3 infantry divisions and 4 cavalry brigades. The immense frontier against Russia was covered only by weak units of the Frontier Guard Corps. Polish Air Forces disposed of about 700 first-line planes.

Against this Polish force Germany concentrated almost the whole of her armed power on land and in the air, grouped into five offensive armies, viz., the Army of East Prussia, composed of 7 infantry divisions, 1 armoured division, 1 motorised division, and 1 cavalry division; the Army of Pomerania, consisting of 5 infantry divisions, 1 light armoured division, and 1 motorised division; the Army of Silesia, composed of 8 infantry divisions, 3 armoured divisions, and 2 light divisions; the Army of Moravia, consisting of 4 infantry and 2 motorised divisions; and the Army of Slovakia, consisting of 6 infantry, 2 armoured and 1 light division. In all, Germany assembled 54 front-line divisions for the initial attack, of which 14 divisions represented shock troops, and in addition she held 16 more divisions as immediate reserve. Of her Air Forces Germany employed about 150 squadrons, or over 2,000 planes.

With such a disproportion of forces it was obvious that Poland would not be able to hold out very long unless she received help from without. On the third day after the invasion, Poland's Allies, Great Britain and France, declared war on Germany, but long before they were in a position to create any effective diversion in Poland's favour Germany's "Blitzkrieg" methods had proved only too effective. In the first week of the war German forces overran Pomerania, Silesia, and Poznan, and captured Cracow, they were astride the Corridor and had captured Gdynia, although the garrisons of Hel and Westerplatte were still holding out. By September 12 almost the whole of Western Poland, except for the huge salient Lodz-Kutno, was in German hands. Near Kutno the Poles suffered a very severe defeat; nevertheless they managed on the whole to retire in good order, after performing prodigies of valour—especially with their cavalry—and they began to prepare a new line of defence along the excellent strategic position formed by the rivers Narew, Vistula, and San. The Government meanwhile had left Warsaw and withdrawn to near the Rumanian border.

Whether the Polish forces would have been able to maintain themselves for any length of time in their new positions against a German onslaught was a point on which completely opposite views were subsequently expressed by the Poles themselves and by the Russians. Whatever chance they may have had of doing so was destroyed when, on Sunday, September 17, Soviet Russian troops crossed in force the Polish frontier throughout its whole length, in violation of the Polish-Russian Pact of Non-Aggression, and, of course, without any declaration of war. Thus attacked from the rear, the defence of Poland became disorganised. The

President of the Republic, M. Moscicki, together with the Government, crossed the Rumanian frontier on September 19. Units of the Polish armies continued to struggle both against the German and Russian invaders, but lacking mutual support they were either defeated or crossed the frontiers of Rumania, Hungary, and Lithuania, where they were interned. By the 20th the war in Poland was over except for the Capital city of Warsaw, which, under its heroic Mayor, Stefan Starzynski, defended itself until September 29, when, owing to lack of food, water, and ammunition, it was forced to surrender, after having endured air bombing and heavy artillery bombardment which laid the city in ruins. German troops occupied the Capital on October 2.

No detailed information as to the losses suffered by both sides is available yet. But it is estimated that the German armies lost about 40,000 killed and 150,000 wounded, while the losses on the Polish side were slightly lower, except that the Polish civilian population suffered out of all proportion to the losses sustained by the military forces.

On September 22 Germany and Soviet Russia concluded an agreement on the partition of Poland, subsequently amended on September 28. By this agreement, Germany occupied about 72,000 square miles of Polish territory in the West, with a population of 22 millions, while Soviet Russia occupied about 78,000 square miles of Polish territory in the East, inhabited by about 14 millions. By an agreement of October 10 Russia "ceded" to Lithuania the city and district of Vilna, covering an area of 3,500 square miles and inhabited by about 600,000 people.

Germany immediately, and contrary to the law of nations, proceeded to appropriate Polish territories which she had conquered. By a decree issued on October 8, which came into force on November 1, she "incorporated" all the western provinces of Pomerania, Poznan, and Silesia in the German Reich, together with considerable stretches of territory in the provinces of Lodz, Warsaw, Bialystok, and Cracow. Altogether, Germany incorporated in the Reich 34,000 square miles of Polish territory, inhabited by about 9,000,000 people, of whom only about 600,000 were German. Throughout the whole of Poland under her occupation Germany instituted a reign of terror without precedent in the history of Europe. The spirit in which the Nazis ruled Poland may be exemplified by the speech of the head of the administration at Lodz :—

We are masters. As masters we must behave. The Pole is a servant (Knecht) here and must only serve. . . . We must inject a dose of iron into our spinal columns and never admit the idea that Poland may ever arise here again.

By the end of 1939 nearly 18,000 leading Poles in all walks of life had been executed by the invaders. Whole cities and

provinces were being "emptied" of Poles and repopulated by Germans imported from the Baltic countries, Bohemia, Moravia, Soviet Russia, South Tyrol, and the Reich itself. It is estimated in Polish official circles that nearly 1,000,000 Poles were driven from their ancestral homes in Western Poland in this way, while all their possessions were confiscated.

At the same time Germany began to deport the Jews from Germany, Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia to a new "Jewish Reservation" which she established in the Polish province of Lublin, between the rivers Vistula and Bug, covering an area of about 9,000 miles and inhabited by about 2,500,000 Poles, who are to be removed to Central Poland in order to make room for the hapless Jews.

On her part, Soviet Russia, too, proceeded to annex the eastern half of Poland under her occupation. But to give a semblance of legality to this illegal procedure, she ordered "general elections" to be held throughout the Polish territories under her occupation on October 12, 1939. These elections, which the Soviet Government regarded as "plebiscites," resulted in an almost unanimous vote for annexation by Russia. After the elections Russia began rapidly to introduce the Soviet system in Polish territories occupied by her armies, accompanied by mass executions, deportations, and confiscations.

Meanwhile, however, Poland did not give up the struggle. Guerrilla warfare continued in many parts of the country till the end of the year. Moreover, the President of the Republic, Ignace Moscicki, before abandoning Polish territory and taking refuge in Rumania, resigned his high office by an act dated September 19, 1939, and done in Kutu, on the Rumanian frontier, and in accordance with the Polish Constitution appointed as his successor the former Speaker of the Polish Parliament, M. Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, who by then had established himself in Paris.

One of the first acts of the new President of the Polish Republic was the dismissal, on the ground of incompetence, of the Government of M. Slawoj-Skladkowski and of the former Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, Marshal Rydz-Smigly, who had also sought refuge in Rumania, and the appointment, on October 6, of General Wladyslaw Sikorski as Prime Minister of a new Polish Government, which includes M. Auguste Zaleski as Minister of Foreign Affairs. At the same time the President of the Polish Republic appointed General Sikorski to be Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of Poland, to be formed in Great Britain and France.

By a series of agreements between the Government of Poland and the Governments of Great Britain and France, facilities were given for reconstituting both the Navy, Army, and Air Force of Poland. The Polish Navy, consisting of a flotilla leader

and three destroyers and five submarines, succeeded by daring seamanship in piercing the enemy ring and escaping from the Baltic into the North Sea, and after reaching British waters fought side by side with the British Fleet. Training was given, both in England and France, to a large number of Polish pilots and airmen, amounting to several thousands, for the formation of a Polish Air Force, while a Polish Army in France was recruited among the Poles in France, who number over 500,000, and other European and American countries (the number of Poles outside Poland amounts to about 6,000,000). The number of Polish officers who escaped from German and Soviet occupied Poland to rejoin the Army in France amounted to at least 10,000, and it was anticipated that early in the spring of 1940 several reorganised Polish Divisions would be fighting with the French and British Armies in France.

It may also be added that practically the whole Mercantile Marine of Poland, consisting of twenty-two ships of over 100,000 tons, succeeded in escaping from the Baltic and carried on under the protection of the Allied Navies. Last but not least, Poland succeeded in saving the whole of the gold reserve of the Bank of Poland, amounting to about 500 million zloty or about 25,000,000Z. The Allies placed the restoration of the Polish Republic in the forefront of their war aims, and at the end of the year the Poles were confident that they would yet be able to settle accounts with their invaders.

FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

In the first half of 1939 Danzig became in fact what it had often threatened to become in previous years—the danger spot of Europe. After annexing Czechoslovakia, Herr Hitler formally demanded from Poland the cession of Danzig to the Reich, and sought to make the Polish position in the city impossible. In May and June numerous Nazi leaders visited the city and tried to inflame the German population, and in July militarisation was carried out there by the Germans on a considerable scale. The Polish Government showed itself ready to discuss all questions at issue, including the elimination from Danzig of the League of Nations control, but inflexibly refused to entertain the idea of allowing the city to be incorporated in the Reich or of abandoning her Customs control. While watching carefully the military steps taken, she made no open protest. Immediately after the outbreak of the war between Germany and Poland, Danzig was formally annexed to the Reich.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

The year 1939 was not very far advanced before the process of the disintegration of Czecho-Slovakia (as the name was now written), which was commenced at Munich in September, 1938, was carried to its logical conclusion. In spite of the fact that the Prague Government adhered scrupulously to the Munich undertakings and sought in every way to cultivate the friendship of Germany, Herr Hitler had determined on the dismemberment of the Czecho-Slovak State. The method he chose of bringing this about was by fomenting trouble in Slovakia. Although this province was now autonomous, and although the bulk of the population were in favour of retaining the connexion with Prague, there was a section, led by Father Tiso, which agitated for complete independence. With support from the Reich, Father Tiso became Premier of Slovakia in January, and he at once began to carry on independent negotiations with the Reich Government and to raise an army. In March he was called upon by the Czech Prime Minister, M. Beran, to desist from these activities; and when he refused, the latter dismissed him with all except two of the other Slovak Ministers and appointed M. Sidor Prime Minister of Slovakia. Thereupon, on March 13, Father Tiso paid a visit to Berlin, where he was received with high honours. On the next day (March 14) the Diet met in Bratislava, M. Sidor resigned, and after hearing a statement from Father Tiso, who had just returned from Berlin, the Diet—not without some qualms—adopted a Declaration of Independence read by the Speaker, while Father Tiso telegraphed to Herr Hitler requesting him to assume protection of the new Slovak State.

At the same time German troops occupied Moravska-Ostrava, in order apparently to forestall Polish action in that region. To prevent, if possible, further German penetration, President Hacha and M. Chvalkovsky, the Czech Foreign Minister, on the same day (March 14), made a hurried journey to Berlin, where they were received with full diplomatic and military honours. This proved to be only a blind; in an interview which lasted till 4 A. M. the Chancellor, under threat of immediate military action, forced the President to accept a declaration that "in order to reach a final appeasement in that part of Europe he had placed the fate of the Czech people and of the land trustingly in the hands of the Fuhrer." Later in the same day (March 15) German troops marched into Prague and occupied the rest of the country. Thus, by an act of political brigandage Hitler acquired control of Bohemia and Moravia, and the German press of March 15 with one voice proclaimed that "from now on Germany is again an Imperial Power, seeing that a foreign nationaUty has placed itself under German protection." The Army and population, on instructions from the Government, offered no resistance. On

the next day Herr Hitler, who had already come to Prague, issued a proclamation from the Hradschin declaring Bohemia and Moravia a Protectorate of the Reich, nominally autonomous but completely under the sway of a Reich Protector. The German inhabitants were to become German nationals, subject to German jurisdiction, while the other inhabitants became nationals of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. Officials of the Reichsbank installed themselves in the Czecho-Slovak National Bank and took charge of its gold reserve of about 2,500 million crowns (about 18,000,000L). The Gestapo was introduced into the country, and the "Aryan" laws soon followed. On March 18 Baron von Neurath was appointed Protector. Shortly afterwards the Czech Army was disbanded and all parties were merged in a single party led by the President.

Slovakia fared somewhat better, being allowed to retain her nominal independence and her military forces. The German military authorities, however, were given full power to build and man fortifications in the country, and in August, in preparation for the invasion of Poland, they poured masses of troops into the country and declared martial law.

On the secession of Slovakia, Carpatho-Ukraine, the third component of the Czecho-Slovak State, also declared its independence, Father Volosin taking the post of Prime Minister. The existence of the new State was, however, short-lived. Hungarian troops had marched into the territory even before the Germans occupied Moravska-Ostrava; and the Hungarian Government now called upon the Prague Government to remove its troops from Ruthenia. The latter complied; the Ukrainians, left to themselves, could offer no resistance, Father Volosin fled to Rumania, and a few days later Ruthenia was formally annexed to Hungary [*vide Hungary*].

In the early part of the year a number of frontier incidents took place between Slovakia and Hungary. A Protocol fixing the frontier was finally signed in Budapest on April 4, and normal communications were restored.

The German regime in the Protectorate was exceedingly harsh. Numbers of prominent Czechs, especially Army ex-officers and "intellectuals," were thrown into prison, and thousands of the population were dragged off to the Reich for compulsory labour. The Universities were closed. Under cover of the "Aryan" regulations all the most flourishing business concerns were transferred to German hands, and every difficulty was placed in the way of the cultural activities of the nation. The national spirit, however, remained unbroken. The Anglo-French declaration of war on Germany gave new hope to the Czechs, and on October 28 and November 15 disturbances broke out in Prague and other places which, though soon suppressed, showed how the people were chafing under the alien rule. Soon after the outbreak

of the war a Czecho-Slovak National Committee, with Dr. Benes as President, was formed in Paris and obtained recognition from the British and French Governments.

HUNGARY.

Hungary throughout 1939 kept in close association with the Powers of the Rome-Berlin Axis, and adopted much of their ideology. While outwardly clinging to her own traditions and mode of life, and professing independence of outlook and action, she was in fact little more than a vassal of Germany. When towards the end of the year the Axis partners began to drift apart, Hungary was placed in a certain difficulty, but by the end of the year she had not yet found it necessary to decide to which of the two she should link herself more closely.

In order to bring Hungary more into line with the Nazi and Fascist regimes, the Government decided at the beginning of the year that the very first requisite was a further curtailment of the rights of the Jews. The law of April, 1938, had already drawn a sharp distinction between members of the Jewish race and other Hungarian subjects, and inflicted severe disabilities on the former. It was thought at the time that with this measure the Jewish question had been liquidated, but in the Christmas recess the Government drafted another Jewish law going much further. Its main innovations were the abolition of the preference hitherto granted to Jews who had fought in the war and Jewish wounded and orphans; complete exclusion from State service; restriction to 6 per cent, in the liberal professions and also for Government contracts; removal of the Jews from the Press, films, and theatre; and their exclusion from leading positions in all workmen's organisations. On the platform and in Parliament Dr. Imredy, the Premier, tried to justify the anti-Jewish legislation with the usual Nazi claptrap about the difference between the Jewish and the Hungarian races, and the Jewish inability to assimilate; but he differentiated the Hungarian anti-Jewish movement from the German and Italian, by linking it closely with Christianity. This feature, while it added to the absurdity of the racial movement, probably served to mitigate its ferocity.

The agitation itself was not without its ludicrous side. The enemies of the Premier asserted that he himself was of Jewish descent, and to disprove this he made minute researches into his own genealogy. In a public speech, on January 16, he was able to announce in triumph that as far back as his mother's grandfather he numbered no Jews among his ancestors. Unfortunately he did not allow his researches to stop at that point, and further inquiries elicited the fact that his mother's grandmother had been a Jewess born who had been baptised at the

age of seven in 1814. So upset was Dr. Imredy with this discovery that, somewhat against the will of his party, he insisted on resigning from the Premiership. He was succeeded by Count Paul Teleki, who retained the same Cabinet and proceeded with the Jewish law.

When the Bill came before Parliament towards the end of January, the voice of sanity and humanity was raised by Count Bethlen, who stressed the danger in the new legislation to the whole economic life of Hungary, and condemned the idea of establishing a "constitutional Ghetto." He was supported by the Liberal leader, Dr. Rassay, who emphasised the anti-Christian character of the whole Jewish policy. These pleas, however, were unavailing, and the Bill duly became law.

Closely connected with the Jewish question in the Government's programme was that of land reform, but with this the Government proceeded much more slowly. Before anything had been done, Parliament was suddenly and unexpectedly dissolved on May 4. The elections on Whit Sunday were the first to be held by the new ballot system introduced eighteen months before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 233), and gave the Government the overwhelming majority of 183 against 57 for all others together. The Opposition parties were almost wiped out; the Agrarians of Dr. Eckhardt were reduced to 14, the Christian Union to 4, the Party of Freedom (formerly Dr. Rassay's National Liberals) to 5, and the Socialists to 5. The "Arrow-Cross" Party, the Hungarian Nazis led by Major Szalasy, obtained 33—only a third of what they had expected. Count Teleki defined his programme as "constructive, social, Christian, and national," and he announced that Bills would be introduced for land reform, tax exemption for small houses, simplification of tax machinery, encouragement of production, river regulation, widows' pensions, new road and bridge building, and 2,000 new elementary and 50 agricultural schools.

The promised Land Reform Bill was duly laid before Parliament on September 20 by the Minister of Agriculture, Count Michael Teleki, who described its aim as being "to increase the number of owners without a breach in the continuity of production." In a later speech he declared that the undue proportion of big estates had been a main cause of the high emigration from Hungary, and that the law of the Daranyi Government, which distributed 18,000 yokes a year, was quite inadequate and too slow. The Bill passed the Lower House at the end of October, after some criticism from the Conservative and Agrarian Parties. In the Upper House Count Bethlen uttered a warning against the elimination of the large and medium estates, the nursing ground of the social class which had for centuries played the leading role in Hungary.

In her foreign relations Hungary's first care was to keep on

good terms "with Germany, in spite of activities on the part of that country which could not obtain her approval, and which in fact seriously compromised her own position. At the opening of the year there was a little tension with Germany over the Slovak and Ruthenian frontier questions, but Count Czaky, the new Foreign Minister, smoothed this over by declaring at the opening of Parliament in January that Hungary would be willing to join the anti-Comintern Pact if Berlin desired. Immediately afterwards he duly received from the Ministers of Germany, Italy, and Japan an invitation, which he promptly accepted, to join the pact. He then paid an official visit to Berlin, where he was received with special honour, and on his return he was loud in his praises of the Axis. Hungary watched Germany's dismemberment of Czechoslovakia with mixed feelings, but promptly seized the opportunity to occupy Carpatho-Russia and establish a common frontier with Poland, with the assistance of that country and the approval of Germany. Germany's quarrel with Poland, which followed, placed Hungary in a quandary, on account of her long-standing friendship with the latter, and a divergence of opinion showed itself between the Foreign Minister and the Premier, the former holding that Germany should be supported in all cases, the latter that Hungary should endeavour to keep herself neutral and not be led into adventures for which she had no relish. The German pact with Russia gave a great shock to public opinion in Hungary, strongly anti-Communist as it was, but Count Czaky's Germanophilism survived the ordeal, as also the still stronger trial of the Russian occupation of Poland, which placed a highly undesirable neighbour on one of Hungary's frontiers. How far Count Czaky was from representing popular opinion was shown by the phenomenal sale, during the two months in the summer that it was allowed to circulate, of a book called "Germany's War Chances," by Dr. Lajos, a professor in Pec University, which argued that Germany was bound to be defeated in a major war. In fact, Count Czaky probably owed his retention of his position only to the Government's fear of offending Germany.

The obverse of Count Czaky's Germanophil policy was a certain truculence towards Rumania, which, according to all reports, was encouraged from Berlin and discouraged from Rome. As early as February he declared that Hungary's relations with Rumania would be determined by the latter's treatment of the Magyar minority in Transylvania. In May he made some proposals to King Carol for a new minority agreement between the two countries, which were not so favourably received as he would have wished, though the Prime Minister was satisfied. Friction arose between the two countries in August in consequence of some frontier incidents [*vide* Rumania], and after a *ddtente* had been brought about by Yugoslavia in October, Count

Czaky in a speech on November 22 adopted a very unconciliatory tone towards Rumania, saying that Hungary could not forget her rights, the realisation of which was a preliminary condition of the Hungarian future, and that it was for Rumania now to make some concession. To Yugoslavia, on the other hand, he was markedly friendly, declaring in September that relations between that country and Hungary were so good that it could be left to her to decide whether she should offer a Minority Treaty to Hungary or not.

The treatment of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia was also a sore point with Hungary, but she did not dare to interfere after Germany had taken that country under her protection. The recognition by the British Government in November of the Czechoslovak National Committee under Dr. Benes gave great umbrage in Hungary, being regarded as a deliberate affront to her, and the *Pester Lloyd*, in an inspired article, protested against a revival of the mistakes made after the last war. The same paper also denounced the Pan-Slavist aspirations of the provisional Polish Government at Angers.

When the Hungarians occupied Ruthenia, they found its condition very different from what it had been when they lost it twenty years before. Then it had been one of the most backward spots in Europe; now, thanks to the enlightened rule of the Czech Government, education was widespread, and a strong national sentiment had grown up. They therefore made no attempt to restore the previous autocratic and centralised form of government. Immediately on entering the country the Hungarian civil and military authorities issued a proclamation promising the population religious, cultural and social freedom, and autonomy without distinction of religion or race. On June 23, under the title of a Bill for Carpathian Autonomy, a measure was laid before Parliament giving to Ruthenia a separate administration appointed from and under control of Budapest, and making Hungarian and Carpatho-Russian official languages throughout the country.

In May the Finance Minister, Dr. Remenyi-Schneller, announced that, while revenue for the year had exceeded the Budget estimate by 137 milliards of pengfts, expenditure had been 219 milliards in excess, so that there was a deficit of 82 milliards. This he was able to meet out of reserve funds, without drawing on the Special Investment Fund provided by the Imredy financial plan. In October he presented a Budget for the eighteen months July 1, 1939, to December 31, 1940, which estimated income at 2,563 million pengos and expenditure at 2,693 million, leaving a deficit of 130 million, which was to be met by a loan. There was to be an increase of 193 million for expenditure on the Army. He stated that in the first eight months of the current year imports had increased by 175 million pengos,

on top of an increase of 142 millions in the previous year, while exports to producing countries were on the decline.

At the beginning of the year the Hungarian Nazis were very aggressive, and loudly demanded the release from prison of their leader Major Szalasy. The Government, however, stood firm, and put down all attempts at disorder by the Nazis. Although Count Teleki when in Berlin in May expressed great admiration of the achievements of National Socialism in Germany, at home he would have no truck with the movement and denounced it as unpatriotic. Torn by internal dissensions, the movement made little progress among the public. The Russo-German Pact dealt it a severe blow, while the policy of transferring German populations, initiated by Hitler in October, effectually frightened away from it the German minority in Hungary, who had no desire to be uprooted from their homes.

RUMANIA.

At the beginning of the year M. Calinescu, the energetic Minister of the Interior, organised a National Regeneration Front, as an all-embracing political party which should serve as a link between the Government and the public. He described it as a Rumanian political movement which revived the tradition of national unity, and would take the place of a party system which was a foreign importation and did not altogether succeed in Bucharest. It was open to all the racial minorities, and the German and Bulgarian minorities at once signified their adhesion.

M. Calinescu also continued to signalise his term of office by vigorous action against the Iron Guard, many of whom were arrested and punished for illegal political activities in January and February. On the other hand, the Government pursued a more tolerant policy towards the Jews. On February 6 it released hundreds who had been arrested for clandestinely crossing the frontier—mostly from the Sudetenland and Austria—and later it announced that the revision of citizenship would be carried out in a conciliatory manner. Many of the measures against the Jews recently adopted were withdrawn, and Jews were freely accepted as members of the National Regeneration Front.

On February 1 the Prime Minister, Dr. Miron Cristea, the Patriarch, re-formed his Cabinet, giving to M. Calinescu, in addition to his present post, those of Minister for National Defence *ad interim* and of Vice-President of the Council. On March 6 Dr. Cristea died, and M. Calinescu succeeded him as Premier.

Early in the year a German Economic Mission came to Rumania to negotiate a new Trade Agreement. When the Germans annexed Bohemia the Mission at once put up its demands very

considerably. It was even rumoured that it had delivered an "economic ultimatum," promising in return that Germany would guarantee the independence and integrity of Rumania. This was officially denied, but the actual agreement concluded on March 23 seemed on the surface to place Rumania in a position of economic dependence on Germany, providing as it did that Germany should be given special facilities and should co-operate closely in the development of the country's resources, both agricultural and mineral. On the other hand, Rumania insisted on retaining the exchange rate at 40 to 41 lei to the mark, instead of raising it to 50 to 51, as Germany had demanded. M. Calinescu denied emphatically that Rumania's independence was in any way endangered by the Trade Treaty, while M. Gafencu, the Foreign Minister, stated that Rumania had given no monopoly to Germany and would be pleased to conclude arrangements on similar lines with other States. In fact, almost immediately afterwards a treaty was concluded with France by which that country undertook to buy 490,000 tons of Rumanian oil during 1939 and 110,000 tons of Rumanian maize; while on May 11 an agreement was concluded with Great Britain by which that country undertook to buy 200,000 tons of wheat from Rumania and provide her with credits to the amount of 5,000,000Z. for the purchase of British goods.

The German seizure of Bohemia in March caused no small perturbation in Rumania, removing as it did a barrier between her and German aggression. Equally alarming to her was the Hungarian occupation of Ruthenia which immediately followed, as she now had to fear that Hungary with German encouragement might go on to invade Transylvania, where there was a large Magyar minority. As a precautionary measure, reserves were called up, and moved to the neighbourhood of Ruthenia, where, however, they were stationed not on the frontier, but some way behind, to avoid provocation. A proposal from Father Volosin, the ex-Premier of Ruthenia, that Rumania should step in and annex that territory before the Hungarians had completed their occupation, was declined by the Government, which did not wish to have any more national minorities on its hands. On March 27 M. Calinescu declared that Rumania would defend her territorial integrity against every one; but when, on April 13, the Hungarian Foreign Minister stated that Hungary had no aggressive intentions against Rumania and would respect her frontiers, the tension relaxed and both sides demobilised.

Similar apprehensions were aroused by the Italian seizure of Albania, which, it was feared, might herald a Bulgarian attack on the Dobrudja. To guard against this danger M. Gafencu in April paid a visit to Istanbul, where he received assurances of Turkish support in such an eventuality. In view of the German danger the Premier declared, on April 14, that Rumania

had heard with **lively** satisfaction the **promises** of **Britain and France** to come to **her aid** in case of **need**. On **April 15** **M. Gafencu** commenced a tour which took him to Berlin, Brussels, London, Paris, Rome, and Belgrade. The main **result** of his visits was to decide King Carol to steer an even course, **as far as** he could, between the Axis Powers and the Western democracies without tying himself to either, and meanwhile to **strengthen** Rumania's defences and armed forces to the utmost.

The pursuit of this aim led Rumania to adopt a strictly **neutral** attitude in the conflict which now arose between Germany and Poland, although its sympathies were strongly with the latter. Rumania still considered that her chief danger came from the side of Hungary, which through the mouth of her Foreign Minister, Count Czaky, was adopting an intransigent attitude. In a speech in the Chamber on June 9, M. Gafencu pointed out that the Magyar minority in Transylvania could not be severed from Rumania without severing with it much more important bodies of Rumanians. He declared that Rumania was prepared to conclude friendly and loyal agreements with neighbouring countries, and that she would not take anything which was not hers, but she would strengthen and defend with all her power that which she already had. Immediately afterwards M. Gafencu paid visits to Ankara and Athens, and strengthened there the ties of the Balkan Entente.

On June 1 and 2 the first General Election for a " totalitarian " Assembly under the Constitution of February, 1938, was held. Voting, which was by secret ballot and open to citizens of both sexes over the age of 30, was for an electoral body which would elect the Chamber of Deputies. Every candidate had to be a member of the Front of National Regeneration. Of the 258 Deputies ultimately elected, one-third represented agriculture and manual labour, one-third commerce and industry, and one-third intellectual occupations. They included about 30 genuine peasants. In the Senate of 88 members, of whom half were nominated by the King and half by the leaders of the corporative bodies or guilds, 14 seats were given to manual labour, 11 each to commerce and industry, 22 to the intellectual occupations, and the rest to the Universities and various religious bodies.

In his Speech from the Throne to Parliament on June 7, King Carol affirmed that they had assembled under the symbol of regeneration and national concord. He outlined the achievements of the new regime, which, he said, had given the country a feeling of complete security, revealed by the way in which the people had answered the call to arms, and by the spirit of sacrifice shown in the spontaneous subscriptions for the equipment of the Army. The policy of the Government, he **added**, had been **one of peace, but not of peace at any price, but only** with due

respect for the liberty, independence, integrity, and dignity of the nation. On the next day the ninth anniversary of the King's accession was celebrated with great pomp and festivity in Bucharest.

At the end of June M. Argetoianu, the President of the Senate, submitted to the Cabinet the outline of a five-year plan for industrial and economic development. The plan proposed to double and straighten all main line railways and to build about 300 miles of new railways, and included an extensive programme of new roads and canals, and the re-equipment of the ports of Costanza and Galatz.

In August incidents took place on the upper reaches of the river Tisza (Theiss) on the frontier between Rumania and Hungary, and both countries became suspicious of one another's intentions. Rumania offered Hungary a Non-Aggression Pact, which the latter declined unless it should be preceded by a charter of rights for the Magyar minority in Rumania. On Rumania refusing this, relations became strained between the countries, and troops were concentrated on both sides of the frontier. A *detente* was brought about by the mediation of Yugoslavia, but a chauvinistic speech by Count Czaky, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, on November 22, renewed the tension.

On September 21 M. Calinescu, the Prime Minister, was assassinated in a public street in Bucharest. An official announcement on the next day stated that the assassination was an act of vengeance carried out by terrorists who resented M. Calinescu's firm measures for the establishment of order at home, and that there was no question of a plot with ramifications abroad or with any international significance. The act was made a ground for severe repressive measures against the Iron Guard, hundreds of whom were executed. It was announced in October that the Government would refrain from penalising all Iron Guards who recanted in writing, and several thousands immediately did so.

A new Cabinet was appointed on September 22 with General Argetoianu as Prime Minister. Dissensions arose in the Cabinet on the question of trade concessions to Germany, and General Argetoianu was replaced on November 23 by M. Tatarescu, who had been Premier from 1934 to 1937, and who formed a Cabinet less pro-German in sympathy.

When war broke out between Germany and Poland in September, Rumania announced that she would remain neutral. Nevertheless she showed her sympathy with Poland by giving refuge to many thousands of refugees, both military and civilian. The Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia made Rumania apprehensive about Bessarabia, and led her to turn her eyes to Italy as a possible source of protection.

On November 13 a German economic mission, headed by

Herr Clodius, arrived in Bucharest in order to procure from Rumania the despatch of larger supplies of oil and other products to Germany. Chiefly owing to difficulties of transport, they were able to obtain very little satisfaction, though by a Trade Convention signed on December 21 the exchange rate of the lei with the mark was raised from 40 to 49.50. The statistics of oil exports for 1939 showed a total of 4,150,000 tons, of which 1,200,000 tons went to Germany (including Czechoslovakia), 500,000 to the British Empire, 250,000 to France and the French Empire, and 650,000 to Italy. In 1940 Germany was to receive 1,560,000 tons out of an estimated 4½ to 5½ million tons.

On May 16, in accordance with an agreement signed at Sinaia on August, 1938, the flag of the European Commission of the Danube was hauled down from the Commission's offices at Sulina and from the Commission's ship in the harbour, and the Rumanian tricolour was hoisted in its place. Henceforth Rumanian authorities controlled Danubian navigation from Braila to the sea, and Sulina and its waters ceased to be international, as they had been since 1856.

YUGOSLAVIA.

1939 was a year of great constitutional change in Yugoslavia. The Croat agitation for autonomy, after many years of struggle, at length came to fruition, and the country at the end of the year showed every sign of becoming in reality what so far it had been only in name, a United Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

The opening of the year found M. Stoyadinovitch as Prime Minister apparently still at the height of his power, and still as resolutely opposed as ever to the grant of Croat autonomy. His Cabinet, however, was divided on the subject; and when early in the year one of his colleagues, M. Kujundzich, made a strongly Pan-Serbian speech condemning the pact between the Croats and the Serbian Opposition, M. Czetkovitch, the Minister of Health, and four other Ministers resigned. M. Stoyadinovitch thereupon offered his resignation to the Prince Regent. The latter accepted it, in the knowledge probably that M. Stoyadinovitch had become highly unpopular on account of his dictatorial ways, and that in the interests of national unity a settlement of the Croat question was urgently necessary. He appointed M. Cvetkovitch Premier in his place, the Foreign Office being given to M. Cincar-Markovitch, who had for three years been Minister in Berlin.

In a speech in the Skuptshina on March 10, the Premier declared that the Croat question was the most important question of the State, and that negotiations were about to be conducted between the Government and the Croat representatives. In point of fact, confidential negotiations had been going on since

December between the Prince Regent and a representative of the Croat leader, Dr. Matchek. The desire for a settlement was quickened by the fear that the Nazis might attempt the same kind of intrigue in Croatia that they had carried on in Slovakia, and by creating disunion render the country an easy prey. In the last week of March the Prince Regent announced his intention of sending the Premier to Zagreb as "mandatory of the Crown" to complete the negotiations. Dr. Matchek at first demurred, on the ground that matters were not yet sufficiently advanced for such a step, but when pressed he consented. Dr. Cvetkovitch paid his first visit to Zagreb on April 2, and after some further talks it was announced on April 27 that agreement had been reached "in principle."

At this point a hitch occurred, the Prince Regent refusing to confirm the provisional agreement which had been made. The reason was apparently that it linked Croat autonomy with the restoration of political liberties in Serbia, and to this he was not ready to consent. This attitude exposed him to great unpopularity, which was accentuated by visits which he paid in May to Rome and Berlin; the public saw in this—probably unjustly—a sign that he was being influenced by ideologies which were thoroughly distasteful to them.

Meanwhile Dr. Matchek had convened at Zagreb a "National Croat Assembly" of representatives from every part of the country, from which he received a unanimous vote of confidence. A resolution was passed declaring that the Serb nation demanded an agreement with the Croat nation, and regretting that this had not been reached in spite of goodwill on both sides and the friendly attitude of the Great Powers. It further stated that the Croats had been unjustly excluded from all international co-operation, and that peace in that part of Europe could not be finally assured until their claims had been satisfied. Dr. Matchek received a great ovation, and though the resolution was not allowed to appear in the Press, copies of it were passed from hand to hand, and eagerly read by the public.

As a result of further negotiations, in which Dr. Matchek made considerable concessions, an agreement was at last reached on August 25—only just in time, probably, to prevent an outbreak, since public opinion had grown very restive. It was agreed that the Savska and Primorska Banovine or Provinces, i.e., Croatia-Slavonia and the Littoral, together with seven adjoining districts where Croats predominated, should be formed into a single unit with the name of "Croatia," under a Ban or Governor as in pre-war times. This region was estimated to have a population of 4,423,000, of whom 866,000 were Serbs. The Central Government was to retain control of foreign affairs, Army, foreign trade, commerce, transport, public security, religion, mining, weights and measures, insurance, and the broad

lines of educational policy. Croatia was to have a special Sabor, or Diet, in Zagreb, and a separate Budget. Legislative power was to be exercised by the Crown and Sabor jointly, and the Ban was to be appointed or dismissed by the Crown. To give effect to this scheme, Dr. Cvetkovitch formed a new Government of seventeen, in which the Croat Democratic Party had six seats and the Serbian Opposition Parties three, while Dr. Matchek became Vice-Premier. Dr. Ivan Shubashitch, a close friend of Dr. Matchek, was appointed Ban of Croatia. Parliament was dissolved and the Government was empowered to promulgate a new electoral law.

The result of this agreement, or Sporazum as it was called, was to remove—for the time being at any rate—the animosity which the Croats had nursed against the Serbs almost from the time that the Yugoslavian Kingdom was constituted. Discontent was still rife among the Slovenes, who also demanded autonomy, and among the Opposition Serbs, who were impatient for the restoration of political rights. The Government, however, assured them that their demands would be attended to in due course, and till the end of the year internal peace prevailed in the country, save for some acts of private revenge in Croatia.

In foreign affairs Yugoslavia maintained her close connexion with the other members of the Balkan Entente, especially Rumania, and also cultivated friendly relations with Bulgaria. In the summer she was instrumental in keeping the peace between Rumania and Hungary. As between the Axis Powers and the democracies, she sought to observe a strict neutrality, though the sympathies of the public were strongly with the latter, and still more with the victims of German aggression, particularly the Czechs. Her freedom of action, however, was greatly restricted by the Italian occupation of Albania [*vide Italy*].

TURKEY.

The increasing importance of Turkey in European affairs received striking endorsement during 1939. Already she had acquired the leading role in Balkan politics by her initiative and sustained efforts in the cause of peace and co-operation among the States concerned; and, when once she recognised that the issue in Europe had resolved itself into a struggle between the upholding of international law and order, on the one hand, and, on the other, the unbridled exercise of might, she threw in her lot unhesitatingly with the champions of the former policy. It was the Italian occupation of Albania that provided the occasion; but, in the words of the Foreign Minister, M. Sarajoglu, Turkey's decision to abandon a policy of neutrality and join the Peace Front was the outcome of a chain of events—Abyssinia, "Sanctions," the Montreux Convention, and the Nyon Agreement. At each

stage Turkey had shown where her sympathies lay, for she realised that, with Italy also applying in Europe the system that might be right, the independence of no small State could be considered safe. This made the Turkish Government decide to identify itself more closely with Great Britain and France.

On April 13, a week after the occupation of Albania, Mr. Neville Chamberlain announced that the British Government would give any assistance within its power to Greece and Rumania if their independence were threatened and they desired to resist, and he added that this intention had also been communicated to Turkey. A month later, on May 12, a Joint Declaration, the result of prolonged negotiations, was issued in London and Ankara, to the effect that, pending the conclusion of a definite agreement, the British and Turkish Governments, in the event of an act of aggression leading to war in the Mediterranean area, would co-operate effectively and lend each other all the aid and assistance in their power. A Franco-Turkish Declaration in the same sense was signed in Paris on June 23, the delay being in part caused by the necessity for regulating the situation in the Hatay (the Autonomous Sanjak of Alexandretta), which by an agreement reached on June 21 was ceded to Turkey. By this agreement (signed in Ankara on June 23) Turkish sovereignty over the Hatay (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, pp. 242 and 285) became unconditional, non-Turkish elements not wishing to become naturalised had the right to opt for Syrian or Lebanese nationality within a period of six months, and Turkey recognised the inviolable character of the newly-drawn Syrian frontiers, within which the heights of Jebel Akra, south of Antioch, were to remain.

It was not until five months after the Anglo-Turkish Declaration of May 12 that the definite agreement then foreshadowed was actually signed. In the meantime a Turkish military mission had gone to London, and British and French military missions were in Turkey, while, to allay possible misgivings, assurances were forthcoming from both sides that conversations leading to the conclusion of a final agreement were continuing in a most friendly atmosphere. The difficulty centred in Soviet-Turkish relations, the friendly character of which the Turkish Government, having previously announced that nothing in the new undertaking conflicted with the good relations of Turkey with the Soviet State, was anxious to maintain, while Russia was exercising all the pressure she could to secure the closing of the Straits to the British and French Fleets. On September 22 the Turkish Foreign Minister, M. Sarajoglu, left for Moscow to discuss the new situation and to reconcile, if possible, the points at issue between the two countries. During the negotiations Great Britain and France agreed to certain modifications in the proposed tripartite agreement with a view to facilitating an understanding between Turkey and Russia. The latter, however, insisted upon her claims,

and on October 17 the Turkish Prime Minister announced that the negotiations had been broken off, as the Soviet proposals could not be reconciled with obligations which Russia knew had been incurred between Turkey on the one side and Great Britain and France on the other. They also conflicted with Turkey's international pledges regarding the Dardanelles as laid down in the Montreux Convention.

The Tripartite Treaty between Great Britain, France, and Turkey was signed in Ankara on October 19. [See under Public Documents.] A Protocol attached to it stated that the obligations undertaken by Turkey could not compel that country to take action having as its effect, or involving as its consequence, entry into armed conflict with the U.S.S.R.

Turkey's relations with Germany during the year remained, in diplomatic parlance, correct, conforming, as the Prime Minister stated on September 12, "with international rules." On April 20 an agreement had been signed with two German firms for the construction of a naval arsenal at Geuljuk, near Izmid, after a contract had been placed a week earlier by the State Railways for the purchase of fifty-eight locomotives from Great Britain. Uneasiness over the attitude of Turkey may have prompted the appointment of Herr von Papen as German Ambassador to Turkey. His arrival at the Turkish capital coincided with the visit of M. Potemkin, Soviet Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs. The independent character of Turkish policy was illustrated by the almost simultaneous issue of a *communiqué* explaining the similarity of views of and closeness of co-operation between Turkey and Soviet Russia, and the conclusion with the senior partner of the Anti-Comintern Pact of a convention by which Germany granted Turkey a credit of 150 million marks for the purchase before the end of 1941 of German industrial products. In spite, however, of this arrangement, Turkey decided not to renew the Trade Agreement with Germany, which expired on August 31. After the war between Germany and the Western Powers had been in progress for two months, the strain on Turko-German relations was revealed by the arrest in Istanbul of eight Germans suspected of spying and of conducting Nazi propaganda, by the recall of all German officers attached to the Turkish forces, and by police raids on the German club and on the offices of a German newspaper in Istanbul.

Visits during the year of representatives of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Egypt served to strengthen the ties between Turkey and those countries. The Bulgarian Prime Minister arrived in Ankara in March, and an official statement declared that his conversations with Turkish Ministers had consolidated Turko-Bulgarian friendship. On April 8 M. Gafencu, Rumanian Foreign Minister, arrived in Istanbul. The results of his discussions were summed up in a *communiqué* which stressed the common interests of the

two countries within the framework of the Balkan Pact and their loyalty to the policy of the Balkan Entente, which had for its object the security and independence of the countries concerned. A further visit of M. Gafencu in June, as guest of the Government in Ankara, confirmed the close friendship between the two States, and it was announced that their respective Legations in Ankara and Bucharest would be raised to Embassies. In the course of a yachting cruise in Turkish waters during August King Carol of Rumania discussed with President Inonu the co-ordination of plans for the two countries to meet aggression. On November 11 a new trade treaty was signed between Turkey and Rumania, providing for increased purchases of Rumanian oil.

On January 25 the Prime Minister, M. Celal Bayar, resigned and was succeeded by Dr. Saydam. Subsequently the Kamutay (Parliament) was dissolved, and a general election followed in March. The Hatay was officially taken over by Turkey on July 23, when the last of the French troops there left. On October 20 the Sivas-Erzinjan-Erzurum Railway (340 miles long, which had taken four years to construct) was formally opened.

At the close of the year Turkey experienced a most disastrous earthquake. The first shock occurred on December 27, but others followed at intervals over a number of days. Whole towns and villages were destroyed over a wide area in northern and north-eastern Anatolia. Erzinjan was completely wrecked, and over 15,000 people were stated to have been killed on the first night. The total casualties were estimated at between 25,000 and 30,000. Extreme cold and blizzards also took their toll of life. On December 31 there were fresh shocks on the Aegean coast (Pergama and Brusa districts), followed by floods and further loss of life and property. The disaster evoked world-wide sympathy, and sums of money for the relief of the victims were at once forthcoming from the British, French, Australian, and many other Governments, as well as from public sources.

GREECE.

Whether from preoccupation over foreign affairs or as a result of being more reconciled to a totalitarian regime, Greece in 1939 was spared the alarms and excursions that had characterised the first half of the previous year. On August 4 the third anniversary of the assumption of office by the Metaxas Government was the occasion for public celebrations, which seemed to reflect a growing recognition of the fact that some advantage attached to the absence of political controversy.

The Italian occupation of Albania on April 7 caused the gravest misgivings in Greece. It was followed by the report that Italy was intending to attack Corfu, and the Greek Government

lost no time in communicating its **fears on the** subject to the British Government. The latter was **able to pass** on to the Greek Minister in London the assurances received from the Italian Charge d'Affaires that the Italian Government had no such intention, and to add that the British Government had already informed Italy that it would take a very grave view of the occupation of Corfu. On April 10 the Italian representative in Athens paid three visits to the Prime Minister, and the Greek Government subsequently issued a Proclamation announcing that it was able to assure the Greek people that Greece's integrity and independence were absolutely secured.

In a statement to the House of Commons on April 13 on the subject of Italy and Albania the Prime Minister said that the British Government attached the greatest importance to the avoidance of disturbance by force, or threats of force, of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean and the Balkan Peninsula. Consequently the Government had come to the conclusion that, in the event of any action being taken that clearly threatened the independence of Greece or Rumania, and which the Greek or Rumanian Government respectively considered it vital to resist with its national forces, His Majesty's Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend the Greek or Rumanian Government, as the case might be, all the support in their power. A similar statement was made the same day by M. Daladier on behalf of the French Government.

With the British and French declarations the crisis was considered in Greece to have passed. Strong Italian forces, however, were posted near the Greek frontier in Albania, and Greece reinforced the troops on her side of the boundary. It was not until after the outbreak of war between Germany and the Western Powers that symptoms of a *detente* in Greco-Italian relations were forthcoming. On September 20 Signor Mussolini informed the Greek Government of his intention to withdraw the Italian troops from the Greco-Albanian frontier, and on September 30 letters were exchanged between the two Governments recording that the relations between the two countries continued to be sincerely friendly and inspired by complete mutual confidence, and that a tangible proof of these sentiments had been afforded by the Italian Government's decision to withdraw their military forces from the Greco-Albanian frontier and by the adoption of similar measures by the Greek Government. The two Governments, it was added, were resolved to continue in principle the friendship and collaboration which inspired the Pact of Friendship and Conciliation signed in Rome on September 23, 1928.

Contact with her partners of the Balkan Entente was maintained throughout the year by Greece, who identified herself in particular with Turkey's efforts to bring about a better understanding with **Bulgaria** and **renewed her offer to Bulgaria of a**

Free Zone in the port of Salonika. General Metaxas paid a visit to Belgrade in March, and in June M. Gafencu, Rumania's Foreign Minister, was in Athens. A joint statement on the conversations that he had had with Greek Ministers, in emphasising the complete agreement between the two countries, declared that the Balkan Entente was serving the cause of peace, but added that Bulgaria's entry into the Entente with reservations or to the prejudice of the other members was impossible.

In regard to the war between Germany and the Western Powers Greek sympathy was wholly with the latter. Greece is dependent on Germany as a market for her tobacco in particular, and the Allies agreed to allow German coal to be imported by Greece in payment. A visit to Athens by the Sports Leader of the Reich, though nominally to discuss the subject of the Olympic Games, was understood to be connected with trade matters and to have failed in this object. On July 12 a financial agreement was signed in London providing for the giving of guarantees by Great Britain for the purchase by Greece of goods of the United Kingdom valued at over 2,000,000L, the relative securities bearing interest at five per cent. On the other hand, no progress was made in the settlement with the Council of Foreign Bondholders of the question of Greek payments on external loans; but the prospect of a visit to London by a Greek economic mission early in the new year left it to be inferred that the question would once more be raised in connexion with the trade arrangement between Greece and Great Britain.

BULGARIA.

Manoeuvring for position may be said to be the keynote of Bulgaria's activities during 1939. The manoeuvring concerned not only her relations with the protagonists in the war that broke out in September but also with her Balkan neighbours, with Italy and with Russia. The firm hand of Dr. Kiosseivanoffs administration, shown in occasional measures taken against Bulgarian Communists, spared the country internal complications and left the Government free to devote its attention to the complex character of international affairs. The Salonika Agreement of July, 1938, had identified the interests of Bulgaria with those of her Balkan neighbours to the extent of pledging her not to resort to force in the settlement of any questions outstanding between them, and had removed the disabilities imposed by the Treaty of Neuilly and the Lausanne Convention in respect of her armed forces and the demilitarisation of frontier zones. Bulgaria, however, remained outside the Balkan Entente, and it was implicit in the Salonika Agreement that she had not renounced her territorial aspirations—the return of the Dobrudja Quadri-lateral and provision of a port on the JSgean Sea, to the latter of

which she attached the stipulation for a land corridor of approach. This point was emphasised by the Prime Minister when, on April 20, perhaps to counter the fresh attempt then being made to secure Bulgaria's adherence to the Entente, he declared that Bulgaria would exert herself to remain neutral, and that she would not adhere to the Balkan Pact until her legitimate aspirations were granted. Throughout the year public insistence upon the need for the satisfaction of Bulgaria's territorial claims tended to become more vocal.

While there were thus obvious restrictions to the extent to which Bulgaria might collaborate with the Balkan Entente as a political unit, there was no need to doubt the whole-heartedness of her desire for close collaboration with Yugoslavia and for a better understanding with Turkey. It was to be inferred, therefore, that so long as these two countries adopted an identical policy in the wider European sphere only very strong pressure from outside was likely to compel Bulgaria to follow a different line of action.

Bulgarian neutrality did not suit Germany's book, and throughout the year steady pressure was exercised from Berlin to induce the Sofia Government to change its policy. To this end Germany relied mainly on her economic importance to Bulgaria. In 1938 she supplied 59 per cent, of Bulgaria's imports and took the same proportion of Bulgarian exports. Early in January a German economic mission arrived in Sofia, and in the middle of April the Bulgarian Minister of Finance and Minister of Commerce went to Berlin to discuss trade questions. A second German mission reached Sofia on September 19, and an increase in Bulgarian exports to Germany was subsequently announced. By the beginning of November German pressure had secured modifications in the clearing agreement between the two countries. Germany undertook to supply Bulgaria with petrol and oil to the value of 500,000Z. and to pay for about one million pounds' worth of her purchases in foreign exchange, while Bulgaria agreed to allow the export to Germany of certain foodstuffs, the export of which had been banned at the outbreak of war.

Germany's efforts to tighten her political relations with Bulgaria were less successful. The State visit paid by Dr. Kiosseivanoff to Berlin on July 5 failed to produce the pact which the German Government must have counted upon when an official *communiqué* on his arrival declared that a solidarity of thought and action existed between the two countries, which might be expected to become more fully manifested after the Berlin discussions. The trend of these discussions was to be gauged from the Bulgarian Prime Minister's declaration on his return to Sofia that no pact had been signed with Germany and that Bulgaria would not depart from her policy of neutrality to join the German-Italian Axis.

On his way back to Bulgaria Dr. Kiosseivanoff had stayed in Belgrade. An official statement issued at the close of the visit announced that the representatives of the Yugoslav and Bulgarian Governments had agreed in the interest of both countries to continue their political collaboration in the spirit of the Pact of Perpetual Friendship ; that their mutual interests demanded an ever closer economic *rapprochement*; that the policy of independence and neutrality best answered the interests of both States and of peace in the Balkans, and that it was necessary to continue close and friendly relations with all their neighbours.

Towards the end of April an improvement in Russo-Bulgarian relations was marked by the visit to Sofia of M. Potemkin, Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, the first Russian Minister to visit the Bulgarian capital since the Great War ; in August the presence in Moscow of a score of Bulgarian parliamentary deputies to attend the Agricultural Exhibition was the first official or semi-official Bulgarian visit to Russia in the same period. Late in September trade negotiations with the Soviet Government were also opened. These expressions of goodwill, however, did not entail any relaxation on the part of the Bulgarian Government of the measures against Communism ; at the beginning of October and towards the end of November a large number of Bulgarian Communists were arrested. On the other hand, a convention was signed in Sofia on December 11 establishing an air service between Sofia and Moscow by way of Bourgas and Odessa.

Bulgarian friendship with Turkey appeared to have been strengthened by conversations that Turkish Ministers had had with the Bulgarian Prime Minister in March, but shortly afterwards the movement of Turkish troops to Thrace for manoeuvres created misgivings in Bulgaria, and the Sofia Government ordered the reinforcement of the frontier forces. The situation on each side of the boundary remained in this state until October, when Turkey started to reduce her frontier garrisons. The Bulgarians followed suit, and by the end of the year the frontier position was once again normal.

In May an incident in the Dobrudja threatened relations with Rumania. News had reached Bulgaria of the shooting of over twenty persons of Bulgarian origin, who were reported to have been taken as hostages for the desertion of a number of Bulgarians who had been called to the Rumanian colours during a partial mobilisation. With the explanation of the Rumanian Government that the men shot, not all Bulgars, were a band of highwaymen who had been captured by gendarmes after a robbery and had been shot while trying to escape, the matter was allowed to drop. Any marked improvement in Bulgaro-Rumanian relations was hardly to be expected while both countries adopt an uncompromising attitude regarding the Southern Dobrudja, Bulgaria claiming its return and Rumania insisting that its

surrender would expose her to similar claims from Hungary and Russia.

In addition to the trade agreement with Germany, Bulgaria concluded commercial arrangements with Italy and Great Britain, and received a visit in July from the Egyptian Minister of Finance with the object of promoting the exchange of goods between the two countries.

On October 19 the Cabinet resigned, but was reformed a few days later by Dr. Kiosseivanoff, who took the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs in the new Government. Parliament, which was due to meet on October 28, was dissolved, and new elections, extending over some weeks, were fixed to begin from December 24.

ALBANIA.

At the end of March difficulties arose between King Zog and the Italian Government, apparently because the former was becoming restive under Italian tutelage, and the Duce determined to dethrone him. On April 7 (Good Friday) Italian troops were disembarked at Durazzo and other places on the coast of Albania, and began to march on Tirana. They met with no opposition save a very little at Durazzo. King Zog, though he had made preparations for resistance, fled at their approach along with his Queen Geraldine, who had just given birth to a son ; they ultimately found refuge in Greece. The Italian losses were twelve killed and fifty-three wounded. A Provisional Administrative Committee was set up which, after sending to the Duce a telegram affirming the loyalty of the Albanian people, convened a Constituent Assembly on April 12. The Assembly decreed the abrogation of the Constitution and the regime and offered the Crown of Albania to the King of Italy. The offer was accepted by the Fascist Grand Council on the next day. Signor Jacomini, the Italian Minister at Tirana, was raised to the rank of Ambassador and was appointed the first Lieutenant-General. An Albanian Fascist Party was created on April 23. On June 3 the text was issued of a new Constitution by which the supreme legislative powers in Albania were to be exercised by the King with the collaboration of a Supreme Fascist Corporative Council, formed on the Italian model, the King possessing a power of veto. At the same time Italy assumed complete direction of Albania's foreign relations. This loss of independence was rendered palatable to the Albanians by a lavish use of bribery (which indeed had undermined their resistance to the invasion) and by largesses to the mass of the population.

CHAPTER V.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM
— NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN — PORTUGAL —
DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND.

BELGIUM.

AT the beginning of the year the Premier, M. Spaak, enlarged his Cabinet by the inclusion of three new Ministers, one of whom, M. Paul Emile Janson, took over from him the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On January 29 the new Ministry received a vote of confidence from the Chamber by 123 votes to 20, with 27 absentions.

About the same time the Government approved the appointment as a member of the newly formed Royal Flemish Academy of Dr. Maertens, who during the war of 1914-18 had co-operated with the German authorities in the movement to detach Flanders from Wallonia, and after the Armistice had been sentenced to death in his absence as a traitor to the State, but had benefited by the Amnesty of 1937. This action was meant as a gesture of appeasement to the Flemings, but it caused a great ferment in the country, and Dr. Spaak was assaulted by ex-servicemen in the street. In the Chamber also the question was raised on February 2 by a Liberal Deputy, and the Government was supported only by 88 members against 86. On February 9 the three Liberal members of the Cabinet threatened to resign if Dr. Maertens remained at the Academy. The Flemish members on the other hand objected to any pressure being put on him. A deadlock ensued, and M. Spaak tendered his resignation to the King.

After one or two unsuccessful attempts had been made, a new Catholic-Socialist Ministry was formed on February 21 by M. Hubert Pierlot, a Catholic Senator. The new Government's statement of policy was not favourably received by the Chamber, and it resigned on February 28, before a vote had been taken. A period of party bickering followed which rendered the formation of a new Cabinet impossible, and as a last resort the King, on March 6, dissolved Parliament, having meanwhile requested the outgoing Ministers to retain their offices till after the election. At the same time the King addressed to M. Pierlot a letter in which he severely criticised the disregard for constitutional principles shown in the government of the country, and called upon the people to think only of the higher interests of national unity ; Parliament, he declared, must provide a basis for a Government capable of commanding respect and upholding the moral prestige of Belgium. This appeal, reinforced by the

threatening aspect of international affairs, exercised a sobering effect. Party leaders promptly proclaimed their firm resolve to maintain national unity in spite of differences of language or considerations of party gain ; Flemish newspapers put a curb on their outpourings ; and a further source of friction was removed by the resignation of Dr. Maertens from the Flemish Academy.

In the elections which were held on April 2 the Catholics and Liberals made considerable gains at the expense of the Socialists and still more of the Rexists. In the Chamber the Catholic representation rose from 63 to 73 and the Liberal from 23 to 33, while the Socialist fell from 70 to 64. The Rexists secured only 103,636 votes against 271,491 in 1936, and they had in the Chamber only four seats instead of seventeen. The results in the Senate were similar.

A strong pro-German campaign in Eupen and Malmedy met with no success. The formation of a Cabinet still presented a problem, and it was not till April 17 that M. Pierlot succeeded in obtaining one of 5 Catholics, 5 Socialists, and 3 Liberals. He was not yet, however, at the end of his troubles ; it was announced on the same day that the Socialist Congress had voted against the party joining the Ministry by 310,000 votes to 240,000, and the Socialist Ministers promptly withdrew. M. Pierlot thereupon managed to form a Ministry consisting of 6 Catholics and 3 Liberals, with 3 non-party experts. M. Pierlot took the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while M. Gutt, who was not a member of Parliament, became Minister of Finance. On April 21 M. Van Cauwelaert, Catholic, was elected President of the Chamber, defeating the Socialist leader, M. Camille Huysmans, by 78 votes to 73.

Two questions urgently claimed the attention of the Government—finance and foreign relations. In the debate on the Government's statement of policy, M. Gutt stated that the National Bank had lost 4,500,000,000 fr. in gold, and that the country had been living to the tune of an annual deficit of 600,000,000 fr. To balance the extraordinary Budget alone 2,500,000,000 fr. would be required. In order to deal with the situation and restore the country's credit, the Government asked for special powers, which were granted to it on April 26 by the Chamber by 104 votes to 84, with 5 abstentions, and by the Senate by 83 votes to 71, with 6 abstentions. Various measures were soon after taken to balance the Budget.

For dealing with the threatening foreign situation, the Government also asked for special powers for defence, which were granted by the Chamber on April 26 by 178 votes to 15. In a speech in the Chamber on June 8 the Prime Minister stated that their essential object was, while maintaining their independence (which he distinguished from mere neutrality), to keep war away from Belgian territory. Belgium would take up arms against

aggression only if it threatened her vital interests ; but she would defend her frontiers not only in Europe but also in Africa if need arose. She would decline to accept any alliance obligations, since these might expose her to the risk of a conflict in which no essential interest was at stake. Certain Deputies suggested that contacts should be made with the French and British General Staffs, but this was resolutely opposed by the Government, as being incompatible with Belgium's independence. Shortly afterwards, on account of Nazi activities in Belgium, the supervision and control of foreigners was made stricter.

A conference of the " Oslo " Powers—Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg—was held on August 23 at Brussels, and King Leopold took the opportunity to broadcast an appeal for peace to the Powers which were then on the brink of war, while, in company with Queen Wilhelmina, he made an offer of mediation. At the same time the Prime Minister repeated his statement of Belgium's foreign policy, and he received assurances from Britain, France, and Germany that Belgian neutrality would be respected if it were properly maintained. Britain and France also renewed their guarantee of Belgian independence against aggression given in 1937. At a Cabinet meeting on August 25 it was decided to place the active forces of the country on a war footing. Motor-cars and horses were requisitioned, Reservists were called up, frontier patrols were posted, and all private aeroplanes were forbidden to fly over Belgian territory. The public were asked to keep calm and were ordered to abstain from all patriotic manifestations.

On September 3 the Government was reconstituted by the admission of three Socialists, one of whom was M. Spaak, who returned to the Foreign Office. Two days later special powers and credits were accorded to King Leopold. On October 1 a general mobilisation was ordered. On November 5 the ordinary Budget for 1940 was laid before the Chamber, showing revenue 11,656 million francs and expenditure 11,123 million francs. This was supplemented on the 12th by an extraordinary Budget of two and a half milliards. The cost of mobilisation from October 1, 1939, to December 31, 1940, was estimated at four and a half milliards.

On November 6 King Leopold, accompanied by M. Spaak, paid a sudden visit to the Hague, from where he once more, in company with Queen Wilhelmina, launched a peace appeal and an offer of mediation, which was welcomed by France and England but treated with scant politeness by Germany. During the next few days the public was conscious of passing through a severe crisis ; and though the danger of a German invasion afterwards receded somewhat, the country kept itself prepared for such an eventuality till the end of the year.

NETHERLANDS.

Owing to the deterioration of the international situation towards the end of 1938, the defence measures taken earlier in that year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 251) were held to be inadequate, and at the beginning of 1939 the Government obtained fresh powers for dealing with military and economic problems in time of emergency. On February 6 Dr. Patijn, the Foreign Minister, stated that Holland would continue to seek to maintain her friendship with all her neighbours while adhering to her old policy of strict armed neutrality in case of war. A little later the defence estimates were passed by the Chambers without a division. In the course of the debates it was stated that the vessels under construction included two cruisers, four destroyers, and nine submarines. More men were called up to man the frontiers, and on April 18 a Bill was introduced to extend the first period of training in the Army to a maximum of two years, and the first period of training of the coast defence units of the Navy to a maximum of 21 months.

Elections to the Provincial States were held on April 19. The most striking feature of the results was the decline of the National-Socialist Party (Dutch Nazis), whose vote fell from 294,596 in 1935 to 159,872, and who obtained only 21 seats instead of 44. The Roman Catholics obtained 186 seats instead of 175 and the Free Democrats 39 instead of 28 ; otherwise there was not much change. The Government coalition altogether gained 20 seats. Thus strengthened, the Government on May 2 brought forward two Bills enacting severe penalties for the publication of subversive or libellous matter, a restriction on the freedom of the Press which caused great resentment in certain quarters. On May 20 Jhr. J. A. de Wilde, the Minister of Finance, resigned on account of disagreement with the Premier over questions of retrenchment. Dr. Colijn thereupon took over the Finance Ministry himself, but he could not secure unity in the Cabinet on financial policy, and on June 30 resigned. On July 24 he succeeded in forming a new Cabinet, but two days later a vote of no-confidence was carried in the Lower Chamber by 55 votes to 27, and he again resigned. A Cabinet was thereupon formed by Jhr. de Geer, the leader of the Christian Historical Party, who had supported Dr. Colijn in the confidence vote, and advocated much the same policy.

One effect of the common danger to which Holland and Belgium found themselves exposed in 1939 was to draw them closer together. Dr. Colijn had made it his particular object to cement their friendship, which was further strengthened by a visit paid by Queen Wilhelmina to Brussels on May 23 to 26. Soon after the outbreak of war the Dutch-German frontier was closed, and on November 1, when the outlook began to grow

particularly black, a state of siege was proclaimed in the eastern parts of the country. Both the Dutch and Belgian Governments entertained fears that Germany was planning an invasion of Holland, and on November 6 King Leopold paid a surprise visit to the Hague and there, in conjunction with Queen Wilhelmina, offered mediation to the warring Powers. In the course of the next few days the Government took a number of precautionary measures, which included the stopping of Army leave, the flooding of certain areas of the country, the extinguishing of lighthouses and mining of bridges, and military preparations throughout the country. No explanation of these steps was given to the public, which was consequently thrown into a state of great alarm and even panic. Only on November 13, after the crisis had blown over, did the Prime Minister broadcast a reassuring message. He was severely criticised by Dr. Colijn for having needlessly kept the public in the dark.

On November 9 German agents crossed the frontier at Venlo and kidnapped two Englishmen and killed a Dutch officer who was accompanying them. The Dutch Minister in Berlin protested to the German Government and demanded an inquiry, but up to the end of the year there had been no German reply.

Holland suffered severely from German methods of naval warfare, nine of her ships, with a tonnage of 39,897, being sunk by torpedo or mine in the last two months of the year. She also protested strongly to England against the embargo placed by that country on German exports at the end of November. At the beginning of the war her foreign trade fell off abruptly, but it picked up considerably in October and November.

SWITZERLAND.

The Federal President for 1939 was Herr Phillip Etter (Zug), and the Federal Vice-President M. Pilet-Golat (Vaud). No change took place in the composition of the Federal Council. The Nationalrat (Second Chamber) came to the end of its term in December, and with it expired the term of office of the members of the Bundesrat (Executive). The new Nationalrat had at its first meeting, in December, to appoint a new Bundesrat for the period of its existence, *i.e.* for four years. It was obvious that Signor Giuseppe Motta, the Chief of the Political Department (Foreign Ministry), would, on account of the state of his health, not be able to remain much longer in office, and the same seemed likely in the case of Bundesrat Obrecht, the Chief of the Economic Department. Nevertheless, it was considered advisable, in view of the war and of the dangerous position of Switzerland, not to make any change in the Federal Government which might lead to conflicts between the parties; the Social

Democrats had in fact announced their intention of claiming a place in the Bundesrat, and had obtained approval for this decision among the German-speaking section of the public (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, pp. 256-7). Accordingly the United Federal Assembly (*i.e.* the joint sitting of the two Chambers) re-elected, in December, the existing members of the Bundesrat for the new legislative period. M. Pilet-Golat was chosen as Federal President for 1940.

In view of the ever-growing war menace, important voices were raised in the summer, especially in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, for prolonging the legislative period of the Nationalrat and so avoiding elections, in order that the unity of the nation, so necessary in face of the existing situation, might not be endangered. Preference, however, was given to the view that precisely now, when democracy was endangered in all Europe where it still existed, it would redound to the discredit and even the harm of the oldest democracy if it did not venture to make use of an important democratic institution, and even acted against the Constitution. Accordingly the elections for the Nationalrat were held on October 29. In several Cantons so-called "quiet elections" took place, *i.e.* the parties agreed with one another to maintain the existing distribution of seats, so that there was no election contest. As meanwhile the Army had been mobilised, a somewhat complicated procedure was necessary. To every member of the forces there was sent by post from his constituency a ballot paper which he filled up and sent back by post. All election campaigning was forbidden in the Army. The result, from the democratic point of view, fully justified the holding of the elections. The great middle-class parties emerged from them stronger than before, the Liberal-Democratic group again heading the list. The Social Democrats lost some seats owing to a split by a Radical group in Geneva and Vaud. The Communists and Frontists no longer obtained a single seat. The relative strength of the parties, however, underwent very little change.

The Swiss people in 1939 voted four times on questions submitted to a referendum. The first time was on January 22. The subject was the so-called "Urgency Initiative." Bills passed by both Chambers must on the demand of 30,000 citizens or eight Cantons be submitted to the people to be voted on. This is the optional referendum; but for Bills affecting the Constitution the referendum is obligatory. Thus even when there is no referendum laws can come into force only when the period for the referendum has expired. If, however, a law is declared in Parliament to be a "Federal resolution of urgency," it is not subjected to a referendum. Of this "urgency" abundant use has been made in recent years. Since, fundamentally, the people is the supreme lawgiver, many citizens felt that their rights were being infringed by Parliament. An Initiative was

set on foot, chiefly from quarters of the Left, to make the declaration of urgency dependent on receiving the vote of two-thirds of the members of Parliament. The Bundesrat put forward a counter proposal making the declaration of urgency depend on receiving the support of an absolute majority of the members of both Chambers,—not merely of those present at the voting. The people gave 346,024 votes for the proposal of the Bundesrat and 155,032 for that of the Initiative, so that the former became law. On the same day an Initiative proposing an alteration in the Constitution on its juridical side, by which the Bundesrat would have been subordinated to the Federal Court, was rejected by a great majority of individual votes and by all the Cantons. Circles of the Left had launched an Initiative for voting a credit of 300 millions of francs for the purpose of creating employment. The Bundesrat thereupon had put forward a counter proposal, in the form of a constitutional law, providing a credit of 327 millions for the development of national defence and for creating employment. The proposal for the Initiative was thereupon withdrawn ; sharp protests on the other hand were raised from the moneyed interests, chiefly on the ground that it was not proper to couple two different subjects in one law. Although this argument appealed to the majority of the people, yet the result of the voting on June 4 was 445,622 votes for to 199,540 against, and nineteen Cantons in favour to three against. Every one knew that the opposition had been really directed against the credits for creating employment, and it was generally recognised that the democracy must settle the unemployment problem if it was not to incur great danger. On December 3 was held the referendum on the working conditions and the insurance of the Federal Civil Service. The Bill in question had been drafted after long negotiations between the Bundesrat and the Civil servants ; it was meant to put the insurance on a sound financial footing and represented a compromise demanding sacrifices from both sides. Both Houses of Parliament had passed the Bill almost unanimously. Yet although all the parties recommended the adoption of the Bill, a referendum was held because one group which called itself "the unsubsidised " carried on a violent and costly agitation against it, playing on the jealousy felt by certain circles against those officials and employees who were entitled to pensions. The voting, moreover, fell at a very unfavourable time, when the Army was mobilised and the State was faced with expenditure to an unspecified amount. The Bill was rejected by the people by 481,635 votes to 290,238. That many voters should have voted differently from the representatives whom they had sent to Parliament was no uncommon phenomenon in Switzerland, where men are often elected largely on personal grounds.

The Swiss Parliament, in 1939, gave the He to those in Switzerland who, under foreign influence, were fond of running down

democratic institutions and especially Parliament. In its six sessions it got through an amount of work without precedent in the ninety years' existence of the Legislature. This was due in part to the seriousness of the crisis, but in part also to the skill of M. Valloton (Vaud), the President of the Nationalrat, in keeping speakers to the point and materially shortening discussion. The Council of States (Standerat), which has always worked more rapidly, kept pace with the Nationalrat.

The military preparations carried out by Switzerland in recent years, the erection of fortresses, and above all the new disposition of the troops which had come into force on January 1, 1938 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1937, p. 239, and 1938, p. 255), allowed her to observe the growing international crisis with considerable assurance that her neutrality would be respected. Since the border troops could be stationed at their assigned positions in a few hours, there was no need to mobilise a single man during the March crisis ; only a few higher officers came together and the mine chambers of the bridges in the whole of the frontier area were loaded. In order to make the Army even better prepared, in March sixty cartridges were distributed to every rifleman in sealed packets. This was done in complete secrecy through the agency of the rifle clubs. (Every Swiss soldier has his rifle at home along with his full equipment.) In June, in addition to the credit of 327 million francs mentioned above, Parliament voted a further 190 millions for defence. The military information service was greatly enlarged and work was carried out on the frontier fortresses. Parliament voted without opposition a further prolongation of the training period for recruits, non-commissioned officers, and officers. This time there was no challenge to a referendum as in the case of the first prolongation (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 252, and 1935, p. 247). In the summer of 1939 there was no longer any real opponent of national defence.

On August 28 the Bundesrat ordered the mobilisation of the frontier and air defence troops. On August 29 Parliament was summoned to an extraordinary session on the next day, when the two Chambers, sitting together as the United Federal Assembly, appointed Chief Corps Commander Guisan (Vaud) as General of the Swiss Army, *i.e.* as Commander-in-Chief, and he immediately took the oath before the Federal Assembly. Each Chamber thereupon, sitting separately, voted extraordinary powers to the Bundesrat. On September 1 the general mobilisation was ordered. At the same time a large number of those liable for auxiliary services were called up. No evacuations took place. Everything was carried out with the greatest order and rapidity, there was no sign of panic, but everywhere a calm determination to ward off any attack that might be made. After a short time the passive air defence formations were sent on leave, as were

also numerous individuals in the Army, in order that the economic life of the country might be maintained. At the end of the year the territorial troops (the Landsturm and the Landwehr of the second contingent, consisting of the older men and forming about 80 battalions) were for the most part sent on leave.

On the economic side Switzerland had fully prepared herself for the European struggle. As early as March the Government had called upon the population to lay in stores of provisions for about two months. These purchases were rendered possible by heavy additional imports of foodstuffs. Similarly, the factories laid in stocks of raw materials. In summer the appeal to the population was repeated, and it was announced that in case of mobilisation a rationing of foodstuffs would also be introduced, and that the sale of rationed foodstuffs would be barred for one to two months, this being the reason why the laying in of stocks was necessary. Special arrangements were made for persons without means who were not in a position to lay in stocks. Rationing commenced on September 1 ; up to the end of the year, however, the rations were so large that they corresponded to the normal consumption, in some cases even exceeded it. Bread, meat, milk, and butter were not rationed ; petrol, however, was. As the railways, with the exception of a few branch lines, have been electrified, as gas has been almost entirely replaced for lighting purposes by electricity, and as the machinery of many factories is run by electricity, Switzerland is much less dependent on coal imports than in 1914-18.

Morally the outbreak of the European war found Switzerland excellently prepared. The threat from the North, the fate of the neighbouring Austria, the Nazi agitation in the country itself (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 258), had already in the preceding years aroused a strong spirit of self-defence in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. In the French-speaking part people at first thought that undue anxiety was being shown, but in the spring of 1939 they became convinced that it was well grounded. During the previous war Swiss sympathies had been divided, but this time the outbreak of war found a completely united country. The friendship between Berlin and Moscow opened the eyes of the partisans of the Nazis, whose numbers had already considerably diminished (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 257), and they dwindled to an insignificant group. A section of the Social Democrats had always shown a leaning to the Soviet Union, and the Socialist group in the Nationalrat had demanded the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Union and the resumption of diplomatic relations. Now the Socialists, even of the Left Wing, turned decisively from Moscow, and expelled the Geneva Socialist leader Nicole from the party because he continued to defend the policy of Moscow. In the Nationalrat in October neither a Frontist (Swiss Nazi) nor a Communist obtained a seat.

The Swiss National Exhibition, which was held in Zurich from the middle of May till the end of October, and which was closed only for the first two weeks of the mobilisation, differed completely in conception from the ordinary run of exhibitions, and was for Switzerland and the Swiss people a source of patriotic inspiration and encouragement, and for other peoples a proof of the vitality of Switzerland and its preparedness in the military, intellectual, and economic fields. According to the practice customary from ancient times at shooting festivals, at the Exhibition also each Canton had an official day, on which the Government of that Canton, the representatives of other authorities, societies, and individuals came in great number to Zurich and were solemnly received by the Government of the Canton and by the city of Zurich. The feeling of fellowship between Swiss of all languages, religions, and parties was here strengthened in a degree never previously experienced. (Among the foreign visitors who were received with special honours was the Lord Mayor of London.) In this year fell also the Federal shooting festival in Lucerne and the six hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Laupen, on June 21, 1339, when Berne, supported by auxiliaries from Solothurn and the original Cantons, defeated in a battle for its existence a far superior force of the nobility of Burgundy banded together from Alsace, Swabia, Aargau, and the town of Fribourg. The primary object of the Laupen celebration had always been to rouse the spirit of Laupen, the spirit which in defence of freedom does not shrink from combat with a much superior attacker. The outbreak of the European war found in Switzerland a people really united and prepared for self-defence.

The attack of the Soviet Union on Finland roused the greatest indignation in Switzerland. In accordance with her policy of strict neutrality, Switzerland abstained from voting on the motion in the League of Nations Assembly for excluding the Soviet Union (whose admission in 1934 had been energetically opposed at the League meeting by the Swiss Foreign Minister, Motta); but the statement made by her first delegate, Professor Rappard, plainly expressed the open sympathy of Switzerland for Finland. On December 27 the Bundesrat voted 100,000 francs for the Swiss Red Cross, to be used in helping the Finnish Red Cross. Throughout the country private collections were opened for Finland, and by the end of the year these had already raised more than a million francs. Swiss volunteers were prevented from going to Finland by a law which forbids Swiss citizens to enter foreign military service.

In spite of the strictness with which Switzerland observed her neutrality, the German Press, as in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 254), cast doubts on it, and demanded that not only the Government but also private individuals and above all the Press should observe neutrality. State neutrality, it was

held, was not enough ; it must be supplemented by " people's neutrality," a concept unknown to international law, and which was also rejected by Government and Press. At the outbreak of the war a supervision was installed of telephone and telegraph communications, but no censorship of the Press. At the same time an office for Press and wireless was installed in the Army General Staff, with the function of warning papers and suppressing them if their contents endangered the safety of the land. Up to the end of the year two papers in Basle were forbidden because their attitude was incompatible with the neutrality of Switzerland, the Communist *Freiheit*, and the *Neue Easier Zeitung*, a paper which had practically no circulation in Switzerland, but a considerable one in Germany, and which was obviously in the service of a belligerent State, namely Germany. Some papers had certain numbers confiscated. The Swiss Press cultivated a studiously moderate tone, without concealing its opinion as to which side of the belligerents was in the right. The repeated attacks of the Nazi Press on the Swiss papers for their allegedly unneutral attitude were, as a rule, duly registered so that the public might know of them, but not answered, as this would have been useless.

Switzerland remained on the most friendly terms with France and England, although the restrictions on Swiss exports to these countries brought about by the war meant a serious loss to her. Discussions on the matter had up to the end of the year brought no improvement.

The conclusion of the " Pact of Steel " between Italy and Germany impaired the Swiss position seriously. She was now surrounded on the north, east, and south by the two allied Powers, between whom and her third neighbour war was threatening to break out. Of her total frontier of 1886 kilometres, 1315 kilometres is formed by the frontier with Germany and Italy. The possibility of military collaboration between the two Allies against Switzerland, whether for the purpose of obtaining the shortest communication between them, or a basis for an attack on France or for both reasons, confronted the Swiss national defence with extremely difficult problems. The fortification of the frontier with what had formerly been Austria was, as in the previous year, prosecuted with the utmost zeal. Economically, too, a war between the Western and the Axis Powers was bound to bring Switzerland into a very dangerous position. If the Mediterranean were to become the seat of war, the indispensable imports of raw materials (excluding coal) and foodstuffs could be brought only from a French port on the ocean, so that railway transport would have to take place through the whole breadth of a France at war. This was the reason for the laying in of stocks already in spring, as mentioned above.

The fact that Italy had not up to the end of the year entered

the war brought an immense improvement to the military and economic position of Switzerland. It is true that the frontier with Italy was also manned at the outbreak of war, since Switzerland, in virtue of her complete neutrality, had to adopt the same attitude to all her neighbours, but the protection of the southern frontier could be entrusted to a smaller number of troops. France at the outbreak of the war had promised to allow passage for supplies to Switzerland through two Mediterranean ports and in case of need through Bordeaux also. Italy offered the use of the harbour of Genoa. Thus Switzerland was no longer dependent for her imports on one single country, which made her feel more independent politically also. Genoa being much nearer than the French ports, Swiss overseas trade used it principally from September onwards, to the no small advantage of this port. The Rhine boat service to Basle, which had been expanding for the last ten years and carried a great part of the Swiss overseas trade, was brought to a standstill by the outbreak of the war. The transference from river carriage to rail from Genoa made freights more expensive and so contributed to increase prices, which, apart from that, had already risen on the world market.

Economically there had been a noticeable improvement in the first half year of 1939. The export industries, in spite of the heavy difficulties under which the international exchange of goods laboured, maintained and improved their position. The home supply industries were also on the average well occupied. The hotel industry, however, and all connected with it suffered already in the summer from the bad weather and the international crisis, which kept back many strangers from visiting Switzerland. The war made the position of the hotels catastrophic. It is much worse than it was in the previous war, because almost all countries have taken to holding up foreign travel on the part of their subjects by restricting the amount of money they can take with them.

Thanks to the careful precautions taken, the transition from peace to war economy was accomplished without disturbance. The Bundesrat issued some war economy orders, as for instance on August 15, for guaranteeing to the country the supply of prime necessities. On September 2 all exports were made dependent on licences. The object of this step was on the one hand to keep indispensable goods in the country, on the other hand to make sure of imports, since the belligerent states deliver numerous classes of raw materials and manufactured articles only under the condition that they are neither directly nor indirectly to benefit their opponents. In this connexion the Bundesrat forbade all foreign interference and control.

In order to prevent private individuals from exploiting the war conditions to the detriment of the community, the Bundesrat issued orders making all increases in the prices of goods and in

rents, as also in all fares, dependent on special permits. It also took steps to prevent the holding up of goods, profiteering, and corruption and collusion in business. Switzerland also was compelled by circumstances to change over from a system of individual enterprise to one of control. The control, however, is not bureaucratic, but is carried out with the help of the war economic syndicates.

The Swiss franc held its own in the crises which preceded the outbreak of war, as also in the four months of actual war. The National Bank had at various times to part with large quantities of foreign securities, as for instance 400 million francs during the March crisis. The drop in the English and French currencies, the outbreak of war, and the mobilisation remained without effect on the Swiss currency. The trade balance for the year was largely adverse ; owing to the provisioning of the country for a long period ahead, the excess of imports in the last quarter of the year amounted to 304 million francs, against 44 millions in the same period of the previous year. To cover this the National Bank utilised its foreign exchange. The bank note circulation at the end of the year amounted to 2021*8 million francs, and was fully covered by the gold reserve of the National Bank (2302*8 millions). In addition the Bank had 311*1 millions in foreign exchange.

SPAIN.

Spain's history continued to be one of torment and privation. The year 1939 brought a cessation of hostilities in the devastating Civil War but little or no relief to the sufferings of a distracted nation. When General Franco's Army along the western borders of Catalonia, well equipped and ably led, launched its long-heralded offensive at Christmas, 1938, it seemed at first that the story of early smashing triumphs followed by deadlock was once more to be repeated—and it was evidently with some such prospect in his mind that the British Prime Minister, on the occasion of his visit to Signor Mussolini in Rome on January 14, once again aired proposals for mediation. Within a few days of the statesmen's meeting, however, the Republican Army was transformed into a harried host, and the constant bombing from the air, with its inevitable dislocation of the elementary conditions of life in a large community, wrought its paralysing effect on the half-starved population of Barcelona. By January 21 the "Nationalist" troops had reached Tarragona, Cervera, and Igualada and were thus well on their way to surrounding the Government's Eastern Army. Battered and blasted out of the Ebro salient the forces mustered in this Catalan sector were still fighting desperately, as a hard-pressed Government ordered withdrawal from one line of positions to another : Government offensives were launched, moreover, on the Extremadura and Andalusia fronts, by way of

diversion. But it was all of no avail. By January 25 the Negrin Government had decided that there was nothing for it but to leave Barcelona to her fate and to try and immobilise the enemy by guerrilla activities on the part of the scattered remnants of the Army in the mountains and valleys of Northern Catalonia. Out of a total Army of some 700,000 less than 200,000 were engaged in this zone : which left the bulk of the Republican forces intact in the Central southern zone, pivoting on Valencia. Everything depended, however, on keeping the sea-passage open to Valencia, and early in February it became clear that Italian aid, by sea and air, was determined to close that avenue.

At this point demoralisation set in. The Catalans, essentially a cultured and non-military people, had no stomach for the fight. The constant stream of refugees to the French frontier set its seal on the general atmosphere of hopelessness. No further help from abroad was forthcoming. Dr. Negrin and his colleagues stoutly maintained that the Government would continue to rule from Madrid or would go on circuit, so to speak, in the extensive areas still under Loyalist control, and a skeleton Parliament duly met, in accordance with the Constitution, at Figueras on February 1. But their legal position was rudely shaken when Don Manuel Azana, President of the Republic, who had fled to France, refused point-blank to return to Spain and advised surrender. Senor Martinez Barrios, President of the Cortes, who might have deputed for him, took up the same attitude. And so the whole edifice of Republican resistance crumbled. General Franco wisely confined himself to the investment of Catalonia, refusing to be drawn into other operations, and confident that he could count sooner or later on the enemy's collapse. On February 20 he enjoyed the triumph of reviewing his victorious Army in Barcelona. Italian divisions, which had taken a prominent part in this last great offensive, were strongly represented in the procession, together with a picked force of German technicians, while the German-Italian air fleets paraded the skies above.

The actual manner of the final collapse was as distressing as it was unexpected. In the first week of March Colonel S. Casado, Commander of the Republican Central Army, took advantage of the recent institution of martial law, replacing the State of Alarm, to seize power in Madrid and set up a Council of Defence whose task it should be to end a hopeless struggle and make the best possible terms with the " Nationalist " command while the Government forces were still intact and perfect order was reigning. In this enterprise he had the invaluable support of the respected Socialist leader, Julian Besteiro, who had resolutely set his face against leaving the capital throughout its years of storm and stress. General Miaja, the veteran soldier who was in charge of all the remaining armies, was privy to the Colonel's plan—but

was actually away in Valencia when the *coup d'etat* was effected. Colonel Casado's action was inspired by motives of genuine patriotism combined with an unreasoning resentment against the alleged dominance of Communist elements in the counsels of the Government—and a touching faith in the desire or capacity of General Franco and his colleagues to show generosity to a beaten foe. This move for peace was inevitably interpreted as treason by those who were the most loyal to Dr. Negrin's continued call for resistance, and there was a short-lived rebel *Un* against Colonel Casado's *rebeUn*, led by supposedly "Communist" elements, which gave the world the sorry spectacle of a factional fight to bring the curtain down on the drama of the Spanish Republic.

Against this background of disintegration European diplomacy drew its characteristic conclusions. The British and French Governments hastened to "recognise" the Franco *junta* in Burgos, and France, after some initial parleying, paid the "Nationalists" the compliment of sending as envoy and Ambassador the highly-respected Marshal Petain, an octogenarian, who, however, by his military standing, would, it was hoped, in time wipe out the "disgrace" of his country having paltered so long with Spanish democracy. The British Admiralty had already done General Franco good service by sending H.M.S. *Devonshire* to effect the surrender to the Insurgents of Minorca, the one important strategic point still under the control of the Negrin regime—and therefore constituting a most important asset in any negotiations. This act was performed, it was said, to avoid further useless bloodshed: .probably a German-ItaUan assault on the island was feared. It certainly contrasted strangely with the long-professed impotence of Great Britain and France to avert German and ItaUan intervention on General Franco's behalf "without running the risk of extending the Spanish War into a general conflagration!"

On March 23 emissaries from Colonel Casado's Council of Defence flew to Burgos, offering orderly conditions of surrender. They included a guarantee of no reprisals, a twenty-five day period for departure of persons wishing to flee the country and the withdrawal of Italian and Moorish troops. General Franco issued another declaration that he would consider nothing but unconditional surrender: but at the same time a broadcast statement from Burgos promised "a generous pardon for all who have not committed crimes"—and explained that neither the mere fact of serving with the Republican forces nor being a member of anti-Nationalist political parties would be regarded as reasons for criminal proceedings. The Casado *junta* were naturally indignant at the dusty answer to their efforts for peace. Negotiations were suspended, and on March 26 its leaders broadcast to the people an account of what had taken place, as a *preUminary*

to abandoning Madrid to *force majeure*. The actual outcome was not so much a surrender, still less a disorderly retreat, but what Colonel Casado himself has called "the self-demobilisation of the Republican Army." Madrid was occupied by the "Nationalist" forces on March 29 to 30, this final token of General Franco's victory coinciding with the arrival at Cadiz of a further contingent of fresh Italian troops to replace those who had borne the brunt of the fighting.

The following month was given up to rueful consideration, in Spain and abroad, of the heritage of thirty-two months of war and to speculation on the nature of the new regime and the extent to which the Italo-German domination might be expected to continue in peace. On April 20 the Non-intervention Committee in London wound up its proceedings, the various countries being formally released from their solemn pledges not to send men or material into Spain! A substantial number of Moorish troops were repatriated to Morocco, and it was announced that the bulk of the Italian forces, whose departure was pledged in the Anglo-Italian Agreement, would indeed be withdrawn but not before the Victory Parade. The latter, originally fixed to take place on April 14, anniversary of the advent of the Republic in 1931, then postponed to May 2 (of glorious memory for the rising of the people against the tyranny of Napoleon—and therefore not exactly appropriate!) and subsequently to the Feast of San Isidor, patron saint of Madrid, took place eventually on May 19, in pouring rain and in an atmosphere of anxious relief rather than any exultation. The inhabitants of the Loyalist areas could not, after hearing accounts of persecution and utter intolerance in occupied Catalonia, lay much store by the above-mentioned broadcast declaration of clemency. The new regime had already nailed its colours to the mast in an ominous Law of Political Responsibilities issued from Burgos on February 9. Under this Law—and the accompanying decree of February 13, defining "responsibilities"—penalties of varying degrees of severity had been prescribed for all who had opposed the "National Movement" either actively or "by grave passivity": sentence of outlawry was pronounced on all persons belonging to the parties and organisations constituting the Popular Front; and the period to which this talion justice was to apply was from October 1, 1934. That intolerance was the badge of the new regime was borne out in the sentencing, on July 11, of Senor Besteiro (aged 70) to thirty years imprisonment. This was regarded as a test case.

Other significant measures of the new regime were decrees suppressing regional liberties in Catalonia and the Basque Provinces—it was laid down that after June the Catalan language was not to be used for commerce—and an announcement that ex-King Alfonso and his family were to have the private property they owned before April, 1931, restored to them (this followed

upon a decree of General Franco restoring **the** ex-King's citizenship in December, 1938). Another decree of June 3 reversed the agrarian legislation which the Negrin Government had instituted, restoring the land to its "rightful owners," and plans were announced for a thorough re-organisation of the agrarian syndicates. Though the general tendency was clear enough it was difficult to affix a label to the skeleton structure of the proposed new State. The continued divergence of aim and outlook between the old Monarchist elements and their middle-class following, *plus* the *requetes* and Traditionalists and the motley array of "revolutionary" elements gathered into the *Falange* or Spanish Fascist movement, was responsible for a certain stagnation—which indeed reflected the prevailing atmosphere of war-weariness. A certain solidarity among the Army leaders was the one thing that kept the rival factions together. The one institution which was conspicuously benefiting by the new dispensation was the Church. Every citizen in Spain was now required to be a Catholic; that is to say, the freedom of worship gained by unremitting Liberal effort in the nineteenth century was replaced by the establishment of a State Church, with religion serving the political purpose of the State.

In the field of foreign policy General Franco soon gave evidence that he intended to proceed warily. A special Pact of Friendship and Non-Aggression was concluded with Portugal and announced to the world on March 26. Designed to secure his rear in the event of European war-complications affecting the Peninsula this pact was also welcome testimony to the General's desire for independence. The same note was struck in an important broadcast speech at a gala banquet following the Victory Parade on May 19. In this effort to shake off the stranglehold of the Axis Powers General Franco could reckon on support from the Church—and, above all, from the big financial interests which were more than ready to meet approaches from the City of London suggesting loans for reconstruction. Nevertheless, the orientation of post-war Spain remained obstinately anti-democratic; on May 8 the Government gave notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations and, later, Spain dutifully subscribed to the anti-Comintern Pact. General Aranda, one of the principal colleagues of the *Generalísimo*, headed a large military mission to Berlin in June, and speeches made on this occasion testified to an attitude of "benevolent neutrality" towards the German-Italian combination. Further than that General Franco was unwilling to go, publicly, so that Count Ciano, who made a special visit to San Sebastian from July 11 to 15, hoping to be able to announce a formal Spanish-Italian alliance, went away somewhat discomfited.

That Spanish foreign policy had come to be patterned on that of Signor Mussolini's Italy was by this time obvious enough.

The boast of a Pamplona newspaper, *Arriba España*, in an article on August 10, 1938—"Franco will know how to be the right-hand of Rome," was not unjustified. It was the theme continually chanted by Senor Serrano Suner, General Franco's brother-in-law, who had gradually risen to be the most important figure in the State hierarchy after the *Generalísimo* himself. With Germany the tie was not so close, although in cultural and economic matters the Germans were well in the ascendant.

In the domestic sphere, too, the Italian model has been preferred. At last, on August 10, after months of manoeuvring, General Franco revealed the framework of the projected National Syndicalist State. As President the *Generalísimo* assumed full autocratic powers, declaring himself responsible "only to God and to history": provision is made under the fundamental laws of the State for rule by presidential decree, if necessary. Normally, the President's authority was to be exercised through three separate delegations. In the first place the Cabinet. The Cabinet, however, is buttressed by the Political Junta of the National Council, on the one hand—this body corresponding fairly closely to the Fascist Grand Council in Rome—and, on the other hand, by a Military Defence Directorate immediately subordinate to *El Caudillo* (the Spanish equivalent of *Führer*). Senor Serrano Suner, as President of this Political Junta, was clearly designated as the most powerful single figure. As a political structure it seemed rather a patchwork creation, a *solution* of the new Spain's problems only in a chemical sense—the Army and the Falange being thrown into the new mould and left to compose their differences within the State machinery, much as the Traditionalist and Falange Parties had been fused into an indefinable compound substance at an early date in the Civil War. It could be regarded as a translation into constitutional terms of the *de facto* domination of the political scene by the Falange Movement, the latter, however, being now a heterogeneous body very different from the original idealist core associated with the name of the popular Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the former Dictator.

On August 10 General Franco announced the personnel of his new Cabinet. The Foreign Affairs portfolio was given to Colonel Beigbeder, who had served General Franco faithfully as head of the administration in Morocco; he had previously been Spanish Military Attaché in Berlin. Generals Varela and Yague at the Army and Air Ministries, respectively, were further evidence of the President's loyalty to his old comrades-in-arms in Africa. The Ministry of Marine was to be under Vice-Admiral Moreno. An interesting appointment was that of General Munoz Grande as Secretary-General of the Falange—a man with no special Falangist credentials, indeed with good Republican antecedents, but as a friend of the *Generalísimo* willing to take on the thankless task of weeding out irresponsible elements and generally lubri eating

the wheels of the machinery linking party and State. No less than seven of the Ministers were representatives of the Falange, with Senor Serrano Suner as Minister of the Interior, the all-important position. They were almost all men of the Primo de Rivera period, with no political history, so to speak; indeed, the new regime in Spain is notable for the exclusion of the old discredited *políticos*—one thing that can be said in its favour. The more "political" Generals, too, have gradually faded away. In July General Queipo de Llano, the "radio General" who had for so long held undisputed sway in the South, was dismissed from his post of Commander-in-Chief of Andalusia—it was said that he had rather snubbed Count Ciano on the occasion of the latter's visit to Seville. Be that as it may, in the autumn he was sent with special ambassadorial functions to Rome, where he still remained at the end of the year.

These organs of government remained unchanged throughout the remainder of 1939. On September 26 a new Falange Council was sworn in at Burgos, ninety members entrusted with the task of organising the State on a National-Syndicalist basis. Meanwhile a sustained effort was made to grapple with the appalling economic distress. The *Auxilio Social* did excellent work in the way of relief. But the organisation of supplies, food, and raw materials proved an uphill task, and Senor Serrano Suner in a broadcast statement to the nation on October 31 made no bones about it—he indeed admitted a continued serious shortage of certain necessities, specifically milk, sugar, and, strangely enough, olive oil. An American Financial Commission visited Spain and arranged a credit of 100,000,000 pesetas for the delivery of raw materials. But the coming of war in Europe caused considerable dislocation in the plans of General Franco's economic advisers, and by the end of the year there was little visible progress with reconstruction. Accounts of terrorism and political persecution continued to appear. As against this, however, on October 4 a decree was published granting free pardon to large numbers of persons suffering imprisonment if serving less than a ten years' sentence, promising also a revision of longer sentences and clemency regarding death penalties. After the object-lesson of Senor Besteiro's trial, however, few of the hundreds of thousands of Spaniards in exile sought to take advantage of a public invitation on September 25 to return to Spain to "a regime of peace and order where they would be received with true Christian fraternity." The various administrative bodies at Burgos, Salamanca, San Sebastian, etc., transferred to Madrid on or about October 20. Apart from a programme of "redemption through work," the only important domestic measure introduced during the second half-year was the resuscitation of the so-called Ecclesiastical Budget, abolished by the Republic in 1931—a sum of 65,000,000 pesetas per annum being allocated to pay stipends for the clergy.

The Church, as stated above, has, more than any other element of Spanish life, established its position. It is looking forward to a new Concordat, more favourable, no doubt, than that of Restoration days—on the lines of that concluded between Signor Mussolini and the Vatican. But so much has it paid the price in political submission that there has been very little protest from the hierarchy at the skilful and unscrupulous attenuation of the Papal Encyclical condemning National Socialism, etc. (in November), in the totalitarian-bound Spanish Press. A Christian-Social State, as in Portugal, is clearly the goal at which General Franco aims. But there are many elements taken over from Germany and Italy which belie the "Christian" purpose.

Domestic developments in Spain have in any case been overshadowed by the outbreak of war to check Herr Hitler's ambition of dominating Europe. Playing second fiddle all the time to *Il Duce* General Franco was adroit enough to steer the ship of State into the relatively calm haven of neutrality. A decree was published on September 5 enjoining this "strictest neutrality" on all Spaniards. To keep out of war is certainly what the overwhelming majority of the nation want—what the country needs. German and Italian influence, however, is still potent: the whole tone of the Spanish Press, with one or two exceptions, reflects totalitarian inspiration, events of the war being presented as often as not through German eyes. It is a fact that the official Spanish News Agency has a central bureau in Berlin and none in London, and the newspapers all have their correspondents in Berlin. The incursion of Russia into the European shambles as a virtual ally of Nazi Germany necessarily caused considerable heartburning in Spain, and the state of mind on that question can only be described as one of anxious bewilderment. Contacts with the Western Powers began slowly to thaw the ice—a British trade mission arrived in Madrid on November 14, and with France relations became increasingly cordial. Spain faces 1940 at least with more chances than many of the smaller States of Europe of escaping murder and destruction.

PORTUGAL.

General Franco's victory in Spain was celebrated with great rejoicings in Portugal, where both Government and people had never made any secret of their sympathy with the Spanish Nationalist cause. It was only the desire to keep on good terms with England that had prevented the Portuguese Government from openly assisting General Franco; as it was it practised "non-intervention" in precisely the same way as Germany and Italy, and, like them, though saying little of the fact while hostilities were in progress, made a boast of it as soon as the war

was over. The exact number of Portuguese officers and men who served in Spain (where they were known as "viriatos") was not disclosed; but it was stated that over 6000 had been killed—a larger number than of any other foreign legionaries. On July 1 the Spanish Ambassador in Lisbon presented to Dr. Salazar, the Prime Minister, the Grand Cross of Isabella, in recognition of the services he had rendered to the cause of the Spanish Nationalists. Speaking in the National Assembly on May 23, Dr. Salazar admitted that the Portuguese participation in the Spanish conflict had provided a hard test for the alliance with England, but he asserted that it had emerged successfully from the test and declared his determination to maintain the alliance unimpaired. On May 27 he received a message from Mr. Chamberlain thanking him for this "clear and unequivocal statement of Portuguese policy."

On June 17 President Carmona left Lisbon for a tour in South Africa, in order chiefly to inspect the Portuguese colonial administrations there. He left Africa again on August 21.

On September 3, as soon as England declared war on Germany, the Government issued a statement that "obligations in their alliance with Britain, which they wished to confirm on that grave occasion, did not compel them to abandon their neutrality." A very intense German propaganda in the country did not deflect the Government from this course. Steps were immediately taken to maintain and guarantee supplies of food and other necessities, and profiteering was severely punished.

DENMARK.

In the first half of 1939 the outstanding event in the internal politics of Denmark was the voting on the proposals for a new Constitution drafted by the Prime Minister, Th. Stauning, and already accepted by the two Government parties, the Social Democrats and the Radical Liberals, and by a majority of the Conservative Party (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 268). The principal amendments by which the new Constitution was to differ from that of 1915 was that the voting age was to be reduced by two years, so that any man or woman who was a Danish national and was over 23 years of age and was permanently resident in the country was given the vote; at the same time the first chamber of the Rigsdag, the Landsting, was to be abolished, while the second Chamber, the Folketing, was to be somewhat reconstructed. In March the draft proposal was adopted by both Chambers of the Rigsdag, in the Folketing by 90 votes to 23, and in the Landsting by 43 to 32. Under the rules of the existing Constitution the proposal could not become law until it had been passed by a newly elected Rigsdag and also submitted to a refer-

endum. The new Rigsdag was elected in April and the draft Constitution was once more passed by a large majority in both Chambers. The referendum then took place on May 23, 966,277 votes being cast in favour of the proposal and 85,717 against it. The Constitution of 1915, however, provides that a constitutional amendment shall only be valid when 45 per cent, of the total electorate have voted in favour of the proposal, and at the referendum only a quorum of 44-46 per cent, was obtained. The proposal was thus rejected and the Constitution of 1915 therefore remained in force.

Elections to both Chambers of the Rigsdag took place on April 3. The result was that in the Folketing the Social Democrats, the Chief Government party, obtained 64 seats in place of 68, while the Liberals, the chief Opposition group, obtained 30 seats instead of 28. Otherwise there was practically no change. In the Landsting the Government coalition of Social Democrats and Radical Liberals commanded 43 votes against 32 of the Opposition (Liberals and Conservatives). Moreover, an independent representative was elected in the Faroe Islands.

The Stauning-Munch administration, which, with these two as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister respectively, had been in power since 1929, underwent some reconstruction in the course of the year, K. K. Steincke being replaced as Minister of Justice by Unmack Larsen, and N. P. Fisker (who died later in the year) being replaced as Minister of Public Works by Axel Sorensen. There was some discussion regarding the formation of a National Government, and the Prime Minister declared that he was willing to include in the Government Ministers representing the two largest Opposition parties, but by the end of the year these discussions had led to no result.

The unsettled conditions abroad led to the calling up in April of 8,000 to 9,000 men of the reserve of conscripts, and at the outbreak of the war this force was considerably increased, but there was no question at any time of a general mobilisation.

On the other hand the war led to emergency legislation in practically all spheres, for instance the introduction of measures to safeguard the country's supply of goods, and to forbid hoarding and exorbitant prices, and for a short period private motoring was prohibited on account of the scarcity of petrol supplies. Petrol, sugar, coffee, and tea were rationed and maximum prices were fixed for certain commodities.

In the four months of war Denmark suffered the loss of many lives at sea, delay in the transport of goods to and from the country, an increase in the price of imported goods larger than in the price of the country's exports, and a certain dislocation of trade, but up to the end of the year trade was fairly well maintained and the commercial life of the country underwent no severe shock. At the end of the year the unemployment figures

had increased by 10,382 compared with the same time in the previous year.

In December the war was brought home more closely to Denmark by the Russian invasion of Finland, owing to the strong political ties uniting the two Northern countries. Denmark's absolute neutrality prevented her from interfering in any way, but developments in Finland were followed with profound interest by the Danish people, which demonstrated its sympathy for Finland by rendering considerable humanitarian and material aid.

In May Denmark declared herself willing, on Germany's request, to negotiate a non-aggression treaty with that country, and at the end of the month the pact was signed. It was ratified by the Danish " Rigsdag " on June 2, and was approved in the Folketing with three dissentients—the Communists—and unanimously in the Landsting.

Denmark participated in a meeting of the Northern Foreign Ministers held, in view of the international situation, in Oslo on August 30. On September 19 a conference was held in Copenhagen of the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the Northern countries, in which a representative of Iceland also took part. A declaration was adopted affirming, *inter alia*, the right of neutrals to normal trade during the war. Finally, as an expression of Northern co-operation, a meeting was held in Stockholm on October 18 between the three Northern Kings and the President of Finland, all accompanied by their Foreign Ministers. It was announced that the Governments were determined in close mutual collaboration consistently to maintain their absolute neutrality, which had been confirmed at the outbreak of the war by the declarations of neutrality then issued. In this connexion the Governments recalled their readiness to act in the service of conciliation, to which they had given expression already before the outbreak of war by associating themselves with Kong Leopold of Belgium's appeal for peace.

The financial year 1938-39 concluded with a surplus of 20-2 million kroner, which was considerably better than had been expected in the autumn of 1938. The Budget estimates for the financial year 1940-41 were practically completed when the war broke out. Revenue was estimated at 511-1 million kroner and expenditure at 527-6 million kroner, leaving a deficit of 16-5 million kroner.

In June a Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce was held in Copenhagen, which was attended by 1,400 registered delegates from practically all parts of the world.

SWEDEN.

Sweden in the first half of 1939 watched with growing concern the war clouds gathering over Europe, and recognised the danger which they might contain for herself. She sought to conjure them away by repeatedly protesting that she desired to maintain strict neutrality in all circumstances, and from this motive rejected in May the offer of a Pact of Non-Aggression made by Germany. At the same time, to guard against all eventualities, she looked to her defences and sought to make herself secure against unprovoked attack. In the Budget for 1939-40, introduced on January 11, out of a total expenditure of 1,363,500,000 kr., a sum of 238,500,000 kr. was to be devoted to defence purposes—45 per cent, for the Army, 29 per cent, for the Navy, and 20 per cent, for the Air Force. But on March 28 extraordinary Defence Estimates were laid before the Riksdag, providing for an additional expenditure of 66,500,000 kr. on war material, and also prolonging the period of compulsory training in the Navy from 200 to 340 days and in the Army by 30 days.

The plan for the remilitarisation of the Aaland Islands, drafted at the end of 1938 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 273), was confirmed at a meeting held in Stockholm in January between Finnish and Swedish delegates led by the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the two countries, and was approved by all parties in the Riksdag on March 22. The shelving of the scheme by the League of Nations in May was a great disappointment to Sweden, and though the Government withdrew the Bill for co-operation with Finland in the matter, they did so only with the idea of reintroducing it on a more favourable occasion.

When war broke out between Germany and the Western Powers both sides gave Sweden assurances that her neutrality would be respected, and she herself reaffirmed her neutrality on September 19, in conjunction with the other Northern Powers at Copenhagen. Her trade with both Germany and England was, however, seriously interfered with, Britain seizing goods shipped by her to Germany and Germany sinking ships of hers carrying goods to England. Energetic protests were on more than one occasion addressed by her to the latter country, naturally without effect. When Russia began to threaten the independence and integrity of Finland Sweden became seriously alarmed, fearing that her own turn might come next. On October 12 she joined with Denmark and Norway in making representations to Russia on the subject of Finland's independence, and immediately afterwards the King invited the Kings of Norway and Denmark and the President of Finland to a conference at Stockholm, on October 18, to affirm their solidarity. When Russia invaded Finland, Sweden showed her sympathy for the latter in very practical fashion, opening her frontiers to refugees, raising large

sums by voluntary contributions and enrolling numerous volunteers. Hr. Sandler, the Foreign Minister, was in favour of active intervention, as was a large part of the public, but he was overruled by the Premier, Hr. Hansson, who had the support of the Riksdag, out of fear of an attack by Germany, and resigned; his successor was Hr. Gunther. Among the public and in the Press the agitation for intervention continued, even after the King himself had made a speech defending the Government's policy. Early in December large contingents of reserves were called up for service mainly in the North of the country, and the territorial waters between the mainland and the Aaland Islands were mined. On December 22 a Law of National Service was passed giving the Government power to enrol both men and women between the ages of 16 and 70 for emergency employment.

NOBWAY.

Mr. Nygaardsvold's Labour Government remained in office throughout the year; three times, however, important changes in the composition of the Cabinet were made. On July 1 the Minister of Finance, Mr. Bergsvik, and the Minister of Commerce, Mr. Madsen, resigned for private reasons, and on September 22 the Premier, owing to the increasing work of the Executive Power, had to give up his portfolio as Minister of Works. In this capacity he was replaced by the President of the Trade Unions' Council, Mr. Hindahl. At the same time a new Ministry of Provisions was set up. Finally, on December 22, the Minister of Defence, Mr. Monsen, resigned because of ill-health, and was replaced by a military expert outside the political parties. After these changes the Government was composed as follows: Mr. Johan Nygaardsvold, Prime Minister; Dr. Halvdan Koht, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. O. Torp, Minister of Finance; Mr. T. Wold, Minister of Justice; Mr. A. Frihagen, Minister of Commerce; Mr. S. Stostad, Minister of Social Affairs; Mr. Nils Hjelmtveit, Minister of Church and Education; Colonel Birger Ljungberg, Minister of Defence; Mr. L. Ystgaard, Minister of Agriculture; and Mr. Olav Hindahl, Minister of Works.

On January 9 the Storting met to elect its officers. In spite of the opposition to the Conservative leader (opposition due to his strong stand against the so-called Munich policy), Mr. Hambro was re-elected by the votes of the Conservative, Liberal, and Labour Parties, most of the Agrarians not taking part in the ballot. Mr. Magnus Nilssen (Labour) was re-elected vice-president.

In the Speech from the Throne, which was delivered on January 12, the King, referring to the gravity of the international situation, strongly stressed the right of Norway to **remain** neutral in any conflict between foreign powers. **The estimates of the Budget for the financial year 1939-40 amounted**

to 635,500,000 kr. **or 70,000,000 kr. more than in the previous** year, the increase being mainly due to higher estimates for social services and public works, **a total of 200,000,000 kr. in all being** reserved for both. The Government also proposed to spend 100,000,000 kr. during a period of three years on the construction of roads and railways, and on the completion of the electric power system. This programme, which was to be financed by loans, aimed at counteracting the expected increase in unemployment.

As in 1938 the questions of national defence and of the financial policy of the Government were the main items of the general debate on the Speech from the Throne. Moving a vote of censure, the parliamentary leader of the Conservative Party, Mr. Hambro, stated that no important increase in the estimates for national defence was foreshadowed in the Budget Bill. He also regretted that the Government had declined to negotiate with representatives of the four main parties in order to strengthen the defence force of the country sufficiently in order to maintain Norway's integrity and independence. Finally, Mr. Hambro pointed out that the financial policy of the Government had weakened the country's economic power of resistance. On the other hand, the parliamentary leader of the Liberal Party, Mr. Mowinckel, claimed that the question of national defence must be kept out of party politics, and moved that the initiative in any negotiations on this issue or to any new estimates for defence purposes was to be left with the Government. The Conservative motion was lost, it found support almost exclusively among the Conservatives. Mr. Mowinckel's motion was then carried by a large majority, consisting of Labour and Liberal members.

On April 14 the Government asked the Storting for new grants of 20,000,000 kr. in order to strengthen the air defences and to purchase a number of motor torpedo boats. A proposition from the Conservative and Agrarian Parties to raise this sum to 50,000,000 kr. was rejected by the Labour and Liberal Parties and the grants asked for were sanctioned, only 4 votes being cast against the measure. Additionally, 3,000,000 kr. were granted as subsidies for domestic aeroplane manufacture, and for the construction of new air bases. When the Budget for the financial year 1939-40 was finally adopted by the Storting, the estimates, totalled 665,000,000 kr. The State accounts for the year 1938-39 showed a net surplus of nearly 50,000,000 kr., mainly due to increases on the income side.

During the spring the question of Norway's foreign relations twice came to the fore. On April 16, in connexion with President Roosevelt's message to Hitler, the German Minister in Oslo asked Dr. Koht whether this country felt itself threatened by the Reich in any way, and whether the Norwegian Government had authorised Mx. Roosevelt to send his message or been

responsible for the President's action. To both questions Dr. Koht replied in the negative. On April 28 Herr von Ribbentrop handed to the Norwegian Minister in Berlin & proposal for a mutual non-aggression pact between Norway and Germany. Dr. Koht replied only after consultations with the Foreign Ministers of the other Northern countries, and after the Storting had discussed the matter *in camera*. According to an official *communique* the Foreign Minister said that as Norway does not feel herself threatened by Germany, and as she intended maintaining her neutrality, integrity, and independence, there was no ground for concluding non-aggression pacts with any other country. Consequently, the Norwegian Government declined the German invitation, and the two Governments agreed to abstain from any further discussion of the plan.

By an Order in Council on January 15 a stretch of territory in No-Man's Land in the Antarctic, six to seven times as extensive as Norway, was placed under Norwegian sovereignty. The territory in question is situated between the Falkland Islands Dependency and the Antarctic possessions of the Dominion of Australia. The territory has no inhabitants, but the coast, which has been explored by Norwegian scientific and whaling expeditions, will be of importance to Norwegian whalers in these areas. On April 1 the Government recognised General Franco's Government *de jure*.

On April 18 the Crown Prince and Crown Princess started on a three months' tour to the United States in connexion with the opening of the Norwegian pavilion at the New York World Fair. The royal couple travelled across the American Continent from one coast to the other, visiting places where Norwegians and descendants of Norwegians had settled. They were invited to Hyde Park, and they also saw Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull in Washington.

Between August 15 and 19 the 18th Inter-Parliamentary Conference met in Oslo, and elected Ivar Lykke, former Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, as its president. Great Britain sent a strong delegation headed by Colonel A. Evans, M.P. The most controversial issue discussed by the conference was a motion put forward by Mr. Hamilton Fish, Member of the House of Representatives in Washington, urging that the conference should initiate negotiations between Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy with the scope of bringing about a peaceful solution of burning political problems. The motion was strongly criticised, and eventually replaced by an appeal to respect international obligations. This appeal was adopted and dispatched to a number of governments.

At the outbreak of the European war the Norwegian Government, in accordance with the fundamental principle of Norwegian policy, and the decision taken by the Foreign Ministers of the

Northern countries at their conference **in Oslo on August 30**, at once issued statements of neutrality, both in relation to the conflict between Poland and Germany and to the war between the Allied Powers and Germany. On September 8 the Storting met for an extraordinary session to consider the problems which arose for Norway as a result of hostilities. In a short Speech from the Throne the King pointed out that he, together with other sovereigns, had done everything possible to avoid war. He also stressed the importance for Norway of taking a strictly neutral attitude. In connexion with the King's speech, the Government placed before the Storting several proposals, the most important being for a grant of 40,000,000 kr. for the maintenance of an effective neutrality guard, for authority for the Government to borrow 150,000,000 kr. to be spent on crisis measures, and for the setting up of a Ministry of Supply. The grant of 40,000,000 kr. was unanimously adopted by the Storting. Without the concurrence of the Storting several precautionary measures had been taken during the last days of August. A neutrality guard had been called up, and a licence system had been introduced for all sorts of exports with the exception of pulp, wood, fish, and iron ore. The sale of ships to foreigners was also prohibited. Further, a mild form of rationing was introduced for coffee, sugar, flour, and petrol; the banks agreed to set up a voluntary exchange control, and the licence system for exports was extended. On August 29 the Norwegian krone was detached from the English pound in order to maintain price levels.

On September 2 the German Minister in Oslo handed to Dr. Koht a message from the Government of the Reich stating that under no circumstances will Germany infringe the neutrality of Norway. At the same time, however, it was pointed out that the German Government expected the Norwegian Government to maintain strict neutrality, and not suffer her neutrality to be violated by any Power, otherwise the Government of the Reich would claim their right to safeguard Germany's interests. On September 4 a special envoy from Berlin, Herr von Hassell, was received by the Premier and the Foreign Minister, von Hassell, on behalf of his Government, expressed the wish to maintain normal trade relations with Norway as far as this was possible under war conditions. Mr. Nygaardsvold replied that this was also the wish of the Norwegian Government. On September 23 the British Minister, Sir C. Dormer, sent a note to Dr. Koht giving an assurance that the neutrality of Norway would be respected by the British Government as a matter of course, in so far as Germany did not violate it.

On September 29 the Norwegian Government protested in London and Paris against the introduction of the export blockade of Germany. Towards the end of the year negotiations were

initiated both with Great Britain and Germany with a view to solving economic problems of mutual interest raised by the war.

Much publicity was given in the world press to the *City of Flint* affair. The American cargo steamer, *City of Flint*, had been authorised to pass inside Norwegian territorial waters on its way to Germany under the command of a German prize crew. Breaking the conditions of this authorisation, the prize crew were interned on November 11 and the cargo released. A protest by the German Minister in Oslo was instantly refuted by Dr. Koht, who pointed out that the attitude taken by the Norwegian authorities was in complete accordance with the Hague Rules No. 13 of October 20, 1907. The matter was eventually allowed to drop.

The conflict between Finland and Soviet Russia was regarded with increasing anxiety in Norway, and the outbreak of hostilities caused profound consternation there. With the exception of the insignificant Communist faction, the press unanimously and whole-heartedly expressed the deep sympathy of the nation with the Finnish people. Various public collections were made for relief and defence work in Finland, amounting at the end of the year to over 4,000,000 kr. Numbers of people volunteered for medical and active service at the front, and on the northern frontier much was done towards helping Finnish refugees.

On October 10 the Norwegian Minister in Moscow, together with the Danish and Swedish Ministers, made a *demarche* in the Kremlin, expressing the hope of their respective Governments that the Russian demands on Finland did not imply any diminution of the sovereignty and neutrality of that country. On December 8 the Foreign Ministers of the three Scandinavian countries met in Oslo to discuss the attitude to be taken by their Governments when the Finnish appeal came before the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations. It was agreed that the delegates of the three countries should support every possible League action to bring about a peaceful settlement between Finland and Soviet Russia. On his return from Geneva, the first delegate of the Norwegian Government, Mr. Hambro, broadcast a statement showing the attitude of the Scandinavian representatives in the Assembly. He explained that they had not abstained from voting, as had been alleged abroad, but only made one reservation to the resolution passed because of the view of the three Governments on the character of Article XVI of the Covenant (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTEB, 1938, pp. 272 and 277). Dispelling a widespread uncertainty regarding the extent to which the Government were prepared to give active help to Finland, Dr. Koht in a broadcast said: "Everybody in this country has a natural sympathy with any people struggling for its liberty and independence, more especially when this country is a neighbour. But in an independent country like ours, the

citizens had their responsibility for the policy of the Government, and everybody in this country ought to make it clear to himself that the Norwegian Government can have no other policy than that of neutrality. If we did go further than required by the defence of our own country, we should throw it into a hazardous position."

After the outbreak of the European war, strong moves were made in various Opposition quarters for the creation of a National Government. The plea for national union was voiced by Mr. Hambro during the session of the extraordinary Storting. It was, however, rejected by the Prime Minister, whose attitude was approved by the National Conference of the Labour Party in November.

FINLAND.

Like the three Baltic States, Finland in 1939 received from her powerful neighbour on the East a peremptory demand to surrender her independence and accept the position of a vassal State. Unlike them, however, she took up the challenge, and up to the end of the year, though fighting against overwhelming odds, had succeeded in keeping the aggressor at bay, winning for herself by her heroic resistance the admiration and gratitude of the civilised world.

Almost from the time that she had regained her independence in 1920, Finland had borne in mind the possibility of a Russian attempt to reconquer her, and had made preparations for meeting such an eventuality. It was in pursuance of this policy that she had in 1938 come to an agreement with Sweden about the fortification of the Aaland Islands (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1938, p. 272). In January the Finnish Government approached the Soviet Government with a request that it should support the proposal to fortify the Aaland Islands at the forthcoming meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in May. The Soviet Government gave an unfavourable reply, and even tried to get the proposal taken off the agenda of the Council meeting. So determined was Finland in the matter, however, that on May 7 Hr. Kallio, the President, requested the Diet to grant 1,877,000Z. over a period of three years for the fortification of the islands, while a Bill was introduced to amend the Aaland Guarantee Law and to provide for military service for the population of the Islands. On May 22 Hr. Holsti, the Finnish representative, duly laid the proposal for the fortification of the Islands before the Council of the League of Nations, but owing to the opposition of the Russian representative the matter was shelved.

A General Election was held on July 1 and 3 with the following results (1936 results in brackets): Social Democrats, 85 (83); Agrarians, 56 (53); Coalition (Conservatives), 25 (20); Swedish

Party, 18 (21); Patriotic Popular Movement (I.K.L., Fascists), 8, (14); Progressive (Liberal) Party, 6 (7); Small Farmers, 2 (2). Thus the parties represented in the Cabinet increased their seats from 143 to 147 in a House of 200; while the whole House supported the Government's policy of strict neutrality and a determination to defend the integrity of Finland.

Finland's desire for neutrality was reaffirmed at the conference of the four Northern Powers which met at Helsinki on February 20, when her ties with the Scandinavian States were again strengthened. Along with Sweden and Norway she rejected the German offer of a Non-Aggression Pact in May, on the ground that she was desirous of keeping out of the groupings of the Great Powers. A little later the report that Britain and Russia were discussing the question of giving Finland an unsolicited guarantee caused great perturbation in the country, and Hr. Erkkö, the Foreign Minister and acting Minister for National Defence, said that Finland would consider a guarantee of her integrity without her permission a piece of insolence, and that she was interested only in maintaining her neutrality; apart from which she already had a Non-Aggression Pact with Soviet Russia.

Finnish suspicions of Russian designs were deepened when Russia made a pact with Germany in August, and were turned almost into a certainty when she extended her suzerainty over the three Baltic States at the end of September and the beginning of October. Finland's turn was not long in coming. On October 8 the Soviet Government asked the Finnish Government to send a special representative to Moscow to discuss various political and economic questions. They sent Dr. J. B. Paasikivi, a former Prime Minister and at that time Finnish Minister in Stockholm, one of the country's most experienced statesmen. Negotiations went on for several weeks, in the course of which the Finnish representatives made frequent journeys to Moscow and back. The Russian demands, which were made public by M. Molotov in a speech on October 31, included the lease of a naval base opposite the Estonian port of Baltiski, and the cession of certain islands in the Gulf of Finland, as well as the Finnish part of the Rybachi Peninsula on the north coast and some territory on the Karelian isthmus. Finland at first refused to accede to these demands, on the ground that they were incompatible with her sovereignty, integrity, and neutrality. Gradually she made a number of concessions, but she remained adamant on the question of yielding the port of Hangö, at the entrance of the Gulf of Finland.

For some time negotiations proceeded amicably, and Russia abstained from threats. Towards the end of November, however, she threw off the mask, and a violent Press campaign was launched against Finland. On November 27 the Soviet Government

alleged—quite falsely—that Finnish troops had fired across the border of the Karelian isthmus, killing some Russian soldiers, and on November 30, without any declaration of war, Russian aeroplanes bombed Helsinki and Russian troops invaded Finland.

True to its previous declarations, the Finnish Government, with the practically unanimous support of the Finnish people, determined to fight for its independence against a foe immeasurably bigger and more powerful than itself, though it knew that for a time at least it would have to do so single-handed, since its natural protector, Germany, was now in league with the enemy. Thanks to its foresight, the country's defences were in excellent order. A State-owned factory, intended to make Finland less dependent on foreign armament supplies, had been opened at Jyväskylä in February. Army manoeuvres on an exceptionally large scale had been held in August. In October a Bill was passed for raising Fm. 500,000,000 for defence purposes. The supreme command was placed in the hands of the seventy-year old Baron Mannerheim, the hero of the War of Liberation, who had given his name to the strong line of fortifications guarding the Karelian isthmus, and built largely at his instigation. The bulk of the non-combatant population was also rapidly evacuated from the towns, large numbers finding refuge in Sweden.

In a final effort to pacify the Soviet Government, the Cabinet of Hr. Cajander resigned on December 1, and was replaced by one headed by Hr. Ryti. The Soviet Government replied by setting up a puppet Government at Terijoki, a place which they had captured just inside the Finnish frontier, and concluding with it a pact granting them all that they demanded. Finland on her side appealed to the League of Nations as a victim of unprovoked aggression.

Russia invaded Finland in four sectors—at the Karelian isthmus, in the south-eastern corner of the country; north of Lake Ladoga; in the neighbourhood of Salla and Suomussalmi, opposite the port of Oulu on the Gulf of Bothnia, where the country is narrowest; and in the extreme north, between the White Sea and the Norwegian frontier of Finland. Only in the last-named sector did they make any progress of importance, capturing the port of Petsamo and the nickel mines at Salmijaervi. On the Karelian isthmus they were firmly held by the Finns, and did not even succeed in making contact with the Mannerheim line, much less penetrate it. North of Lake Ladoga they advanced some way in an endeavour to turn the Mannerheim Line, but the difficulties of the country, which here is broken by numerous lakes, enabled the Finns to check their progress. In the neighbourhood of Suomussalmi the 163rd Russian division was lured into an impasse between the two arms of Lake Kianta, and there surrounded and completely cut off by the Finns, who used to great advantage the superior mobility afforded to them

by their expertness on skis. Thus on land the Finns, in the first month of the war, had more than held their own, while they had so far suffered comparatively little from the numerous air-raids which the Russians had carried out. Nevertheless they were under no illusions about the desperate nature of their position, and to the many nations which had expressed sympathy for them they issued pressing appeals for more material aid.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST : IRAN—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ—PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN—SYRIA AND LEBANON—ARABIA.

IRAN.

AT the end of 1938 the Shah protested against the appearance in a French paper of a pun on the words *chat* and *Shah*, though made without any allusion to himself. The French Government having replied that it could not interfere with the liberty of the Press, the Persian monarch took umbrage and in the middle of January broke off diplomatic relations with France, recalling Persian students and military cadets from there. After further explanations he consented to resume relations on February 22.

In July Iran entered into close relations with Turkey, promising to support her if need arose in a war in the Mediterranean. On the outbreak of the war between Britain and Germany she declared her neutrality, but later protested to Great Britain against her decision to seize German merchandise destined for Persia. On October 18 she signed a treaty of friendship with Japan.

On October 28 the Ministry resigned according to custom, following the convocation of the National Assembly, and a new Cabinet was formed by the outgoing Minister of Justice, M. Daftari. The retiring Prime Minister, M. Djame, became Court Minister, a post which had been vacant for a number of years.

The anniversary of the *coup d'etat* of 1929, which brought the Shah into power, was celebrated in March with a review of twenty-five thousand troops equipped with tanks and guns recently bought in Europe. In April Teheran celebrated with great rejoicings the marriage of the Crown Prince to the sister of the King of Egypt, who had been brought to Iran by the Queen Mother of Egypt.

AFGHANISTAN.

It was announced in May that the Government had decided to sell all Government-owned factories, chiefly textile and sugar concerns, to private capitalists. On September 7 a revolt against

the Government broke out on the frontiers of India, but it was suppressed in little more than a week. In December the Government announced the opening of a twice-weekly bus service between Kabul and Mazar-i-Sharif, in Afghan Turkistan, a distance of 382 miles, by a road traversing the Hindu Kush which had been first planned by King Nadir Shah.

IRAQ.

The event of the year in Iraq was the sudden death on April 4, as the result of an accident, of the King, Ghazi, and the succession of a child of four. This was serious enough, but the excitement caused in Mosul by the unexpected news led to an anti-British outbreak, the destruction of the British consulate and the murder of the consul. This outbreak was a consequence of agitation, in which agents of a Central European Power, always anxious to stir up anti-British prejudice, participated, and one of its results was the departure of certain German citizens from Iraq. The Iraqi Government at once expressed its deep regret at the crime. Several men were promptly tried and convicted of murder or participation in the attack, and later, generous compensation was paid to the consul's widow. King Ghazi died within a few weeks of the discovery of a plot by a group of military officers and politicians for his deposition. The energetic action of the Government, however, quickly suppressed this conspiracy and punished those of the conspirators who had not escaped. Nuri Pasha's Government had been formed only in the last week of the previous year. On January 4 he announced a liberal and democratic programme and later stated that Iraq's foreign policy consisted of friendship with other independent Arab States and with Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan, Iraq's partners in the Sadabad or Asiatic Pact, and loyalty to the treaty with Great Britain.

The part taken by Nuri Pasha, the representative of Iraq, who virtually took the lead among those of the Arab Powers at the Palestine Conferences in London, was in furtherance of this policy. He appeared as the friend of both Britain and the other Powers and worked hard to secure an agreement between them. Another step in the same direction was the mission in June of the Iraqi Foreign Minister to the King of Saudi-Arabia. This mission was declared to be completely successful and to have resulted in even more friendly relations than hitherto.

The outbreak of war between the Allied Powers and Germany was promptly followed by the rupture of relations between Iraq and Germany, and all Germans left the country. This step was approved by all parties in Iraq. Subsequent disclosures of a German project to surrender Iraq to Turkey in part payment for Turkey's friendship in the war served, so far as Iraq was concerned, to increase the anti-German feeling.

The Assyrian question appears to have been closed. The Assyrians who remained in Iraq were declared by their friends outside to have settled down, while those who had settled in the Khabur in Syria were also no longer in need of assistance.

PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN.

In a sense the Arab rebellion continued throughout the year 1939 until the outbreak of war, but it had few of the characteristics of a rebellion. It had already, in the latter part of 1938, become more a succession of isolated outrages, committed in some instances for political reasons but as, if not more, frequently acts of revenge or even of brigandage. The military activities did much to bring the revolt to an end, but the announcement in May of the Government policy for the future of Palestine undoubtedly helped towards pacification, even though the new policy was at first rejected by the Mufti of Jerusalem and the Arab Higher Committee. In one direction, however, the area of disturbance was increased. The new policy, while it may have brought appeasement in some Arab quarters, brought to the greater part of the Jews intense disappointment. For the most part the Jews were satisfied with protests and non-violent opposition to the law, but a small number of hot-heads went further and believing that violence had secured for the Arabs what argument or persuasion could never have obtained, determined to follow their example in the hope of similar success. As a consequence the outrages attributed to Jews, which had in the past been very occasional although often very deadly, increased noticeably in number after the new policy of the Government was known. As in the case of the Arabs, arrests of the malefactors were very few. With the Jews also acts of violence ceased on the outbreak of the war. Another form of anti-Government action by the Jews was in regard to immigration. The smuggling of Jews into Palestine had been prevalent for years, and shiploads of smuggled immigrants had occasionally been landed surreptitiously. During the past year this traffic increased manifold. It was partly due to the inhuman measures taken by the Government of Germany to expel its Jews. This Government, there is reason to believe, either directly or indirectly, chartered unseaworthy vessels, overloaded them with Jews, and sent their masters off with instructions to get rid of their passengers by any means they liked, so long as they were not brought back to Germany. But these German chartered vessels were not the only ones that landed or attempted to land Jews in Palestine. The Secretary of State, knowing of the traffic, had announced in May that illegal immigrants who, for one reason or another could not be deported, would be compensated for by a reduction in the number of

authorised immigrants, and this practice was adopted at first, but when the extent of the traffic was realised, in July, it was announced that legal Jewish immigration would be suspended altogether from October until the illegalities ceased. As a consequence the Immigration Schedule for the half-year ending in March, 1940, made provision for no Jewish immigrants.

The year opened amid preparations for the three-party conference the Government hoped to hold in London. The first meeting in St. James's Palace was on February 7, considerable delay having been caused in the selection of the Arab delegates. The neighbouring states took little time in appointing their representatives, who formed a strong contingent, comprising the Prime Minister of Iraq, the Minister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi-Arabia, the Chief of the Royal Cabinet—later Prime Minister—of Egypt, and the Egyptian Ambassador in London, and other statesmen of standing. So far as Palestine was concerned the selection only of Haj Amin, the exiled Mufti of Jerusalem, was vetoed by the Government. The other exiles were acceptable, and so that there might be no obstacle to the free choice of representatives the members of the Arab Higher Committee, interned in the Seychelles, were released. Access to the Mufti for consultation was permitted to all the delegates, so that the Arab delegation from Palestine was in effect nominated by him and he was consulted by it throughout the talks in London. The delay was caused mainly by the representation of the National Defence Party—the so-called Nashashibi Group—which had seceded from the Arab Higher Committee a year earlier and which the Government was anxious should take part in the conference. The matter was complicated by the demand of the National Defence Party for representation equal to that of the main delegation, to which the Mufti retorted that he would agree only to two representatives of the Minority to be nominated by him. In the end a representation of two was accepted, but not to be nominated by the Mufti. So long drawn out were these negotiations that the two additional members reached London only after the talks had commenced. The Jewish delegation was also a strong one, British, Palestinian, and foreign, consisting of so-called Non-Zionists as well as Zionists and even of prominent Jews who had hitherto shown little interest in the question of Palestine.

The conference for which the British Government was anxious never, however, took place. The procedure proposed was that after preliminary talks between the British and Arab representatives on the one hand and the British and Jewish on the other, at which the width of the gulf between Arabs and Jews could be ascertained, all three should meet around one table. But this gulf proved unbridgeable. The maximum demands of the two sides were obviously irreconcilable, but neither showed any intention of reducing them by an inch. And, officially at any

rate, each side was unanimous. The only moderation was shown on the part of the Arab States and these failed to exercise an appreciable influence over their Palestinian colleagues. The Palestinian representatives even refused to meet their Jewish opponents, on the ground that they did not wish to be considered for a moment as recognising the Jewish Agency. An agreed solution was out of the question and it therefore remained for the Secretary of State to put forward his own solution. This was in principle first communicated to both sides and rejected by both. The Jews went even further than the Arabs, for on learning the proposals they withdrew entirely from the talks. After the suspension of the meetings in London on March 17, talks between British and Arab representatives were resumed in Cairo and some modifications were made in the British plan. Nevertheless this was finally rejected by the Arab Higher Committee and less definitely by the Arab States. The National Defence Party, after some delay, accepted the proposals as a basis for further discussion. The amended proposals were at length published (Cmd. 6,019) on May 17. In short, they proposed the creation of a sovereign independent Palestinian State within ten years. If at the end of that period the British Government considered the creation of an independent State impracticable, it would consult with representatives of Palestine and the neighbouring States and with the Council of the League of Nations. Steps should be taken at once for the co-operation of Palestinians—Jews and Arabs—in the administration of the country. During the next five years a maximum of 75,000 Jewish immigrants should be admitted to Palestine, further immigration to be dependent on the acquiescence of the Arab elements in the population. This immigration would raise the Jewish proportion to approximately one-third. At the end of the period of five years a sort of constituent assembly, in which British representatives will take part, will meet to draw up a Constitution for Palestine. The country was to be divided into three zones. In one, purchase of further land by Jews was to be prohibited; in the second, it was to be limited; in the third, it was to be free.

The customary Zionist Congress was held at the end of August, but under the shadow of the impending war, which took all reality out of the discussions and brought the Congress to a premature end. The meeting of the delegates, however, showed that the deep disappointment at the course of events was universal among Zionists. Towards the end of the year the hostility to the British plan shown by the extreme Arab opponents as represented by the Mufti of Jerusalem, appeared to be mitigated somewhat, mainly through the efforts of two of the representatives of the Arab States at the London Conferences: Ali Maher Pasha, now Prime Minister of Egypt, and General Nuri Pasha, the Prime Minister of Iraq, and the provisional acceptance of the British scheme,

perhaps after some amendment, by all parties among the Arabs of Palestine was foreseen as a possibility.

The British scheme never came before the Council of the League of Nations, as it should have done, in consequence of the outbreak of war, but the Mandates Committee had, in August, by a majority of four to three, showed its disapproval.

The outbreak of war brought something like a panic to the peoples of Palestine. The rumours that spread in all directions led to the hoarding of food and other necessities and to a run on the banks. At the same time there arose a widespread expectation of gas air-raids and an equally widespread clamour for protection against them. The Government took immediate charge of the situation. By the control of supplies, the fixing of maximum prices and the heavy punishment of those who exceeded them, the wild purchase of necessities was stopped and prices brought down again to a reasonable level. For the last few days before the outbreak of war the banks were closed, and on their re-opening restrictions were placed on them for a few weeks. Three or four local banks, including one of the largest, did not re-open, but by the others the crisis was passed satisfactorily. But the general economic position which had been continually deteriorating since the shock given by the ItaUan invasion of Ethiopia grew rapidly worse. Building, after citrus cultivation and agriculture, the main industry of Palestine, almost ceased. A very severe crisis overtook the orange production business, and it was estimated that at the end of the year about 50,000 Jews, not to mention Arabs, almost half of the working population, were in need of employment. Earlier in the year the whole banking system had been reorganised by legislation that laid down a maximum of 50,000Z. (25,000Z. paid up) capital for a bank. As a result the number of banks active in Palestine was very considerably reduced. Another contribution towards the orange crisis was the great growth in production, rising from less than a million cases exported in 1921-22 to almost 15½ millions in the 1938-39 season. In this matter also the Government was compelled to intervene, and after attempts to secure agreement between the growers to limit exports had failed, compulsory powers were taken. On the other hand, the year saw the beginning by the Iraq Petroleum Company of the refining of mineral oil in Palestine, and moreover the outbreak of war gave Palestine potash almost a monopoly in the market. The ending by a commercial agreement of November 30 of mutual free trade in the products of Palestine, Syria, and the Lebanon, a step taken as the consequence of the clamant demands of the Palestine manufacturers, is of less certain advantage to the countries concerned. In another sphere, the opening on the Mount of Olives of a medical school as a part of the Hebrew University marked a noteworthy step forward whose future benefits should be appreciable.

Taufiq Pasha Abu'l Houda, the Chief Minister of Transjordan, visited London as a member of the Palestine Conferences in January and following that visit negotiations were entered into for the amendment of the treaty that governed the relations between Britain and Transjordan. These culminated in a new agreement under which the Executive Council of Transjordan was replaced by a Cabinet responsible to the Amir. The restrictions on the Amir's power to raise military forces was at the same time removed and the appointment of consuls in neighbouring countries authorised. This agreement was followed by the appointment of the first Transjordan Cabinet under Taufiq Pasha.

SYRIA AND THE LEBANON.

The treaty by which France agreed to grant independence to Syria and the Lebanon should have come into force at the end of the year 1939. The outbreak of war inevitably postponed this consummation, but it is doubtful whether, even if there had been no war, the treaty would have been carried out by the day appointed. In the course of the three years that have passed since the treaty was signed many doubts and difficulties have arisen, especially on the French side. The threatening situation in the Eastern Mediterranean during the greater part of the year also seemed to suggest that any immediate change in the *status quo* was undesirable. One consequence of the disappointment, following especially on the Alexandretta settlement, was a lukewarmness in the attitude of the Syrian population towards the French Mandatory, displayed, in particular, in unfriendly demonstrations on the arrival in Syria of the new High Commissioner, M. Puaux, in January, and the unanimous abstention from the official reception given to him of Syrian officials and notables. These demonstrations led immediately to a Cabinet crisis, accompanied by a general strike, in Damascus. The crisis continued for a month and then the Cabinet of Jemil Bek Mar dam resigned, amid widespread hostile demonstrations. Jemil was considered to be unduly pro-French. The period of unrest continued and there was street fighting between the populace and the French forces in Damascus and Horns, and minor disturbances in the Jebel Druse and the district of the Alawites. The main grievance was the failure of the French to ratify the treaty. All political parties showed themselves practically unanimous and resolute in their opposition to the French. In the end, on April 7, a Government of "Moderates," under an ex-Turkish colonel, was formed, but the widespread political strike continued and the High Commissioner returned to Paris to ascertain whether the treaty could not be so modified as to form a compromise acceptable to both parties. The strike did not end until April 24, having lasted forty days. In the meanwhile ParKament was-

prorogued. Colonel Nasuh al-Boukhari's Cabinet endured for five weeks. Another uneasy period followed, culminating in the resignation of the President of the Syrian Republic, on which the Mandatory Power suspended the constitution and entrusted the administration of the state to a nominated council over which it kept control. The resignation of the President followed immediately on measures taken, nominally in the direction of decentralisation, but in reality towards the curtailment of the powers of the Central Syrian Government with which the Mandatory Power had found such great difficulty in co-operating. These measures were in the direction of granting a large modicum of independence of the Central Government to the several districts of whose possible independence Syria had always shown itself jealous.

The year 1938 saw an apparent settlement of the question of Alexandretta or the Hatay, a settlement that gave little satisfaction in Damascus. However, it had perforce to be accepted. The Anglo-Turkish Treaty of May, 1939, was received in Syria with pleasure, being read as helping to guarantee its integrity, and France a month later (June 23) made a similar treaty with Turkey and at the same time agreed to the complete cession of the Hatay. Opinion in Syria, although protests were registered, was not deeply stirred. The province had for some time already been considered lost. The Italian Government also made a protest, arguing that the cession was incompatible with France's obligations to the League of Nations.

Throughout the year the Syrians continued to show an interest in events in Palestine and in the possible solutions of its problems that were discussed. One proposal was a union or federation of the two states with Iraq, under the child-king of the latter kingdom. In June a possible union between Syria and Transjordan was discussed, and this was supported by visits of Syrian statesmen to Amman. The outbreak of war, however, stilled all these movements in Syria as in the other Arab and Moslem lands. The French control might be resented and disliked, but there was no inclination anywhere to exchange it for a German or Italian one. All the energy and money devoted to these ends over several years were in one moment shown to have been wasted. The propaganda that had been conducted had completely failed, if that had been its purpose. All parties and many influential individuals immediately announced their support of France and Britain and their hostility to Germany, and this support was even intensified by subsequent attempts of Germany to influence the Syrians and Lebanese.

In the Lebanese Republic, as in Syria, the outbreak of war definitely postponed the grant of independence which had been promised for the end of the year. However, without this occasion the fulfilment of the promise was also very uncertain. The decision depended on the more important similar one with regard

to Syria. M. Puaux, the new French High Commissioner, arrived **at** Beyrout on January 7 and had an enthusiastic reception. His arrival was, however, quickly followed by a ministerial crisis, caused by the suppression of a local newspaper for attacking the Government. On the outbreak of war the Constitution was suspended and all power vested in the President of the Republic, who, however, could not act without the approval of the French High Commissioner. Advantage was taken of this opportunity for a drastic reorganisation of the Civil Service which had shown itself unsatisfactory in many respects.

ARABIA.

Once again, in 1939, Arabia was practically without a history. In Saudi-Arabia the principal event, so far as the outside world was concerned, was the active part taken by the King, through his son and representative, in the attempted settlement of the Palestine dispute [see under Palestine]. In the previous year the British and Italian Governments had by their agreement of November undertaken to guarantee the integrity of Saudi-Arabia and the Yemen. The rulers of these two states were, however, not consulted and the former, in notes to the Italian and British Governments, dated March 11 and March 22 respectively, made it clear that he did not consider himself bound by any treaty to which he was not a party. In May the King, accompanied by a large party, paid a formal visit to the ruler of the neighbouring British protectorate of Bahrein, a visit which served to illustrate not only the friendly relations between the two rulers, but also with the British authorities. The appointment of a diplomatic representative at Paris in October, the first of such appointments, despite German blandishments, served to emphasise King Ibn Saud's friendliness to the Allied cause and to France in particular. King Ibn Saud also took steps to develop his kingdom. A concession for the search and ultimate exploitation of oil, granted to an American company in May, 1933, was extended to cover a larger area and for a longer period. There were European and Japanese competitors with more attractive offers, but the King preferred to avoid the possible complications that they might bring.

Aden celebrated its centenary as a British possession on January 19. A new Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between Britain and Muscat was signed on February 5. By this instrument Muscat was given a large measure of tariff autonomy.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN.

CHINA.

THROUGHOUT 1939 the Chinese National Government, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, succeeded in maintaining itself in Chungking, whither it had removed its seat towards the end of 1938. Though practically cut off from the sea, it was still able to draw supplies by land from French Indo-China and to maintain in the field huge armies. With these it managed on the whole to stem further advance on the part of the Japanese invaders, so that by the end of the year the relative positions of the combatants had undergone very little change.

In February the Japanese carried out a number of air-raids on Chinese cities, bombing indiscriminately. The worst was on Kweiyang, where it was estimated that they caused over 1,000 casualties and 25,000,000 dollars worth of damage. To avoid a similar fate, the authorities at Chungking decided to evacuate 300,000 civilians, or two-thirds of the population, before March 11.

At the beginning of March the Japanese advanced from Hankow northwards into the province of Hupeh, with the ultimate object of invading Shensi. Soon after, another force advanced south from Hankow into the province of Kiangsi. On March 27 this force succeeded in occupying the important town of Nanchang, and also cut the Chekiang-Kiangsi railway from the coast to Changsha, an important line of supply for the Chinese forces in the interior. They failed, however, to take Wuning, north-west of Nanchang, while north of the Yangtze the Japanese were held up by the Chinese in Hupeh, on the Han River. Finding the way to Changsha barred by half a million Chinese, the Japanese had to content themselves with mercilessly bombing Chungking, where in the first week of May over 1,500 people were killed in air-raids. General Chiang Kai-shek thereupon ordered the evacuation of all civilians, including foreigners, whose presence was not required.

Early in May the Japanese made a determined effort to cut off the Chinese forces resisting their advance along the Han River, but they did not succeed, and had to fall back on their original lines. Towards the end of June the Japanese occupied the ports of Swatow, Foochow, and Wenchow, in Southern China, thus further cutting off the Chinese from contact with the outside world. On September 22 they resumed major operations with a great offensive in North Kiangsi and North-Eastern Honan, but they were again stopped by the Chinese and at the end of

October fell back on their original line. The Chinese morale was greatly strengthened by this success, and after almost a year's interval the Chinese Air Force on October 3 recommenced offensive operations, with a raid on Hankow in which they claimed to have destroyed a number of Japanese aircraft. On November 15 a Japanese force, estimated at two divisions, landed near Pakhoi, in South China, and after making rapid progress entered Nanning, in Kwangsi, on November 24, cutting Chinese road communications with French Indo-China.

Alongside of the major operations the guerrilla warfare was kept up throughout the country with great vigour, and no small success. An attempt by the Japanese in the summer to dislodge the guerrillas from the rich cotton lands of Hopei was repulsed with great loss to the attackers. According to a Japanese statement issued in December, the guerrilla forces numbered over a million, and they had lost since October, 1938, 94,358 killed, and 6,704 prisoners. The total number of Chinese killed in the war was given as 1,218,462. According to an official Chinese statement issued on December 6, the Japanese in the first seven months of the year dropped in air-raids 32,000 bombs, causing over 40,000 civilian casualties, among which were 20,000 deaths. The worst raid was that on Chungking on May 4.

What they failed to accomplish by force of arms the Japanese sought to make good by political measures. Throughout the year they angled for the "emergence" of some Chinaman of repute and standing who would be willing to co-operate with them and who might at the same time be acceptable to the Chinese masses, which steadfastly ignored the puppet Governments set up by the Japanese at Peking and Nanking. Their first choice fell on the ex-War-Lord Wu Pei-fu, who had been living for some time in retirement, but he refused to be drawn. They then tried Wang Ching-wei, who had been expelled from the Kuomintang for proposing to make terms with the Japanese. Wang at first held aloof, but in the summer he lent a more willing ear to the Japanese solicitations, and went so far as to discuss with the heads of the puppet Governments the possibility of forming a joint administration with himself as leader. By the end of the year, however, he had been unable to come to terms with them.

On the financial side the Chinese Government in 1939 proved on the whole to be more vulnerable than on the military. In March, with the assistance of the British Government, it established a stabilisation fund of 10,000,000.2. to steady the dollar, which then stood at about 8d. The Japanese replied to this by founding on May 1 the Hua Hsing Commercial Bank with headquarters at Shanghai and a capital of 50 million yuan (Chinese dollars), as an issuing bank. Avoiding the mistake they had made in North China, the Japanese linked the new

bank's notes not with the yen but with the Chinese dollar, with which they began soon seriously to compete. Early in June considerable weakness developed in the Chinese dollar when it became known that the Stabilisation Fund had stopped all sales of foreign exchange against Chinese national currency for the time being. In spite of a drastic prohibition by the Chinese Government early in July of "non-essential" imports and increased facilities for exports, the value of the dollar had by the middle of August fallen to about $3\frac{3}{4}$ d.

The sixth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang was held in November. General Chiang Kai-shek was reappointed President of the Executive Yuan, while Dr. H. H. Rung assumed the post of Vice-President of the Yuan in addition to that of Minister of Finance which he already held. The Committee issued a manifesto announcing that on November 12, 1940, a National People's Congress would be held to discuss the establishment of constitutional government.

The resolution laid before the Council of the League of Nations in December to expel Russia from the League placed China in a very delicate position. As a victim of aggression herself, she could not help sympathising with Finland, yet she did not dare to offend Russia, from whom she continued to obtain valuable assistance. To avoid the dilemma, the Chinese delegate abstained from voting.

JAPAN.

Throughout 1939, as in the previous year, the whole energies of Japan were directed to the task of breaking down the resistance of the Chinese Government and people to its endeavours to establish what it called a "new order"—in other words, its own supremacy—in Eastern Asia. Little progress was made with the accomplishment of this task—so little as to induce in the Japanese people a sense of frustration, which sought relief in political bickerings and in anti-British agitation.

On January 4, as a result of a political crisis which had sprung up in December for no very apparent reason, the Premier, Prince Konoe, resigned and was succeeded by Baron Hiranuma. In the new Cabinet no change was made in the key positions of Foreign Affairs, War and Marine, nor was there any perceptible difference in the policy adopted.

Early in the year the Government received Notes couched in very similar terms from the United States, Great Britain, and France, protesting against Japanese designs in China as set forth in recent utterances of Japanese statesmen, and declaring that these designs were inconsistent with the terms of the Nine-Power Treaty, and that they were not prepared to accept changes brought about by force. No direct answer was given to these representations, but the Foreign Office spokesman

declared on January 16 that the British Note showed a lack of realisation of the present trend in Far Eastern affairs, and on January 21 Mr. Arita, the Foreign Minister, stated that what Japan desired was the creation of a new order in Eastern Asia, and that this would be based on a closer union between Japan, Manchukuo, and China. Shortly afterwards General Itagaki, the War Minister, declared in the Diet that they were prepared for maintaining troops stationed over a considerable area for a long time to come.

On February 10 the Japanese landed troops on the island of Hainan, near French Indo-China, occupying the capital Kiungchow and its port Hoihow. This was a breach of treaty obligations to France ; and in reply to representations made by the French Ambassador in Tokio, who was supported by the United States and British Ambassadors, assurances were given that the Japanese occupation would not in nature or duration exceed military necessity.

Early in March the Japanese rounded off their occupation of the coast of North China with the capture of the port of Haichow and the occupation of the port of Lungchow. Shortly afterwards they launched a double offensive in the Yangtze valley north and south of Hankow, but beyond capturing Nanchang they made no progress. No better success attended another offensive which they opened in May along the Une of the Han River. In June they occupied the ports of Swatow, Foochow, and Wenchow in South China, thus cutting off the Chinese Government from contact with the coast. In September they again made a determined attempt to capture Changsha, the capital of Hunan, but were again held at bay by the Chinese. (For details of the military operations, *vide* China.) In November they succeeded in cutting China's communications with French Indo-China ; yet by the end of the year they were not a whit nearer to their military objective of destroying the Chinese armies in the field.

In the political sphere the Japanese met with no better success. While an Asia Development Board had been set up at the end of the previous year, under the presidency of the Premier, to take general charge of affairs in China, Japan still attempted to win the confidence of the native population through the agency of the two puppet Governments set up at Peking and Nanking ; but these proved entirely useless for her purpose, and several of her proteges were assassinated at Shanghai and other places. General Doihara's intrigues with Wu Pei-fu and Wang Ching-wei [*vide* China] did not improve matters, and Japanese authority in the country continued to be confined to the near neighbourhood of her military forces.

The strength of the Chinese resistance completely nonplussed the Japanese, and in their bewilderment they attributed it in

part if not wholly to British support and encouragement. Their anti-British feeling, already strong enough, was intensified, and showed itself among other things in a violent anti-British Press campaign carried on in March in Shanghai, Nanking, and other places occupied by the Japanese. Particularly obnoxious to them was the British Concession in Tientsin, partly because they envied its flourishing trade, partly because Chinese banks in the British and French Concessions contained silver deposits of 50,000,000 dollars, of which they were anxious to gain possession. An excuse for interfering with the Concession was provided by the murder on April 9 of Mr. Cheng Lien-shih, manager of the Japanese sponsored Federal Reserve Bank and Superintendent of the Tientsin Customs, by a Chinese—the first anti-Japanese terrorist act which had taken place inside the Concession since the outbreak of hostilities. The Japanese demanded the surrender of four Chinese whom they charged with being implicated in the crime. The British authorities, after going into the case, decided that there was no *prima facie* evidence against them, and refused to give them up. The Japanese then reimposed and enforced with great rigour the barrier restrictions round the British and French Concessions which they had originally imposed on December 14, 1938, and raised on the February 8 following. While other foreigners were allowed through the barriers without search, British subjects were held up and closely searched, and in some cases subjected to great indignities. Food imports and shipping were also interfered with. At the same time a Japanese military spokesman formulated the real requirements of the Army as being that Britain should "truly co-operate with Japan in the construction of a new order in East Asia and abandon her pro-Chiang Kai-shek attitude," while the Pekin "Provisional Government" demanded the surrender of the 50,000,000 dollars in silver deposited in the Chinese banks in the British and French Concessions.

The Japanese Government did not entirely approve of the action of the Army, and after an exchange of views acceded to a request of the British Government that conversations should be held in Tokio for the settlement of questions relating to conditions in Tientsin, to the exclusion of the wider issues raised by the Army. The Army authorities reluctantly consented, and preliminary conversations were opened in Tokio on July 15. On July 24 a formula was agreed upon which seemed to the Japanese to give them what they wanted [*vide* English History, p. 71], and on the same day conversations proper commenced. By the beginning of August a large measure of agreement had been reached on police measures, and on August 11 the British Government announced that, on the strength of new evidence adduced by the Japanese, they would recommend the surrender of the four men demanded. When it came, however, to the

Japanese demands for the prohibition of fapi (Chinese Government currency) in the British Concession and the handing over of the specie in the Chinese banks, the British Government would not budge, declaring that these questions concerned other Powers also and could not be discussed in bilateral negotiations. As a result the conversations were suspended on August 19, without any settlement having been reached.

A situation similar to that in Tientsin arose in much the same way at Kulangsu, the International Settlement at Amoy. Following the assassination of one of their Chinese supporters on May 11, the Japanese landed a party of over a hundred men who began to patrol the Settlement and make arrests. On protests being made by the British Ambassador in Tokio, the Japanese reduced their force to 42, but refused to withdraw entirely. Thereupon parties of equal strength were landed from the United States, British, and French warships at Amoy. Normal conditions were not restored till October 18, when an agreement was made under which the Japanese membership of the municipal police force was increased, and the forces on both sides were withdrawn.

For a considerable part of 1939 Japan was greatly exercised over the question whether to enter into a military alliance with Germany and Italy, her partners in the anti-Comintern Pact. At the beginning of the year Germany pressed her to do so, and the Army on the whole was in favour of the step, but the commercial classes and the Navy were against it. When Baron Hiranuma first came into office, he declared himself against joining either a totalitarian or a democratic *bloc*, and this decision was confirmed at a meeting of the Inner Cabinet on May 20, when Japan's policy was defined as one of "sympathetic neutrality" with the Axis Powers, without a definite military alliance. The Army, however, still kept up its agitation for the alliance, and it seemed to be on the point of succeeding when the news of the German-Soviet Pact caused a revulsion of feeling in Japan and put closer relations with Germany out of the question.

One effect of the pact was to bring about the fall of the Hiranuma Cabinet, which had begun to favour an alliance with Germany. A new Cabinet was formed by General Nobuyuki Abe, who had retired from the Army in 1936, and had not identified himself with any political faction. The Premier also took the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the time being, though in September he handed it over to Admiral Nomura, who had once been a naval attaché at Washington. General Itagaki was replaced at the War Ministry by General Hata, also a pronounced militarist, but less extreme. On September 4 the new Prime Minister stated that Japan would not intervene in the European conflict, but would concentrate on a settlement of the China incident. It was emphasised, however, that Japan's

friendship for Germany had not been affected by recent developments.

The sacrifices entailed by the war caused a further deterioration in the economic situation of the population. Owing to the diversion of supplies for increasing the output of munitions and expanding the export trade, at the end of the year there were shortages for the domestic consumption of coal, charcoal, gas, petroleum products, metals, chemicals, rubber, leather, wool, cotton, and some foodstuffs. The failure of the rice crop in Korea also made necessary large imports which used up much-needed foreign exchange. Public discontent vented itself on the Government, and after the opening of the Diet on December 26, some 250 members held a meeting at which they resolved to call on the Government to resign.

On March 6 the Diet approved a six-year naval building programme to cost Yen 1,205,000,000. The object was to make the Japanese Navy equal to that of the strongest naval Power.

With Russia Japan continued to be always on the brink of war, and no reduction was made in her forces on the Outer Mongolian border. At the beginning of the year Japan was greatly angered by the decision of Russia to put up the Far Eastern fishing grounds to auction on March 28, and on February 14 the Diet unanimously adopted a resolution that the Government should take immediate counter measures for the protection of Japanese fishery interests. The dispute was settled for the time being on April 2 by an agreement to extend to the end of the year the Convention which had expired at the end of 1938. In May clashes again took place between Japanese and Russian troops on the frontiers of Manchukuo, this time south-east of Lake Buir. The reports emanating from the two sides were hopelessly conflicting, but they seemed to indicate that the operations were on a much larger scale than in previous years, involving considerable losses on both sides. Hostilities flared up again in September, when casualties of the Japanese, according to a statement of their own General Staff, amounted to 18,000. On September 16, however, a truce was concluded between the combatants—Soviet Russia and Outer Mongolia on one side, and Japan and Manchuria on the other—on the basis that the troops on both sides should remain in the positions they were occupying.

In October a decision of the Planning Board, on the instigation of the Army, to set up a Trade Ministry which among other things should have the power to appoint commercial attaches, brought to a head the discontent which had long been existing in the Foreign Office at the usurpation of its functions by the Army. On October 11 a hundred and thirteen members of the Foreign Office submitted their resignations, and they were followed by some forty members of the Japanese diplomatic

and consular staffs in China, while several Ambassadors, Ministers, and Consuls-General gave their support. After two days the Government gave way, agreeing that the plan for a Ministry of Trade should be revised to meet the objections of the Foreign Office, especially in the matter of commercial attaches.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOROCCO AND EGYPT.

MOROCCO.

ON March 2 authority in the Spanish section of Tangier was formally transferred from the Republicans to the Nationalists without any untoward incident, no pressure having been brought on anyone to change his allegiance. In the second week of April the Moorish troops in Spain, said to number between 35,000 and 50,000, were repatriated to Morocco. A little later an official Spanish delegation arrived in Rabat to study the question of the resumption of commercial relations between the Spanish and French zones of Morocco. In July parts of the French zone were visited by disastrous crop fires in which several farmers lost their lives.

EGYPT.

The year 1939 saw no reconciliation of the Wafdist Party to their exclusion from office. Their criticism of the Government was, during the earlier months, incessant and bitter, and the British, supposed upholders of the Government, were not spared attack. The hostility between the Government and the Opposition went so far that in August it was decided to prosecute Mustafa Pasha Nahas, the head of the Wafd and former Prime Minister, for libelling and slandering the Minister of Finance, but the war intervened to still the political contentions. The Wafd used every available stick to beat the Government and the British. One of these was those clauses of the British-Egyptian Treaty that regulated the continued presence of British troops in Egypt. However, the mass of the people were by no means with the Opposition on this subject. In the tense international atmosphere that prevailed throughout the year they looked on a British army as a protection and preferred a larger to a smaller one.

The Egyptian Cabinet was only six months old when the year opened and had not enjoyed an easy career. Within the first half of January it lost its War Minister, who found himself out of agreement with his colleagues. In August, the Prime Minister, Mohamed Mahmoud, himself resigned. After a six-day crisis

a new Cabinet was formed by Aly Pasha Maher, the Chief of the Royal Cabinet, with the assistance of the Saadists or Dissident Wafdist but without that of the Liberals. The Cabinet was a strong one. At the beginning of November, however, the Prime Minister made approaches to the Liberal leaders which were not successful, but the year closed amid anticipation of early Cabinet changes.

Italian activities and threats during the earlier part of the year aroused much anxiety in governing circles in Egypt. The interest shown in the control of the Suez Canal was especially resented, and Egypt made her objections to any alteration of the *status quo* in that respect clear. With Turkey, however, the relations of Egypt became very cordial. A visit of the Egyptian Foreign Minister to Ankara in June strengthened the friendship between the two countries, and there were even rumours that Egypt would adhere to the Sadabad or Asiatic Pact. From Turkey the Foreign Minister went to Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Greece. In all these countries there were trade talks and the road was explored for agreements. For many years relations between the Governments of Egypt and Soviet Russia had been lukewarm, but on August 21 the Egyptian Government decided to recognise the Russian Government and to re-establish trade relations between the two countries.

The outbreak of war with Germany was followed immediately by the severance of diplomatic relations by Egypt. A state of siege, which was in effect martial law, was declared, but not war. The Government went a long way to show its hostility to Germany : the people went even further. Despite the ceaseless propaganda conducted for six years by Nazi agents among the Egyptians, the outbreak of war showed Germany without a friend in the country. The Egyptians realised clearly the meaning of German aggression and of German success.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINE—BOLIVIA—BRAZIL—
CHILE—ECUADOR—MEXICO—PANAMA—PARAGUAY—PERU—
URUGUAY.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PERHAPS the year in the United States may best be described by the statement that while President Roosevelt remained the dominant figure, he was on the defensive most of the time.

At the outset he faced a newly elected Congress containing a larger proportion of hostile members of both parties than he had ever faced before. In the Senate the Democratic majority

of 46 (nearly one-half the total membership) was anything but reliable, while in the Lower House, with its Democratic majority of 96, the largest cohesive group was that of the "Conservative Democrats," strongly opposed to many features of the "New Deal," but even more strongly opposed, as politicians, to the President's control of the party and to his (rumoured) ambitions to secure a third term. This *bloc*, by joining with the Republicans, was able to defeat the President on several occasions.

Mr. Roosevelt's manoeuvres against this increased opposition made up, largely, the political history of the year. He did two things. On purely domestic issues, those arising from his social and economic programme, he sought to avoid downright clashes with Congress which might have revealed his weakness and encouraged his foes. But at the same time he adroitly seized and held the leadership of public opinion on the one big foreign issue of the year—opposition to the advance of the "totalitarian" countries in Europe and the Far East.

Thus, in the domestic field he launched no disconcerting experiments and suffered no resounding defeats, such as the one he met in 1937 over the Supreme Court issue. But he was the one and only spokesman for the country on foreign affairs.

This line of campaign was clearly forecasted in his opening message to Congress on January 4. Nearly a third of it was a denunciation of the dictatorships—with a curious emphasis upon their anti-religious attitude—while another third was a plea for further rearmament against aggression, and the last third a mildly obstinate defence of his policy of stimulating recovery by a further unbalancing of the Budget. And he linked all three points together with the argument that a speedy recovery was the more essential in view of the international situation, which threatened to impose fresh strains on the national economy.

The country scanned carefully every word of the message to see how far the President wanted to go in intervening in the European situation. The nearest he came to suggesting direct intervention was the intimation that the time might come, at almost any moment, when the country in self-defence would be forced to intervene. He said :

We have learned that the God-fearing democracies of the world, which observe the sanctity of treaties and good faith in their dealings with other nations, cannot safely be indifferent to international lawlessness anywhere. They cannot forever let pass, without effective protest, acts of aggression against sister nations—acts which automatically undermine all of us. . . . We have learned that when we deliberately try to legislate neutrality, our neutrality laws may operate unevenly and unfairly—may actually give aid to the aggressor and deny it to the victim. The instinct of self-preservation should warn us that we ought not to let that happen any more.

His domestic programme was simple—to stimulate recovery by unbalancing the Budget. This had been tried before with

a certain amount of success. He argued that when the national income had been raised by this method to 80 milliards of dollars, the flow of taxes into the Treasury would automatically balance the Budget and permit the reduction of debt.

The need to do something was obvious. The year 1937 had been a "boom" year and 1938 a recession, if not a slump. The year 1939 began with 11,000,000 unemployed, and some 23,000,000 on Federal, State, or local pay-rolls.

But the remedy, according to the President's critics, had been used too often; the national economy had acquired an unhappy immunity to doses of inflation. In 1933-34, after toying with the idea of a balanced Budget, Mr. Roosevelt had reversed himself and boldly run up a deficit of 3,630 million dollars. This he called "priming the pump," implying a mild and purely temporary dose of inflation to stimulate industry by increasing the purchasing power of the masses. But by 1939 the President had abandoned the homely metaphor and adopted this course as a definite one designed to check recessions whenever they appeared.

Among the well-to-do this doctrine was intensely unpopular. In fact, the feeling shown against it was so strong as to suggest that it was prompted by acute personal discomfort. A reference to income tax returns may perhaps throw light on this.

In the glorious year 1929 the national income was officially estimated at 81 milliards of dollars. In that year of abounding prosperity, 14,816 Americans reported incomes of 100,000 dollars or over; on these incomes they paid an average income tax of 15 per cent., retaining 85 per cent, for their own enjoyment. In 1937, by dint of unbalancing the Budget, the President had actually succeeded in raising the national income once more to 81 milliards (measured in the old gold dollars of 1929), but instead of 14,816 Americans reporting incomes of 100,000 dollars or over, there were only 4,124, and instead of paying only some 15 per cent, in taxes, they were paying (despite the heavy Governmental borrowing) an average of 50 per cent, in taxes. Thus the redistribution of the national income caused by the Roosevelt socio-economic technique was received with some querulousness.

But they had more objective points which they stressed. The fiscal year ending July 1, 1939, they argued, would be the eighth consecutive year in which Government expenditure had vastly exceeded revenue, and still there were 11,000,000 unemployed and, as we have seen, some 23,000,000 receiving Government wages or relief. Something surely must be wrong with an economic programme which, after eight years of earnest endeavour, showed such poor results. And where is the end? The Federal Debt had risen from 22½ milliards in 1933 to nearly 38½ milliards in June, 1939, and still "prosperity" eluded the business man. What would happen when the Federal Debt

reached in a year or two the limit imposed by Congress of 45 milliards ? It had reached 42 milliards by the end of the year !

The President was obstinate but not aggressive. He asked for expenditures of 8,996 millions against estimated revenues of 5,326 millions. He argued that even if expenditures were pruned drastically, they could not possibly be reduced below 7,000 millions, and that the curtailment of that extra 1,996 millions would not only fail to balance the Budget but would actually lead to a sharp business slump. "It is my conviction," he said, "that down in their hearts the American public—industry, agriculture, finance—wants this Congress to do whatever needs to be done to raise our national income to 80,000,000,000 dollars a year."

He asked specifically for about 1,320 millions for national defence and 2,266 millions for "recovery and relief." These items broke very little new ground, and the "Conservative Democrats" contented themselves with cutting the "relief" item from 875 millions to 750 millions. They did this, of course, with Republican aid.

But the real struggle over the President's "recovery" programme came later when the Administration presented a "spending and lending" Bill authorising appropriations for 3,860 millions, for various paper projects.

This scheme was interesting for two reasons. For one thing, it suggested—at least to the scoffers—that the President was beginning to find it difficult to spend money on a really grand scale. One project, not very popular, was to lend abroad 500,000,000 dollars for the encouragement of American commerce. Another, even more unpopular, was to appropriate 400,000,000 dollars for the construction of a series of "super-highways" ; these would be open to fast inter-state traffic—such as passenger coaches, tourists driving their own cars, fleets of oil-tankers and so forth. All these users of the "super-highways" would pay tolls which eventually would suffice to pay back to the Government the moneys expended upon them.

The second point which was interesting about this programme was that its items fitted into what was believed to be in the President's mind, namely that the country should adopt a system of "double Budgets." One would be the ordinary Budget which could be balanced without much difficulty even in a trade recession, and the other would be an "extraordinary Budget" in which the projects, like the foreign loans and the "super-highway" scheme mentioned above, would be self-liquidating over a period of years. The one Budget would adhere to the conventional twelve-months' period, while the other "budgeted" for seven or eight or more years, or for the entire span of a trade cycle.

Congress did not like this much. It smacked of Latin-American rather than of Anglo-Saxon finance. Some critics saw in it a device, if not a plot, to get around the limit of 45 milliards of dollars which Congress had placed upon the Federal Debt. In the past that Debt has consisted of past deficits incurred in the ordinary Budgets less whatever portion had been redeemed, but if the Treasury could transfer to the "extraordinary Budget" that portion of the current deficit which it regarded as eventually self-liquidating, then Federal Debt, at least on paper, would be considerably reduced, and national extravagance concealed.

The Committee on Banking and Currency of the Lower House cut down the scheme by more than 50 per cent.—from the 3,860 million dollars asked to about 1,850 millions. Then the Opposition gathered its forces, and on August 1 the Lower House defeated the entire project by 193 to 166. The hostile majority consisted of 47 Democrats and 146 Republicans.

This was a substantial defeat but the effect was weakened by several factors. One reason was that the projects themselves were not especially popular—toll-roads, for example, are distinctly against the trend of modern highway usage. Furthermore, Congress, after all, took no real stand against the theory that unbalanced Budgets serve to stimulate recovery. They merely, in the end, substituted a fortuitous deficit of their own devising for the "planned" deficit presented by the Administration. Perhaps even more important was the fact that the public was much too absorbed in the worsening European situation to notice what was happening in Congress.

"Recovery" was very slow in getting started, thus lending colour to the Republican claim that American business had acquired immunity to unorthodox stimuli. The stock market weakened all through the spring, partly on European selling in anticipation of a European war. But by September, when war did appear, business activity increased sharply to the level of 1929, and the Stock Exchange, for a brief fortnight, was strong and active. Then foreign selling appeared and the market turned listless, completely disregarding the domestic indices of business activity and refusing to get excited about the prospects of "war profits" from munition orders pouring in from the Allies and from not a few neutrals. As the stock market is easily the most popular barometer as to whether times are "good" or "bad," the business year ended on a doubtful note with, curiously, the business indices swiftly receding. This recession, if it continues into 1940, promises to figure largely in the Presidential Elections of that year. Who was to blame? The Republicans and Conservative Democrats who blocked the President's programme? Or the President himself, with his faulty handling of the economic controls of a capitalist society?

These attacks from the Right were, of course, an old story, but much more alarming to the Administration was the slow, persistent advance of the "Townsend" movement (together with several picturesque variants) for old-age pensions.

This was a movement launched during the early 1930's by an elderly California doctor, F. E. Townsend, which proposed old-age pensions amounting to 200 dollars a month for everybody, regardless of income, over 65 years of age. The one condition attached was that the 200 dollars must be spent during the month in which they were received ; thus this money would have an extraordinary velocity, and a turnover tax on sales of consumers' goods would neatly recoup the Government for its outlay. [*Vide* ANNUAL REGISTER for 1934, p. 300.]

Although the Townsendites had been defeated in California and were subjected to almost universal ridicule in the Press, they pushed on undismayed and continued to spread. They maintained a national headquarters in Washington ; in many States huge billboards along the highways urged old-age pensions for everybody on Townsend lines, while in towns and villages local missionaries preached the sweet simplicity of the scheme and enrolled recruits. Some half-dozen Congressmen, elected in November, 1938, had endorsed it.

The entire "Left" was disturbed at this curious phenomenon. Here was the raw material for an American brand of Nazism. By its promise of security for everybody at age 65, appealing even to the young, it completely short-circuited all the "Left" movements with their particularist solutions and their difficult jargons. You could be a "Townsendite" without incurring the social and business prejudice involved in being a Rooseveltian "New Dealer" or a Socialist or a Communist. Here, then, was the stuff for a huge economically illiterate middle-class movement which needed only an American Hitler to be turned into a formidable reactionary force.

The only answer which the Administration could discover to this was to push ahead as rapidly as possible those features of the Federal Security Act which promised to cut the ground from under the Townsend movement and its numerous rivals. In particular, the Old-Age Insurance feature of the Act, scheduled to come into force in 1942, was advanced to 1940.

In July the President was confronted with something new in the form of a strike of 75,000 workers, employed by the Works Progress Administration, against the lengthening of their hours without corresponding increase in their pay. These were Government employees, drawn from the ranks of the unemployed under the Administration's policy of furnishing "work for wages instead of the dole," and the Republicans—who had always been derisive of the various projects on which these workers were engaged—were openly jubilant at the President's dilemma.

Would he temporise with the strikers in order to retain the support of Labour or would he come down sternly on them ?

The President, reinforced by his newly appointed Attorney-General, declared that strikes against the Government were unlawful, and that all employees of the W.P.A. who remained away from work for more than five days would be discharged. In New York City some 5,000 were thus discharged, and many thousands elsewhere. In Minneapolis, where the strike had resulted in a riot in which one man was killed and several injured, all the W.P.A. projects were closed down. The strike was a failure.

Another development of the year was a decision of the Supreme Court on February 27 that " sit-down strikes " were illegal since they involved the virtual seizure of property without the consent of the owner. Several States, including Pennsylvania, passed legislation declaring such strikes illegal, but perhaps more significant was the agreement signed between the Congress of Industrial Organisations and the Chrysler Corporation, after a bitter 55-days' strike, in which the former agreed to abjure " sit-down strikes " and to dismiss from membership all workers participating in such a strike. This was giving up what had proved in practice, especially in 1937 when such strikes reached their peak, an extraordinarily effective weapon.

President Roosevelt's efforts to heal the breach between the American Federation of Labour (representing the old craft unions) and the aggressive exponent of industrial unionism, the Congress for Industrial Organisation, attracted much attention but proved unsuccessful. Politicians attributed his intervention to the desire to amalgamate the whole trade union movement so that, united, it could the better defend in the crucial campaign and Presidential Election of 1940 those safeguards for labour which his administration had secured. The American Federation of Labour reported a paid-up membership of 4,000,000 and the rival Congress for Industrial Organisation one of 5,000,000, though the latter is subject, apparently, to considerable fluctuations. Curiously enough, the American Federation of Labour at its Annual Convention refused point-blank to endorse the " New Deal," while John L. Lewis, from the rival camp, somewhat later, similarly withdrew his support from the President. However, unofficial polls, taken by various journals and organisations throughout the year, suggested that the President continued to enjoy an enormous amount of working-class support, regardless of the attitude of the leaders.

But foreign affairs, and America's part therein, held public attention throughout the year almost, if not quite, to the exclusion of domestic affairs.

This began, unexpectedly enough, with China. It was reported in January that, thanks to a 25,000,000 dollar loan

from the Export-Import Bank, American airplanes, pilots, and machine guns had begun to reach the Chinese forces, supplementing aid which thus far had been received only or mainly from Russia. A still more striking move, in every sense of the word, was the action of Secretary Hull on July 26 in formally denouncing the American Trade Treaty with Japan which had lasted from 1911. The abrogation went into effect six months later. Considering the importance of the United States as Japan's largest customer and the biggest supplier of raw materials for her munitions of war, this was ominous. However, Congress softened the blow by refusing to permit the Navy Department to prepare a base on the island of Guam ; Japan had said plainly that she would regard as hostile any such conversion of Guam into an air or naval base.

But Europe, naturally, absorbed more attention than the Far East. The President in January had already warned the country that the old Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938, had unwittingly served the aggressive nations and weakened their victims. This was a clear indication that he wanted the Neutrality Act so amended that the country could, while remaining out of any European war, nevertheless continue to furnish aid to the democratic victims of aggression and to withhold it from the aggressors. No Act of Congress could achieve such subtlety, and the inference was that the President wanted an Act which gave him complete freedom of action in controlling the direction of American support.

This was extremely alarming to two different groups. One group was made up of the Republicans and Conservative Democrats who did not relish the idea of so much power in the President's hands, and the other, and far larger group, was that of the pacifists and isolationists who were convinced that the steep and slippery road to war was paved with war supplies. When the President casually disclosed in January that he had given a French Military Mission permission to buy airplanes in New York, the isolationists were in an uproar, which increased on January 31 when it was reported—apparently erroneously—that the President had told members of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, in a secret conference at the White House, that America's frontier was France. Ex-President Hoover, in a radio address from Chicago, warned the country that the President was aiming at economic " sanctions " against Germany and Italy and that this would lead inevitably to war.

Thus the first month or so found the President somewhat on the defensive, but he recovered control of the situation when, on March 15, the Germans invaded the frontiers of Czechoslovakia, which had been " guaranteed " at Munich by Britain and France. On March 17 the Acting Secretary of State officially condemned " the acts which have resulted in the temporary extinguishment

of the liberties of a free and independent people," and on March 18 the Treasury imposed 25 per cent, penalty duties on subsidised German imports. On March 20 the President recalled the American Ambassador from Germany, the American Minister from Prague, and informed the German Ambassador in Washington that the United States declined to recognise the German occupancy of Czechoslovakia.

These moves received almost universal endorsement, for the nakedness of the German seizure of Prague—a cynical abandonment of the official German claim that Hitler sought only to reunite with the Reich the scattered and oppressed German minorities—had shocked the country and consolidated public opinion behind the President. He followed this up on April 15 with a "peace plea" addressed to Herr Hitler in which, with astonishing unconventionality, he asked the German Fihrer :

Are you willing to give assurance that your armed forces will not attack or invade the territories or possessions of the following nations : Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, The Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, and Ireland, France, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Russia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Iraq, the Arabias, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Iran ?

Hitler's reply, embodied in a speech over two hours long on April 28 before the Reichstag in Berlin, included the tart promise to make a Non-Aggression Pact with any one of the States named which asked Germany for such a pact. This was not very convincing, for already German troops had for several weeks been reported massing on the Polish frontier, and Poland already enjoyed, for what it was worth, a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany.

But it was in this atmosphere, with American feeling running strongly against Germany, Italy, and Japan, that Congress began long-drawn-out manoeuvres over the revision of the Neutrality Acts.

If the American Press may be relied upon as a mirror of public opinion, it seems clear that Americans lumped together in a common detestation all forms of "totalitarianism," whether German, Italian, Russian, or Japanese, and were acutely conscious of the semi-dictatorships established in Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Greece, Poland, and the Balkan countries, not to mention South America. Mr. Chamberlain could make a distinction between "Hitlerism" and "Fascism," and could sup with Mussolini with what seemed a dangerously short spoon, but the American applause for Mr. Eden was due wholly to the feeling that the latter had had the right democratic instincts in these matters. Thus when Mr. Roosevelt talked about the war between Democracy and Totalitarianism, he was describing a war felt to be already more than half lost. And lost largely, it was felt, by the foreign policy of the National Government in Britain. It

was a war, moreover, which would, unless won abroad, inevitably emerge within the borders of the United States if Americans failed to solve the problems which had pressed upon them ever since the " Great Depression " of the early 1930's.

It seems quite clear, even after making due allowance for Press exaggerations, that the visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth to Canada and the United States in June very largely allayed these popular misgivings as to where the ruling classes in Britain really stood in this all-important issue of the defence of Democracy. The fiercest spotlight in the world played upon them during their visit, but without revealing anything which would have led to the disastrous cry of " British propaganda." They were voted " just folks," the more readily as the President and Mrs. Roosevelt obviously enjoyed them greatly.

But the President encountered prolonged resistance in his attempts to revise the existing Neutrality Acts so as to permit the United States to sell arms to a belligerent nation. The " isolationist " sentiment, unlike 1914, had virtually no trace of pro-Germanism in it, for the leaders of the German-American community, including the leading German-language newspaper in New York, had largely abandoned all attempts to defend the Hitler regime. But isolationism had its roots in 1917, for it was largely based on the feeling that the United States would inevitably be drawn into a European war if it began to sell arms and munitions to either side.

The invasion of Poland, the outbreak of war on September 3, and the paralysing expectation that the " blitzkrieg " would result in the immediate bombing and destruction of London and Paris, broke down this sentiment. The President, who had summoned Congress in special " emergency " session, appeared before it on September 21 and strongly urged the lifting of the " arms embargo " which he had been obliged, under the existing law, to impose on September 5. On October 27 the Senate passed a Bill substantially meeting the President's desires, and this was finally passed by both Houses on November 3 and signed by the President on November 4. The Senate passed it by 55 to 24, and the Lower House by 243 to 172.

Briefly, it permitted the country to sell arms to belligerents on a " cash-and-carry " basis. No credit could be extended to them and no American vessels used to carry contraband to them. As supplemented by Presidential Proclamation, it barred the American merchant marine from a " combat area " extending from Norway, south of Bergen and the Baltic Sea to the coast of Spain, taking in the British Isles and France and the English Channel. Traffic between the United States and Canada was, broadly, not affected.

But the President, although he had secured what he wanted, must have known that he did so only just in time, for opinion

hardened steadily against any American participation in the European war. A poll of public opinion taken in September showed only 56 per cent, voting "No" on the question: "If it appears that Germany is defeating England and France, should the United States declare war on Germany and send our Army and Navy to Europe to fight?" By October the number voting "No" to the same question had risen swiftly to 71 per cent. By the end of the year it was slightly higher.

Much of this seems downright "Munich"—a feeling of relief that America has escaped the war thus far and may escape it entirely. Some of it advances the argument that the United States, by remaining neutral, can serve as a disinterested peace-maker when "this cock-eyed war" is over. Much of it is based on the feeling that the United States was "tricked" into participation in the Great War and has learned its lesson.

And politics have played, as always, their part. The Republicans, representing on the whole the more affluent classes, watch the President with great suspicion. They are convinced that he is an active interventionist at heart, and that only his secret ambitions for an unprecedented third term in the White House keep him back. Thus the Eastern seaboard, which in the Great War was enthusiastically pro-Ally and in favour of intervention, is torn to-day by fears that the President, if given the slightest encouragement, may capitalise the violent anti-Nazi feeling in the country.

In fact, the year ended with an almost unanimous expression of business opinion against American participation in the war, and even against the widespread belief that a "war boom" was imminent or possible. This war, the argument runs, far from creating American prosperity, will destroy American markets and impoverish the whole Western world. That can solve no problems for the harrassed democracy of the United States.

ARGENTINA.

In the early part of the year the Government was much concerned over the activities of Nazi agents carrying on political intrigues in the country in the interests of the Reich Government. In April, Herr Alfred Muller, the head of the Nazis in Argentina, was arrested and committed for trial on a charge of carrying on subversive activities and forming a plan for a German seizure of Patagonia. The latter charge was based on the discovery of a document bearing his signature, in which Patagonia was described as suitable for annexation to Germany. The German Embassy in Buenos Aires protested strongly against the Government's action and declared that the letter ascribed to Herr Muller was a forgery, designed to impair friendly relations between the Argentine and German Governments. The President on his

side expressed his dissatisfaction with the manner in which Germany had replied to numerous protests from the Argentine Government regarding Nazi interference in the affairs of the Republic. Meanwhile the place of the Argentine Ambassador in Berlin, who had recently been transferred to another post, was left vacant.

In his Message to Congress on May 11, the President deplored, in forceful language, the fact that the long-standing political tradition of the Argentine was being replaced by foreign ideologies and symbols tending to divide the population into warring factions of extreme Left and Right, both of which were anti-patriotic. The most urgent political task was to proclaim the doctrine of Argentina for the Argentinians, and to diffuse a political outlook which should be based on attachment to the homeland and not coloured by the worship of alien leaders. In accordance with this pronouncement, a Decree was issued on May 15 regulating the activities of all foreign associations and requiring them to furnish full details of their membership, objects, policy, and so forth. The wearing of special uniforms was forbidden, as also participation in the politics of foreign countries, or the acceptance of money from abroad except for philanthropic purposes. Dissatisfaction was also expressed in the Chamber of Deputies against the dismissal by German employers of Argentine workers and their replacement by Germans.

On the outbreak of the war in Europe, the Government declared the neutrality of Argentina. Public sympathy, however, was strongly on the side of the Allies, Germany's pact with Russia having disgusted many of those who formerly admired Hitler. Nevertheless the Government protested strongly against the inclusion by the Allies of foodstuffs in the list of contraband, and against their methods of contraband control, which it regarded as conflicting with the rights and interests of Argentina. In October an agreement was concluded for the sale and delivery to the United Kingdom within sixteen weeks of 170,000 tons of Argentine beef and 30,000 tons of mutton.

In January the Senate approved the Bill—already passed by the Chamber of Deputies—for the State purchase of the Argentine Transandine Railway, which had been closed since the landslip in 1934. It was explained by the mover that the purchase was not a commercial proposition, but was intended to strengthen the links between the Argentinian and Chilean peoples. In the summer the services of the British-owned Buenos Aires and Pacific Railway were reduced by 50 per cent, as a result of a "ca' canny" movement—called "work to rules"—among the employees, who claimed the immediate refund of amounts of wages provisionally retained under the Award of President Justo in 1934. Following a warning from the General Railways Administration, they resumed normal working at the end of

July. At the beginning of September, the privately-owned railway companies, at the invitation of the Government, made a joint statement which pointed out that their shareholders had received no dividends since 1930, and that the depression on the railways still continued, so that there was no ground for abandoning the Award of 1934, under which it was agreed that the sums retained from wages should not be refunded till the depression had passed.

The population of Greater Buenos Aires was stated early in the year to be 3,670,000, a figure exceeded only by London, New York, Tokio, and Berlin.

BOLIVIA.

On April 24 Colonel German Busch, the President, proclaimed the Republic of Bolivia a totalitarian state, and issued a decree dissolving Congress and suppressing the Constitution. On August 23 he died as from a pistol shot—whether by accident or by committing suicide was uncertain—and General Quintanilla was named Provisional President in his place.

BRAZIL.

On January 19 President Vargas signed a decree for bringing into effect a "special plan of public works and national defence," to cost 3,000,000 contos of reis (approximately 37,000,000*l.*) spread over five years. The money was to be raised by taxation and the profits on Treasury transactions. Soon after, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Oswald Aranha, accompanied by a group of experts, paid a visit to Washington, and there succeeded in obtaining an undertaking from the American Government to give Brazil financial assistance to the extent of \$120,000,000—partly in gold and partly in credits—with a view to enabling her to free her exchange market and so pave the way for securing an equitable return on investments made in Brazil by American citizens, and extending the market for exporters. A month later a further step in the same direction was taken by means of a decree requiring exporters of Brazilian products to sell to the Bank of Brazil, at the fixed official rate, only 30 per cent, of their exchange bills instead of the whole, as hitherto. While in Washington Dr. Aranha also arranged that American Government experts should survey the mining and the tropical agricultural resources of Brazil, with a view to developing the production of commodities likely to find a market in the United States.

While making every effort to cultivate good relations with the United States, the Government also managed to improve somewhat its relations with Germany, which had been strained for some time owing to Nazi activities in Brazil. In April the

export of cotton to Germany from north-west Brazil was again permitted, and in June the Brazilian and German Governments again appointed Ambassadors to each other, after a break of more than eight months. None the less the Government continued to look with great suspicion on foreign and particularly Nazi activities in the country, and took further measures to curb them. By a Federal decree issued in May, public authorities were forbidden to employ foreigners, and in consequence some thousands of them, including scientists under contract, were dismissed. All foreigners were also required to register before December 22. By a further decree issued in July, foreign newspapers, periodicals, reviews, pamphlets, and bulletins printed in Brazil were allowed to be published only if the news and articles were accompanied by translations in Portuguese. One reason given for this order was that the circulation of journals in foreign languages tended to make immigrants less inclined to learn the language of their adopted country.

CHILE.

The southern part of Chile was visited by a destructive earthquake on the night of January 24. The centre of the disturbance was Concepcion, the third largest city of the country, which was severely damaged. It was estimated that altogether 30,000 people lost their lives and 50,000 were injured. Help was immediately sent from Santiago, and a number of provinces were put under military rule to prevent disorder.

Throughout the year efforts were made by Right Wing elements to overthrow the Government of the Popular Front. At first they tried to seduce from it the Radical Party, but on April 23 the President of that party announced that it would remain loyal to its agreement with the Socialists and Communists. On May 26 the Chamber, by 68 votes to 59, censured the Minister of the Interior for having suppressed a Right Wing newspaper, but the Government supported him, and the President, Senor Aguirre Cerdo, assured the Government of his continued confidence. On July 9 about forty persons were arrested on suspicion of being concerned in a plot to seize the Government buildings in Santiago while the troops were away, and some members of the Carabinero Corps were detained. On August 25 a military revolt broke out and there was a little fighting on the outskirts, of Santiago. The revolt was rapidly suppressed, and on October 31 forty-nine officers, including General Ariosto Herrera, the leader of the revolt, were sent into exile.

On August 10 the Minister of Finance informed the Chamber of Deputies that the Government intended to proceed with the Reconstruction and Production Law, which required 2,000,000,000 pesos, and the Workmen's Dwellings Law, which required

500,000,000 pesos. The expenditure was to be spread over five years and was to be financed by bank loans and increases in taxation. He admitted that the earthquake in January had made serious demands on the Government's resources and that the revenue had been adversely affected by a decrease in the import duty receipts, due to the drastic restrictions imposed by the Exchange Control Board on account of the scarcity of foreign exchange. An improvement, however, was beginning to manifest itself, so that there would be no need either to borrow money abroad or to suspend the payment of foreign debts.

ECUADOR.

In May Colonel Don Luis Alba, a former President, who had returned from exile at the end of 1938, was arrested with fifty others on a charge of conspiring to overthrow the Government. In July there was an attempted revolution from the Left, which was quickly suppressed.

MEXICO.

Party feeling in Mexico was deeply stirred by events in Europe in 1939—first by the struggle in Spain, and then by the ideological conflict between the totalitarian and democratic systems. There were in consequence serious clashes between partisans of the Right and of the Left, and the former did not conceal their hostility to the President. Yet no open revolt took place, as in the previous year, against his authority. One reason was that the country was solidly behind the President in his struggle with the foreign oil companies, which continued throughout the year ; another was that his opponents found scope for their energies in organising themselves for the approaching Presidential Election, which the President announced would be held in conditions of complete freedom.

In his New Year's broadcast message, President Cardenas announced that the Budget for 1939 would amount to 445,765,943 pesos, or 15,000,000 pesos more than the previous year. He described the past year as having united the majority of the Mexican people in an effort to gain control of the country's natural resources which, he hoped, would benefit all countries suffering from the pressure of foreign imperialism. At the same time it was reported that 7,500,000 acres had been divided among the peasants in the last year under the Government's agrarian policy. This brought the total amount distributed by President Cardenas during his four years of office to 25,000,000 acres.

At the beginning of the year political activity was already manifesting itself in the choosing of candidates for the Presidential Election of 1940. The first in the field was General Manuel Avila Camacho, up to January 22 the Minister of National

Defence, a moderate Conservative who was thought to have the support of the President. When General Franco made himself master of Spain in the spring his sympathisers in Mexico adopted a bolder tone, and launched vehement attacks on the President and the Government, who had always sympathised with the Spanish Republicans. Two Right Wing candidates came forward, General Joaquin Amaro, a former War Minister of President Calles, who inclined to a Fascist outlook, and General Almazan, a Conservative of a more old-fashioned type. Great activity was exerted behind the scenes by Nazi and Fascist agents from Germany and Italy. This led to counter demonstrations on the part of the Left Wing elements, and the Government had to intervene to keep order. The electoral campaign none the less continued to be accompanied by a good deal of violence.

The question of compensating the foreign oil companies which had been expropriated in March, 1938, continued to occupy the attention of the Government throughout the year. Early in February the Government notified the companies that the inventories of the properties had been completed as a preliminary to making a valuation. The companies, while questioning points in the inventories, still maintained that the expropriation itself was illegal and claimed the return of the properties. In this attitude they had the support of the American, British, and Dutch Governments, which refused to purchase oil from the Mexican Government. The latter therefore, in order to dispose of the oil, was forced to enter into barter arrangements with Germany and Italy, though it would much sooner have traded with the democracies, to which it felt itself more akin politically.

On March 1 Mr. Donald Richberg, a well-known American lawyer who had been chairman of the board of the N.R.A., arrived in Mexico City as representative of the companies to discuss matters with Senor Suarez, the Minister of Finance, and see whether a basis of agreement could be found. The Government at first would not hear of the companies being allowed any share, not only in the ownership of the oil mines but even in their administration, and offered only to pay them compensation from the proceeds of sales of oil abroad, after the home demand had been satisfied. Subsequently it went so far as to offer them a certain share in the administration in lieu of direct compensation. The companies, on their side, consented to waive their claim to the complete return of the properties, provided they were left with genuine administrative control. This was as far as either side would go, and the negotiations, which throughout were conducted in a friendly atmosphere, broke down in the second week in August.

As in the case of the *haciendas* or large estates, the expropriation did not make for greater efficiency in working, and probably meant a loss of revenue to the Government and worse conditions

for the workers. In June there was great friction between the management and the workers at Tampico, with threats of a strike. Nevertheless, public opinion unanimously supported the President in his resolve to uphold the expropriation, regarding the issue as one of Mexican independence against foreign domination.

Considerable alarm was caused in Mexico by the American Senate's amendment at the end of June to the Monetary Bill prohibiting purchases of foreign silver after July 1. The Mexican silver industry, the most important in the country, had been virtually subsidised by the American Treasury since the passing of the Silver Purchase Act in 1934. The Mining Union appealed to President Cardenas to make representations to the United States.

On April 19 the Mexican Minister in Paris announced that Mexico was prepared to admit 60,000 political refugees from Spain. An agitation against this decision was raised by the pro-Fascist elements, and the President found it advisable to declare that the newcomers would take no part in politics. In July a bank with 300 million pesos capital, composed mainly of 1,800 million gold francs which the Spanish Republican Government had sent to Mexico in March, was founded for the benefit of the refugees, chiefly for settling them in agricultural colonies.

On January 7 the Mexican Government paid the fourth instalment, of 368,374 pesos, on claims by British citizens against Mexico for damage to their property during the Revolution. In the same week payments for French, Italian, and American claims were made, totalling more than 3,000,000 pesos.

PANAMA.

On September 22 delegates from twenty Latin-American countries and the United States assembled in Panama "to weld a common front against repercussions of the European war." This meant, in practice, chiefly mutual protection of the neutral rights of the American nations, and mutual assistance to make good the loss caused to American foreign commerce by the European war. The proceedings of the conference brought out the fact that the reports current during the year of the penetration of Nazi ideology in Latin America had been greatly exaggerated. The conference sat till October 2 and, besides emphasising American solidarity and neutrality, accepted a proposal of the United States—to be known as "The Declaration of Panama"—to establish and declare a "safety belt" round the Americas extending 300 miles out to sea, in which all belligerent activities should be outlawed and all passenger and merchant ships should be immune from attack when moving from one American port to another. The practical difficulties inherent in the scheme were more or less recognised, and it was decided to take the

opinion of the belligerent countries before making any attempt to put it into effect.

PABAGUAY.

In June the Electoral College proclaimed General Jose Estigarribia President of the Republic and Senor Luis Riart Vice-President for the period 1939-43.

PERU.

On February 19 General Antonio Ramirez, the Minister of the Interior, attempted to seize power while the President, General Benavides, was away on holiday. The Army refused to support him, and he and several of his followers lost their lives.

In a plebiscite held in July 88 per cent, of the electors approved amendments to the Constitution by which proportional representation was abolished, General Elections were replaced by a renewal of one-third of the Chamber every three years, and in various ways the powers of the Executive were increased at the expense of those of Congress.

URUGUAY.

On August 10 the President, General Don Alfredo Baldomir, accompanied by his Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Defence, paid a state visit to Buenos Aires, where they were received by President Ortiz and leading members of the Argentine Government.

On December 9 the German Minister at Montevideo sent a Note to the Foreign Minister warning the Government that Uruguay would suffer severely if the anti-Nazi campaign in her Press were allowed to continue. The Government received the warning very frigidly, and a few days later (December 14), when the German battleship *Graf Spee* put into Montevideo after the battle of The Plate [*vide* England], it ordered him to leave within 72 hours, on pain of being interned. In reply to German protests, the Government maintained that this was fully in accord with international law, and it was upheld in this contention by the representatives of eleven American Republics, including the United States. The *Graf Spee* accordingly left the harbour on December 17, and after the crew had been taken on board another German ship, the *Tacoma*, was scuttled at the entrance of the harbour, where it obstructed the fairway. On putting in to Montevideo, the captain of the *Graf Spee* had disembarked sixty-two British officers and men whom he had on board as prisoners, and these were released on condition that they did not go to sea again during the war. The *Tacoma* sailed to Buenos Aires,

PART II

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1939.

JANUARY.

1. In the New Year Honours baronies were conferred on Sir Arthur Greer [Baron Fairfield of Caldy, in the County Palatine of Chester]; Sir Maurice Hankey [Baron Hankey of The Chart, in the County of Surrey] ; Mr. Cecil Harmsworth [Baron Harmsworth of Egham, in the County of Surrey]; and Sir Laurence Philipps [Baron Milford of Llanstephan, in the County of Radnor].

6. *The Times* announced that Lord Beaverbrook, who had recently bought the Mickleham Downs Estate, had presented 73 acres to the National Trust as a gift to the nation.

10. Mr. David Lindsay Kerr, M.A., Fellow, Dean, and Estates Bursar of University College, Oxford, was appointed President and Vice-Chancellor of the Queen's University, Belfast, in succession to Mr. F. W. Ogilvie, M.A., Director-General of the B.B.C.

12. A leopard which had escaped from Primley Zoo, Paignton, Devon, and which had been at large for two days, was shot dead in the grounds of the Zoo.

16. A supermarine Spitfire fighter flew from Paris to London in 41 minutes—an average speed of 300 miles an hour.

19. A plan was published for a Museum of Romano-British Archeology at Newcastle-on-Tyne, to be under the care of the University of Durham, and an appeal issued for 15,000l. for its realisation.

25. The official National Service Handbook, setting out in detail the various opportunities for voluntary service, was issued to every household in the country ; 20,000,000 copies were distributed by the Post Office.

— An aeroplane factory, built in sixty-four days, was opened at Southampton.

FEBRUARY.

6. Mr. Alexander Henshaw arrived at Cape Town, having flown from Gravesend, a distance of some 6,000 miles, in 39 hours 25 minutes, and thus set up a new record by his solo flight.

9. Mr. Henshaw returned to Gravesend from Cape Town in about the same time as the journey out—39 hours 34 minutes.

25. In Islington the first of the steel air-raid shelters were delivered.

28. Mr. Henry Bishop, A.R.A., painter, was elected a Royal Academician, and Mr. Robert S. Austin, engraver, and Mr. C. R. W. Nevinson, painter, Associates of the Royal Academy.

— The new Technical College and School of Art at Walthamstow was opened by Lord de la Warr, President of the Board of Education.

MARCH.

3. The Rev. Professor Charles Earle Raven, D.D., Regius-Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, was elected Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, in succession to Dr. Charles Galton Darwin, who resigned on being appointed Director of the National Physical Laboratory at Teddington.

13. Gas masks designed for children under two years of age were demonstrated at Holborn Town Hall.

21. The President of the French Republic, M. Albert Lebrun, and Madame Lebrun, arrived in London on a three days' State visit to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.

— The L.C.C. celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, its first meeting having taken place on March 21, 1889.

24. The Corporation of Bridlington purchased 120 acres on Flamborough Head, in order to preserve this national landmark.

28. Mr. Bernard Docker, Chairman of Westminster Hospital, made a gift of 25,000Z. to that institution.

29. Formation announced of the British Association for International Understanding, with Lord Baldwin as President and Sir John Hope Simpson as Chairman, for the purpose of providing accurate information about foreign affairs and developing good relations between the people of Great Britain and the peoples of other countries.

— Associated British Cinemas and Gaumont British presented two research laboratories to the National Hospital, Queen Square.

APRIL.

1. Cambridge won the ninety-first Boat Race, beating Oxford by 4 lengths in 19 minutes 3 seconds.

3. *The Times* announced the decision of the Governors of Harrow School to fix 500 as the maximum number of boarders at the school

4. The Royal Navy Film Corporation was established to supply, on a non-profit making basis, film programmes to ships of the Royal Navy.

15. Summer time began at 2 A.M. (see Nov. 19).

17. *The Times* announced that British air services will be the fastest on three main European routes—London-Paris, London-Berlin-Warsaw, and London-Budapest.

18. Mr. Henry Thirkill, M.A., President and Tutor of Clare College, Cambridge, was elected Master, in succession to Mr. G. H. A. Wilson, M.A.

19. Sir Allan Powell was appointed for a period of five years Chairman and Governor of the B.B.C.

22. The first soaring flight across the English Channel was made by Mr. G. H. Stephenson, a member of the London and Surrey Gliding Club.

24. Dr. Geoffrey Francis Fisher, Bishop of Chester, was nominated Bishop of London, in place of Dr. A. F. Winnington-Ingram.

26. The Cordwainers' Company celebrated the 500th anniversary of the granting of their Charter.

— A new world speed record of 469.11 miles (755 kilometres) an hour was set up by Herr Fritz Wendel, in a German fighter, near Augsburg.

MAY.

1. *The Times* announced the completion of the four millionth house to be built in England and Wales since the Armistice.

8. Miss Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod, M.A., D.Sc.(Oxon.), was elected to the Disney Professorship of Archaeology at Cambridge in succession to Dr. E. H. Minns, M.A., who will retire in October. Miss Garrod, who is the daughter of the late Sir Archibald Garrod, former Regius-Professor of Medicine at Oxford, is the first woman professor at Cambridge.

— The Rev. Harry James Carpenter, M.A., Fellow of Keble College, Oxford, was elected Warden of the College in succession to the Rev. Dr. Beresford James Kidd.

12. A number of donors presented 76 acres of broken woodland and pasture under Froggatt Edge, North Derbyshire, to the National Trust, to be known as Froggatt Wood.

14. Celebration of the 600th anniversary of the University of Grenoble.

24. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that Mr. William Parkinson, J.P., and his son, Mr. A. E. Parkinson, had offered to lend the Government 200,000Z. free of interest for two years and that the Treasury had accepted the offer.

24. Lord Rosebery's colt, Blue Peter, ridden by E. Smith and trained by J. Jarvis, won the Derby at Epsom.

25. The new Division for the Social and International Relations of Science, established by the British Association at its Cambridge meeting, held its first public gathering. The main purposes of the division are "to further the objective study of the effects of advances in science on communities, and reciprocally the effects of social conditions upon the progress of science; and to encourage the application of science to promote the well-being of society."

— The Essex Records Office was opened by the Master of the Rolls (Sir Wilfred Greene).

27. It was announced that Lord Nuffield proposed to provide 1,500,000Z., the interest on which was to be used towards improving facilities for the recreation and enjoyment of the Forces of the Crown.

JUNE.

1. Mr. T. F. Higham, Fellow of Trinity College, was elected Public Orator of the University of Oxford.

8. In the Birthday Honours baronies were conferred on Sir Arthur Brooke [Baron Brooke of Oakley, in the County of Northampton]; Sir Herbert Cayzer [Baron Rotherwick of Tylney, in the County of Southampton]; Captain Herbert Dixon [Baron Glentoran of Baliyalloly, in the County of Down]; Sir Henry Lyons [Baron Ennisdale of Grateley, in the County of Southampton]; and Sir Frederick Marquis [Baron Woolton of Liverpool, in the County Palatine of Lancaster].

20. Mr. Charles M. Gere, A.R.A., painter, was elected a Royal Academician.

26. In Barbados there was celebrated the tercentenary of the establishment of representative government in the island.

— A streamlined train of the Berlin-Gruenewald Experimental Institute for Locomotives and Rail Cars attained a new record speed of 133.6 miles an hour in an experimental run between Hamburg and Berlin.

29. Out of funds provided by a recent bequest the National Trust bought the greater part of the picturesque village of Chiddingstone, Kent, for the Nation.

JULY.

1. Mr. Philip Wills established a new British record for gliding by reaching a height of 14,200 ft. in his sail-plane *Minimoa* at Dunstable.

6. Hull City Council decided to give free cremation to any resident of the city who died in it.

7. The National Institute of Industrial Psychology announced the receipt of an anonymous gift of 5,000Z. towards its appeal fund.

8. *The Times* reported that Lord Rothermere had made a gift of 10,000l. for the general benefit of R.A.F. sports and athletics.

29. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that he had received a cheque for 50,000l. from Lord Rothermere as a contribution towards the cost of rearmament.

30. Mr. Paul Vellacott, Headmaster of Harrow, was elected Master of Peter house, Cambridge.

AUGUST.

3. *The Times* announced that Sir Alexander Maclean had given 100,000Z. to the Lord Mayor Treloar Cripples Hospital for the construction of a new seaside branch at Sandy Point, Hayling Island.

6. The first British Atlantic air-mail service was instituted when the flying-boat *Caribou*, with over 40,000 letters on board, arrived at Newfoundland from Foynes.

10. James Young, a Londoner, who had crossed the Atlantic from New York to the Azores in a 14 ft. sailing boat of his own make, landed at Southampton from a cargo steamer.

11. The Imperial Airways flying boat *Caribou* on her return journey took 12 hours 5 minutes from Botwood to Foynes.

21. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that a limited company, which wished to remain anonymous, had lent to His Majesty's Government the sum of 10,000L free of interest for a period of two years in the hope that the example may be followed by private individuals, and, where possible, by limited companies, and that the Treasury had accepted the offer.

23. Mr. John Cobb, of London, established at Bonneville Salt Flats, Utah, a new world's land speed record of 368.85 m.p.h. in his Railton Red Lion motor-car.

24. Commissioner George L. Carpenter, Territorial Commander for Canada, was elected General of the Salvation Army in succession to General Evangeline Booth, who is to retire on October 31.

27. Miss Sally Bauer, the 26-year-old Swedish long distance swimmer, swam the English Channel from Cape Grisnez to Folkestone in 15 hours 23 minutes.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Germany invaded Poland.
3. Great Britain and France declared war against Germany.
4. *Aithenia* torpedoed by U-boat.
10. Canada declared war on Germany.
12. Anglo-French Supreme War Council formed.
16. Germany announced completion of the Polish campaign.
18. H.M.S. *Courageous* sunk by U-boat.

26. A Viscounty was conferred on Lord Maugham by the style of Viscount Maugham of Hartfield, in the County of Sussex.

29. By his will Mr. John Ingolby Ingold, who died on April 19, aged 84, left some 69,000Z. to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for reduction of the National Debt.

— Sir William Coxen elected Lord Mayor of London.

OCTOBER.

10. The first of a series of midday Concerts was given in the National Gallery.

14. H.M.S. *Royal Oak* torpedoed by U-boat.

24. Mr. Neville Richard Murphy was appointed Principal of Hertford College, Oxford.

29. The Swiss National Exhibition in Zurich was closed ; it had been visited by over 10,000,000 people.

30. The Nobel Prize for Medicine for 1939 was awarded to Professor Gerhard Domagk, of Wuppertal in Germany ; and that for 1938 to Professor Corneille Heymans, of Ghent.

NOVEMBER.

10. The Nobel Prize for Literature for 1939 was awarded to the Finnish novelist, Frans Eemil Sillanpaa. The Nobel Prize for Chemistry was divided between Professor Adolph Butenandt, of Berlin, and Professor Leopold Ruzicka, of Zurich. The Nobel Prize for Chemistry for 1938 was awarded to Professor Richard Kuhn, of Heidelberg. The Nobel Prize for Physics for 1939 was awarded to Professor Ernest O. Lawrence, of Berkeley, California.

18. The Dutch liner *Simon Bolivar* sunk by German mine, with the loss of over 120 lives.

19. Summer time ended at 3 A.M.

25. The *Rawalpindi*, an armed merchant cruiser, formerly a P. & O. liner, went down after fighting an action with superior German naval forces.

72. It was announced that the *Yorkshire Post* and the *Leeds Mercury* were to be amalgamated.

30. Russia invaded Finland.

DECEMBER.

5. Lord Nuffield announced in a letter to Mr. Walter Elliot, the Minister of Health, that he proposes to place in the hands of trustees 1,000,000 Ordinary shares of Morris Motors, Limited, to be the nucleus of a fund for the provinces to finance a scheme of hospital regionalisation. At present quotations these shares are worth approximately 1,250,000Z.

13. The battle of the River Plate, in which the German pocket battleship the *Admiral Graf Spee* was forced to take refuge in Montevideo harbour.

17. The *Admiral Graf Spee* scuttled off Montevideo.

21. It was announced that a private citizen of Toronto had given 150,000 dollars to defray the cost of the erection of hospital buildings in Buckinghamshire for the Canadian forces.

29. The Clarendon Hotel, Oxford, was closed.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1939.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

Now that Europe is engaged upon another war it is more than ever important that books should go on and our standards of culture be maintained. The power of the written word was acknowledged by the bonfire of books under the Nazi regime. We are a free people with a free press, and the public now depends on reading for entertainment and enlightenment to an extent far beyond that of peace-time. Much has been said in recent years about the prostitution of the art of literature to material ends and the disappearance of honest criticism. In this connexion we regret that *The London Mercury* ceased to appear as a separate publication last April, after a twenty years' struggle to keep the amenities of life from being destroyed by Philistinism. Apart from its sound and balanced opinions on contemporary events, its considered judgments on books, it always showed the keenest interest in modern architecture and the preservation of the English countryside. Following so swiftly on the death of *The Criterion*, the end of *The London Mercury* was a sad blow to the intellectual life of the nation. Yet all is not lost, for it is now incorporated with *Life and Letters To-day* under the editorship of Mr. Robert Herring, who was once on the staff of *The London Mercury*. We also regret that *The Cornhill* has suspended publication for the duration of the war. On the credit side we have to record the publication of *New Writing* (Hogarth Press), edited by Mr. John Lehmann with the assistance of Mr. Christopher Isherwood and Mr. Stephen Spender. This miscellany of prose and verse, including translations from many countries, is decidedly Left, but it numbers some distinguished young writers among its contributors. Since the war another interesting new periodical has gallantly made its appearance—*Horizon*, a monthly review of literature and art under the editorship of Mr. Cyril Connolly and Mr. Stephen Spender (price 1s.), with a first-class list of authors writing for the first number in December. *Notes and Queries* has been taken over by the Oxford University Press, and will continue its traditional rôle as a clearing house for those engaged in research work.

The growing contempt which is felt for the present system of reviewing found expression in a spirited pamphlet by Mrs. Virginia Woolf—*Reviewing*

(Hogarth Press). She drew a distinction between critics who judge a work by "eternal standards of literature" and reviewers who merely express an individual opinion in a hurry, and quotes Mr. Harold Nicolson's statement that he only aims at telling the public why he likes or dislikes the books he reviews. Mrs. Woolf then suggested that reviewers should abolish themselves and become consultants who would advise the author. Or another system might be used—The Gutter and Stamp. The Gutter will write a short statement about the book, and approval will be shown by an asterisk and disapproval by a dagger. Mr. Leonard Woolf added a less drastic note to the pamphlet, though he also distinguished between critics and reviewers, but maintained that the reviewer is necessary to the author if he wishes to reach a wide public.

With regard to books in general, World Affairs naturally received increased attention, and there was a marked decrease in Essays and *Belles-Lettres*. Books of short stories of an uncommercial nature were in less demand.

For the people the *Everyman* series continued its excellent programme, and the *Penguin* and *Pelican* books enlarged their sphere by including specially written, up-to-the-minute books on science, politics, and sociology.

The Clarendon Press published *Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs*, at 3d. each. These were brief, lucid studies of present-day problems written by experts. From America we borrowed the idea of Literary Digests, which epitomise subjects of immediate interest.

By courtesy of *The Publishers' Circular* we print the figures of 1939 publications. The total number of books, translations, pamphlets, and reprints was 14,913, a decrease of 1,178 on the output of 1938. In fiction 173 fewer new novels were published, and there was a marked reduction in the number of books on Religion, Travel, Poetry, and Drama. On the other hand, there were increases in Military and Naval, Scientific, Agricultural, and Gardening works.

Lastly, the price of books has already risen owing to war conditions. This will reduce the sales of the more expensive books, but it may have the effect of raising the standard of writing all round, so that only well-written books find a publisher—a consummation devoutly to be wished. At the same time, cheap editions of good books will be required in large quantities for libraries that are being formed for the forces.

"Poetry," in the words of Mr. Robert Lynd, "has become a battleground in recent years!" The points of view of six combatants are expressed in an admirable book by Miss Ruth Bailey, *A Dialogue on Modern Poetry* (Oxford University Press). The dilemma of the poet in these chaotic times was further discussed by Mr. Philip Henderson in *The Poet and Society* (Seeker & Warburg), in which Mr. T. S. Eliot and Mr. W. B. Yeats are condemned as "escapist" poets, while Mr. Auden and his group receive sympathetic criticism because they dare to put the reality of the present world into their verse. The debate was continued in *The Personal Heresy* (Oxford University Press), a controversy between Mr. C. S. Lewis and Dr. E. M. W. Tillyard, in which the former argued in favour of a

" poetless poetry," while the latter maintained that the poet must express his own personality. Amid such a conflict of opinion it is not surprising that the year produced very little poetry, and that one poet said a final farewell to the Muse. Mr. W. H. Davies declared in the preface to *The Loneliest Mountain and Other Poems* (Cape) that this was to be his last volume of poetry. The freshness and simplicity of his verse, his joy in the loveliness of the earth, are rare qualities these days and can ill be spared. Mystery, magic, and verbal felicity marked Mr. W. J. Turner's volume, *Selected Poems, 1916-1936* (Milford). In contrast to his pure visionary intensity we had the *Collected Poems of Robert Frost* (Longmans), whose poetry springs from the very soil, responds to the pathos of simple people, and is inescapably true to nature. Mr. Humbert Wolfe's *Out of Great Tribulation* (Gollancz) showed a sophisticated mind, great versatility, and skilful use of metre. In Lady Margaret Sackville's *Collected Poems* (Seeker) there was more elegance than depth of feeling. Mr. W. B. Yeats' *Last Poems and Two Plays* (Cuala Press) were written during the last year of his life. The poems are vigorous, some of them hasty, and he deliberately uses beggarly words as a protest against the new-minted expressions of the moderns. *The Collected Poems of A. E. Housman* (Cape) is the first definitive edition of all his verse.

Turning to the younger poets, we had Mr. Christopher Hassall's *Penthesperon* which was awarded the Hawthornden Prize ; he also published a volume of sonnets, *Crisis* (Heinemann), with a political background, reflecting the varying moods of a sensitive mind in face of contemporary events. Mr. Stephen Spender's *The Still Centre* (Faber) contained poems of personal experience during the Spanish War, and others about these violent times, all of which are underived and lucid. Mr. Louis MacNeice's *Autumn Journey* (Faber), the longest and most elaborate poem he has written, enhances his reputation. Mr. Christopher La Farge offers an experiment, a novel in verse, *Each to the Other* (Cape), in which the poetic impulse and craftsmanship are better than the material. *Poets of Tomorrow : First Selection* (Hogarth Press) embodied the work of four young poets of distinctive quality—Robert Waller, H. B. Mallalieu, Ruthven Todd, and R. P. Hewett. Miss Ruth Pitter in *The Spirit Watches* (Cresset Press) showed imagination and sensitiveness and at her best blends the things of time with eternal realities.

Last but not least, there was Mr. Walter de la Mare's exquisite anthology, * *Behold This Dreamer* (Faber), with a fascinating preface of 110 pages on Dream and Imagination. More restricted in scope, but no less exhaustive was Miss Louise Guiney's *Recusant Poets* (Sheed & Ward), in which she gathered a unique collection of Catholic poetry of the sixteenth century. A particularly interesting anthology, consisting of about 700 passages from Shakespeare, came from Mr. George Rylands, called *The Ages of Man* (Heinemann), which deserves high praise for intelligent arrangement and for revealing the dramatist as a master psychologist and observer of nature. Mr. Herbert Read gave us *The Knapsack* (Routledge), a collection of prose and verse designed for those on active service. Mr. Gerald Bullett's *The Jackdaw's Nest* (Macmillan) included prose and verse

from Chaucer to P. G. Wodehouse. Mr. Geoffrey Grigson's *New Verse* (Faber) contained the work of a modern school of poets "who have most successfully kept their eye on the object." Mr. Moulst's anthology, *The Best Poems of 1939* (Cape), was a varied and representative collection.

The field of drama was unproductive, and the theatre less well served than any of the arts. The most original book on the subject was Mr. W. Robertson Davies's *Shakespeare's Boy Actors* (Dent), which set out to prove that Shakespeare's women characters were conceived to suit the talents and limitations of boy actors. It is refreshing to approach the plays from a new angle, and though Mr. Davies uses cunning arguments to illustrate his theories, one cannot agree with all his conclusions. But he has done valuable research into an aspect of the plays that has hitherto escaped attention. Mr. Bernard Shaw received idolatrous worship in Mr. Maurice Colbourne's *The Real Bernard Shaw* (Dent). Mr. S. R. Littlewood's *Dramatic Criticism* (Pitman) surveyed dramatic criticism from the earliest times to the present day, touching on almost every aspect of dramatic art. Miss Una Ellis-Fermor ably treated of the renaissance of Irish drama between 1899 and 1912 in *The Irish Dramatic Movement* (Methuen). Some interesting theatrical biographies appeared during the year, notably *We Saw Him Act* (Hurst and Blackett), a symposium on the art of Sir Henry Irving, giving a complete picture of the actor and the man, edited by H. A. Saintsbury and Cecil Palmer. Mr. John Gielgud told of his stage career and the Terry family in pleasant fashion in *Early Stages* (Macmillan); Sir Seymour Hicks has vivacious reminiscences in *Night Lights* (Cassell); Miss Elsa Lanchester was very entertaining in *Charles Laughton and I* (Faber); Mr. Giles Playfair followed four earlier biographies with a careful study of Kean (Bles). *Forty Years in the Limelight* (Hutchinson) was the title of W. H. Berry's cheerful recollections of acting on piers, in taverns, the music hall, and for the B.B.C.

The published drama reflected the scarcity of good plays. There was a new edition of Mr. Bernard Shaw's *Geneva* (Constable) as well as his latest play, produced at Malvern, but not yet in London, * *In Good King Charles's Golden Days* (Constable), which showed all the Shavian vitality, but an unexpected tolerance. Another new Malvern production was Mr. S. I. Hsiung's *The Professor from Peking* (Methuen). Other plays of the year were Miss Dorothy Sayers' *The Devil to Pay* (Gollancz), Mr. J. B. Priestley's experiment, *Johnson Over Jordan* (Heinemann), Mr. George Biichner's *Dantorfs Death* (Constable), *Choric Plays* (Constable), by Mr. Gordon Bottomley. We had also Mr. T. S. Eliot's *The Family Re-union* (Faber), a static and descriptive play in verse which is often ordinary prose. This, like *The Murder in the Cathedral*, was an attempt to revive poetic drama on the stage. Mr. Francois Mauriac's *Asmode* was translated and published under the title *The Intruder* (Seeker & Warburg). Mr. Upton Sinclair wrote *Marie Antoinette* (Werner Lawrie), and Karel Capek's moving last play, *The Mother* (Allen & Unwin), was also among the year's harvest.

As regards the allied arts, Mr. Cyril Beaumont gave us a new book—*Five Centuries of Ballet Design* (The Studio), containing 250 reproductions

of sets, backcloths, and costumes, forming a comprehensive survey of the evolution of costume and setting, and proving that there was wit, grace, and elegance of design before Diaghilev. The cinema found its champions in *The Film Answers Back* (Lane), by E. W. and M. M. Robson, a book full of enthusiasm for the subject, but open to controversy where the cultural value of the cinema is concerned. An enlightening book on the film industry, *The Cinema To-day* (Oxford Press), was written by Dr. D. A. Spencer in collaboration with Mr. H. D. Waley, Technical Director of the British Film Institute. This book covered all the technical processes that go to the making of a modern film.

In the history of art we had Sir Kenneth Clark's *Leonardo da Vinci* (Cambridge Press), intended for the general reader and easy to follow. The author traced the development of Leonardo as an artist, but did not neglect to treat of his character and temperament as reflected in his work. Another book on the same subject, by Madame Antonina Vallentin, published by Gollancz, gave a picture of Leonardo and his times, and a good account of his early training and technical experiments. Yet a third book was *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci* (Milford), by Jean Paul Richter and Irma A. Richter, containing his writings on Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and other subjects, in two volumes, with many illustrations. *El Greco* (Allen & Unwin) was a finely reproduced volume, giving a selection of the artist's work in chronological order, and enriched by an admirable introduction by Mr. Ludwig Goldscheider. Mr. J. H. Whitehouse did full justice to his subject in *Ruskin the Painter and His Works at Bernbridge* (Oxford Press), and Mr. A. H. Finberg furnished in *The Life of J. M. W. Turner* (Clarendon Press) an authoritative record of a life which has suffered from mystification. *Picasso : Master of the Phantom* (Oxford Press) was an analysis of Mr. Robert Melville's reaction to this artist's work. In *An Introduction to Modern Art* (Clarendon Press) Mr. E. H. Ramsden took its point of departure from the Impressionist Movement, and his design was to meet the need of the intelligent reader who wishes to understand the theories underlying recent art development. Perhaps the most important book of all was Mr. Roger Fry's *Last Lectures* (Cambridge Press). These lectures were in the nature of explorations based on actual observation. He died before completing the course, but the lectures he gave represent a survey of all the arts outside the modern period. Just to the minute when the Regency period enjoyed fashionable interest came a *History of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton* (Country Life), by H. D. Roberts, the first book of its kind, full of information about the design and decoration of that fantastic edifice. Mr. Herbert Norris's *Costume and Fashion*, vol. 3 (Dent), was an achievement without parallel, dealing with the Tudor period and its exuberant, complicated clothes. Furniture provoked two books—*The Evolution of Furniture* (Batsford), by Miss L. Cotchett, covering style from Greece and Rome till the present day, and *Period Furniture for Everyman* (Duckworth), a simple study by Mr. W. G. Menzies of the period 1600-1800.

The fountain of literary history seems to have run almost dry this year as far as early writers are concerned. The first book we notice is

Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century (Oxford Press), edited by Professor Carleton Brown, whose scholarly research has discovered a wealth of hidden poetry in a neglected period. Professor W. J. Entwistle linked up the history of the English and Scottish ballad in a fascinating survey of *European Balladry* (Oxford Press). Shakespearean studies were represented by *King Richard II* (Cambridge Press), with an Introduction and notes by J. Dover Wilson, and an essay on the stage history of the play by Mr. Harold Child. In *Shakespeare's Life and Art* (Nisbet) Professor P. Alexander traced the dramatist's development through four stages till he reached the full maturity of creative imagination.

For the seventeenth century we had *Strolling Players and Drama in the Provinces* (Cambridge Press), by Sybil Eosenfeld, an entertaining book about the theatre between 1660 and 1765, the period when drama obtained recognition as shown by the building of new, imposing theatres. Mr. Hugh Macdonald's *John Dryden* (Oxford University Press) was a bibliography of early editions and Drydeniana, with valuable footnotes and details of the personal and literary quarrels in which Dryden was engaged. Mr. John Austen did a much-needed piece of research in *The Story of Don Juan* (Seeker), where he showed that the earliest Don Juan extant—the hero of Tirso de Molina's *El Burlador de Seville*—was a typical seventeenth-century Catholic, that the character degenerated into a figure of fun till Byron restored him to the realm of romance. The first volume of the works of Swift, edited by Professor Herbert Davis, *A Tale of a Tub*, with other works, 1696-1707 (Blackwell), was one of fourteen projected volumes, giving the revised text of Swift's writings in the order in which they were written. The object was to re-establish the complete canon in the light of recent discoveries.

Passing to the eighteenth century, we note that Messrs. Methuen are bringing out the "Twickenham" series of Pope's poetry, and the first volume to appear was his *Imitations of Horace*, edited by Mr. John Butt. This is the fourth volume in the planned series and sets a high standard of scholarship for the editors of subsequent volumes. Miss Marjorie Williams edited *The Letters of William Shenstone* (Blackwell), two-thirds of which have not been printed before. The letters are uneven in interest and often lack naturalness—the spice of letter-writing. A study of Burns as a personality was the subject of *Pride and Passion* (Oxford University Press).

The Romantic Period received fair consideration. Mr. J. Middleton Murry provided a new edition of *Studies in Keats* (Milford), adding three new essays. This was a welcome piece of sensitive criticism, in which aesthetic considerations were given their proper value. Mr. H. W. Oarrod had a new edition of *The Poetical Works of John Keats* (Oxford Press), including two sonnets printed for the first time and suggestions of many new readings. *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth* (Milford) are now completed in Professor Ernest de Selincourt's great edition of the Wordsworth correspondence. The third volume deals with the later years, 1821-50, when the poet and his wife had outlived most of their friends. Miss Mary Lascelles contributed *Jane Austen and Her Art* (Oxford

University Press), a thoughtful examination of the relation of her work to her circumstances.

In the Victorian Period we have a first-rate life of *Matthew Arnold* (Allen & Unwin) by an American, Professor Lionel Trilling, showing a real grasp of Arnold's political and social theories. Mr. William Irvine chose as his subject *Walter Bagehot* (Longmans), whom he considers the most representative writer of the Victorian Age, neglected nowadays, but deserving attention. Professor J. Dover Wilson's short book, *Leslie Stephen and Matthew Arnold as Critics of Wordsworth* (Cambridge Press), argued the greatness of Wordsworth's mind if he could attract two such very different personalities. The tenth volume of *The History of the English Novel* (Witherby) completed Dr. Ernest Baker's monumental work and brought it as far as G. K. Chesterton. Mr. Richard Samuel and Mr. R. Hinton Thomas told of the spiritual revolt in Germany in *Expressionism in German Life, Literature, and the Theatre, 1910-1924* (Heifer), and made one realise what a tragedy for Europe was the Versailles Treaty. In *Twilight on Parnassus* (Joseph) Mr. G. U. Ellis made a rambling study of post-war fiction and related a change in public taste to social history. Professor Oliver Elton's *Essays and Addresses* (Arnold) ranged from Shakespeare to Karel Uapek, with academic bias, but with added grace of style. As a survey of popular literature from 1887-1914 Mr. Malcolm Elwin's *Old Gods Falling* (Collins) covered an immense stretch of matter in the manner of a dictionary of biography. In the preface he set forth his thesis that during the period under review the twin gods of Respectability and Humbug were dethroned. Mr. Ford Madox Ford made a long-distance flight over the whole continent of letters in *The March of Literature* (Allen & Unwin). In a book that ranges from Confucius to modern times, there must be many inaccuracies, but these can be forgiven in an "old man mad about writing," who can summon such verve and enthusiasm to his task. Mr. Maurice Evans's prize essay on G. K. Chesterton (Cambridge Press) expounded his philosophy based on optimism, orthodoxy, and the delight in simple things. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch enlarged and extended his famous *Oxford Book of English Verse* (Oxford University Press). New carols, more examples of the Metaphysical School were added, as well as poems by authors down to 1918. A new reference book based on Sir Paul Harvey's *Oxford Companion to English Literature* made its appearance—*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Literature* (Oxford Press), an excellent work. Finally, we record the triumphant completion of the *Standard French and English Dictionary*, published by Harrap, and undertaken by Mr. J. E. Mansion, a task that occupied twenty busy years.

If we regard History as the narrative of events and change, this year's output was not large, though it was significant. Sir Charles Oman's book, *On the Writing of History* (Methuen), deserves respect as the fruit of fifty years' experience. The plan of the Cambridge histories, begun in 1896 and working backwards from Modern to Mediaeval History, was completed with the twelfth volume of * *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Mr. Ronald Syme wrote a profound yet vigorous study of the Emperor Augustus, which

is singularly topical, in *The Roman Revolution* (Clarendon Press). Mr. Henri Pirenne was responsible for *A History of Europe from the Invasions to the XVIth Century* (Allen & Unwin), and Mr. Henry B. Parkes contributed *A History of Mexico* (Methuen) from Cortes to the present day. The Holy Roman Empire was the subject of two books—*The Emperor Charles V* (Cape), by the greatest living authority on the period, Karl Brandi, and *The Imperial Crown* (Cassell), by Paul Frischauer. Sir Charles Petrie wrote a balanced study of the Court of Versailles in *Louis XIV* (Butterworth). Mr. William Gerhardt, who was brought up in Russia, wrote what is virtually a history of Russia in *The Romanovs* (Rich & Cowan). It was a fresh narrative rather than a compilation, and covered the history of the dynasty over a thousand years—a vital, absorbing book.

Turning to English history, the first book we notice was a study of our one successful military dictator, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, vol. ii (Milford), by Professor Wilbur Abbott and Catherine Crane. In *The Jacobean Age* (Longmans) Mr. David Mathew displayed a rare power of co-ordination in his treatment of original documents. New light on the Jacobite Court was thrown by Alistair and Henrietta Tayler's work on *The Stuart Papers at Windsor* (Murray). We have to thank Professor David C. Douglas for his remarkable research in *English Scholars* (Cape), which covers the years 1660-1730, and includes such heroic figures as Dr. Bentley, Dugdale of the *Monasticon*, Edward Thwaites of Queen's College, where the first real school of English nourished, George Hickes, Archbishop Wake, and a pioneer young woman, Elizabeth Elstob. Mr. Wolfgang Michael brought out a second volume of his study of the reign of George I, *The Quadruple Alliance* (Macmillan). The political ascendancy of the Whigs was the subject of several noteworthy books. Mr. Basil Williams wrote *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760* (Clarendon Press), Mr. Michael Roberts contributed *The Whig Party, 1807-1812* (Macmillan), and Mrs. Marjorie Villiers presented us with a fine work in * *The Grand Whiggery* (Murray). Next came Mr. E. L. Woodward's admirable book, *The Age of Reform, 1850-1870* (Clarendon Press), which takes its place as Volume XIII of *The Oxford History of England*. Quite by itself stood Monsignor Ronald Knox's historical satire, *Let Dons Delight* (Sheed & Ward), a picture of Oxford at intervals of fifty years over three and a half centuries, a humorous, critical presentation of ideas and manners at each period. This point is as good as any to record the publication of the second volume of *The History of The Times, 1841-1884* ("The Times"). The sub-title, "The Tradition Established," tells how the settled character of the paper was determined and its influence consolidated under the Walters and John Thadeus Delane. Of Professor A. J. Toynbee's * *Study of History* (Oxford University Press) the *Spectator* said, "No other living historian could have produced a work of such imaginative power, or taken so wide a view of human development." Professor R. B. Mowat in *The Victorian Age* (Harrap) covered affairs in Europe and also devoted several chapters to events in America.

Historical biography showed an astonishing array of lives of politicians. Sir Philip Magnus wrote interestingly about a distinguished figure of the

eighteenth century in * *Edmund Burke* (Murray); the first volume of *The Life of James Ramsay MacDonald* (Collins) came from Lord Elton; Haldane's life after he gave up office was the subject of Sir Frederick Maurice's book, *Haldane, 1915-1928* (Faber); Mr. Brian Tunstall provided a monumental study of *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (Hodder & Stoughton); Sir Charles Petrie published the first volume of *The Life and Letters of Austen Chamberlain* (Cassell); Mr. Ray Stannard Baker finished the eighth and last volume of *Woodrow Wilson* (Heinemann). The American Revolution was the background of Mr. Evarts S. Scudder's portrait of *Benjamin Franklin* (Collins). Irish affairs necessarily loomed large in Mr. Stephen Gwynn's book *Henry Grattan and His Times* (Harrap). The life of Winthrop Mackworth Praed was the subject of Mr. Derek Hudson's *A Poet in Parliament* (Murray). A most distinguished and charming biography was Lord David Cecil's *The Young Melbourne* (Constable). Closely allied to it were two very readable books, *A Regency Chapter* (Macmillan), dealing with Lady Bessborough's circle, by Miss Ethel Colburn Mayne, and Mr. Shane Leslie's study of *Mrs. Fitzherbert* (Burns, Oates). Coming nearer to our own times we were provided by Mr. I. Berlin with yet another life of *Karl Marx* (Thornton Butterworth), and a highly topical subject in Boris Souvarine's *Stalin* (Seeker & Warburg), while Mr. F. C. Green wrote a full-length study of *Stendhal* (Cambridge Press), the first in English to treat of the literary activity, love affairs, and political service as parts of one whole.

Non-political biographies were a mixed bag. The mystery that surrounds the greatest navigator is examined by Salvador de Madariaga in *Christopher Columbus* (Hodder & Stoughton); Mr. Francis J. McConnell wrote *John Wesley* (Epworth Press); Mr. Cecil Roth provided a valuable account of a remarkable Jewish family in *The Magnificent Rothschilds* (Hale); Mrs. R. L. Arkell chose an unhackneyed subject in *Caroline of Ansbach* (Milford); Mr. R. Ellis Roberts' *Portrait of Stella Benson* (Macmillan) was a sympathetic analysis of her rich personality. Mr. A. Mervyn Davies's *Clive of Plassey* (Nicholson & Watson) took a hostile view of his subject. An important book was Captain W. D. Puleston's life of *Captain Mahan* (Cape), who taught the navies of the world the principles of maritime strategy. Miss Janet Mackay's *Little Madam* (Bell) was a character study of Henrietta Maria, while George II's queen was sympathetically portrayed by Mr. Peter Quennell in *Caroline of England* (Collins). Mr. John Lindsey's *The Lovely Quaker* (Rich & Cowan) contained much curious information about the supposed marriage of George III and Hannah Lightfoot. Dr. Willard Connely in *The True Chesterfield* (Cassell) gave a fuller picture of his subject than can be found in the *Letters*, having discovered much new material. The life of George Eliot provided surprising entertainment in Mr. Simon Dewes's *Marian* (Rich & Cowan). Miss Francesca Claremont drew a fine portrait of a great lady in *Catherine of Aragon* (Hale), Miss M. P. Willcocks wrote for the general reader in *Mary, Queen of Scots* (Allen & Unwin), Katherine John presented a study of a short life padded with other matter in *The Prince Imperial* (Putnam). Miss Marion Flexner was responsible for a chatty

book which covers much familiar ground in *The Young Victoria* (Joseph), and Miss Erica Beal dealt with the same Queen's relationship with the Danish Koyal Family in *Royal Cavalcade* (Stanley Paul), with particular emphasis on Queen Alexandra. The authorised life of Philip de Laszlo, under the title *Portrait of a Painter* (Hodder & Stoughton), came from Mr. Owen Rutter, who is less concerned with the talent of the artist than his engaging qualities as a man.

Books on French subjects included *Voltaire* (Faber), by Mr. Alfred Noyes. This was a second edition with a new preface required by the Ecclesiastical authorities. Mons. Leon Daudet wrote *The Tragic Life of Victor Hugo* (Heinemann), finding new material in unpublished letters. *The Laughing Mulatto* (Rich & Cowan) was a full-length study of Alexander Dumas by Ruthven Todd, containing the whole truth about the notorious fiction "factory." Mr. J. B. Morton's *Life of St. Just* (Longmans) described the Reign of Terror. The love story of Heloise and Abelard was told for the first time from the woman's point of view in *He'lolse* (Chatto & Windus), by Enid McLeod—a truly wonderful book.

In Russian literature we had a translation of *The Works of Alexander Pushkin* (Nonesuch Press), edited by Avrahm Yarmolininsky.

The present plight of mankind is being examined from many points of view, religious, sociological, philosophical, and scientific. No wonder, therefore, that in the year under review there was a revived interest in religion. *The Study of Theology* (Hodder & Stoughton), prepared under the direction of Dr. Kirk, Bishop of Oxford, was a first-class introduction to the "queen of sciences." Immense erudition rather than understanding of basic principles marked Dr. Westermarck's *Christianity and Morals* (Kegan Paul). Mr. T. S. Eliot in *The Idea of a Christian Society* (Faber) demonstrated these basic principles and pleaded for a return to them, lest civilisation should perish. Dr. Hensley Henson put the case for Disestablishment in *The Church of England* (Cambridge University Press). In *Church and State* (Bles) Luigi Sturzo maintained that true liberty only exists when there is a proper balance between the two. Mr. E. I. Watkin defended the Roman Church in *The Catholic Centre* (Sheed & Ward). The conflicts between spiritual and civil authority were discussed in Dr. James Mackinnon's *The Origins of the Reformation* (Longmans), and Sir David Ross, whose famous book *The Right and the Good* appeared nine years ago, brought out *Foundations of Ethics* (Milford). An important and illuminating book was Sigmund Freud's * *Moses and Monotheism* (Hogarth Press), which deals with the religious evolution of man. Professor Guignebert wrote learnedly on *The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus* (Kegan Paul), and the Rev. E. J. Kissane in *The Book of Job* (Browne & Nolan) discussed the poetic arrangement and content of that classic.

In science we had an outstanding book by Sir Arthur Eddington—*The Philosophy of Physical Science* (Cambridge University Press), in which he treated most difficult themes with easy grace and flashes of humour. In *Rutherford* (Cambridge University Press), Mr. A. S. Eve, his friend and pupil, successfully pictured a personality, and at the same

time showed a man of genius at work. Mr. H. Gordon Garbedian wrote with enthusiasm about the life and work of *Albert Einstein* (Cassell), devoting only two chapters to Relativity, and revealing a lovable character whose philosophy challenges comparison with that of Spinoza. Miss Phyllis Bottome's *Alfred Adler* (Faber) was a biography written at the request of her subject, describing his life and work as a psychotherapist.

Professor S. Radhakrishnan commended the Hindu philosophy as a cure for the disease of Europe in *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (Milford); Mr. Gerald Heard in *Pain, Sex and Time* (Cassell) suggested a remedy for present ills; Mr. C. E. M. Joad's *Guide to Modern Wickedness* (Faber) contained sound sense; Dr. William Brown's *War and Peace* (Black) pointed out the danger of mass movements; *Britain by Mass Observation* (Penguin Books), by Charles Madge and Tom Harrison, revealed with documentary proof what "the people" are really thinking. From R. H. S. Crossman came *Government and the Governed* (Christophers); Mr. Esme Wingfield-Stratford wrote appropriately, *The Foundations of British Patriotism* (Routledge); Mr. Edward Mousley's *Man or Leviathan?* (Allen & Unwin) was an argument against the Sovereign state; Mr. Olaf Stapledon in *New Hope for Britain* (Methuen) looked forward to a world-wide community; while Mr. Middleton Murry pondered a great theme in *The Defence of Democracy* (Cape). The scope of Mr. Michael Oakeshott's book, *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe* (Cambridge University Press), was indicated by its title. Mr. George Santayana republished *Egotism in German Philosophy* (Dent) with a new preface. The second volume of Mr. Leonard Woolf's *After the Deluge* (Hogarth Press) dealt with the development of democracy in England and France in the Reform Crisis and the Revolution of 1830. In *Prophet of the Mass Age* (Dent) Mr. J. P. Mayer made a study of Alexis de Tocqueville, who, a hundred years ago in *Democracy in America*, foresaw the kind of mass democracies with which we are now familiar. His book was highly relevant. *Dangerous Thoughts* (Allen & Unwin), by Professor Lancelot Hogben, was a deliberately provocative book to make his readers think.

European and World Affairs were of such moment since the crisis of September, 1938, that this year saw an avalanche of books dealing with international politics. It is hard to say which of them have value, for many prophecies and opinions have already been disproved by events. Mr. L. S. Amery wrote concerning *The German Colonial Claim* (Chambers), quoting Hitler's own words to prove that Germany is not worthy of the African Empire he dreams of. The history of Austria from 1918 till the *Anschluss* was the subject of *Fallen Bastions* (Gollancz) by Mr. G. E. R. Gedye, who wrote from first-hand experience. In *Nazi Germany Can't Win* (Lindsay Drummond) Mr. Wilhelm Necker gave a detailed analysis of German resources and Nazi plans in an authoritative book. Mr. Douglas Reed's *Disgrace Abounding* (Cape) found a wide public. Most of it was written less than two months after Munich, and it records hasty impressions of Central Europe with honesty and a good deal of prejudice. A more judicial work was *The Economic Recovery of Germany* (Macmillan), in which Mr. C. W. Guillebaud published the results of his researches on

the economic position of Germany from the rise of Hitler till March, 1938. Mr. Edward Hallett Carr in a profound and scholarly book, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939* (Macmillan), wrote a guide to the next peace and discussed a new international order. Mrs. Diana Spearman showed a real knowledge of politics in *Modern Dictatorship* (Cape). John Foster Dulles, an American lawyer, contributed *War, Peace, and Change* (Macmillan), containing sound observation, constructive ideas, and a deep knowledge of human nature. Another American book about the Munich Agreement came from Hamilton Fish Armstrong, called *When There is No Peace* (Macmillan). Mr. Clarence K. Streit's * *Union Now* (Cape), with its argument for a Federal Union of Europe on the plan of the United States, was prominent in the public eye. Mr. Peter F. Driicker supported the Totalitarian state in *The End of Economic Man* (Heinemann). On the other hand, Dr. Benes, in *Democracy To-day and To-morrow* (Macmillan), looked forward to a Europe of free nations.

Why Britain is at War (Penguin Series) was a lucid, emphatic little book by Mr. Harold Nicolson, ending with suggestions for a constructive peace. Captain Liddell Hart's *The Defence of Britain* (Faber), which appeared before this war, was concerned more particularly with the expansion of the Army, and emphasised the value of infantry. Professor Frank Chambers in *The War Behind the War, 1914-18*, traced back the beginnings of Totalitarian war to those years.

The clearest statement of our war aims that has yet appeared was to be found in Sir Norman Angell's *For What Do We Fight?* (Hamish Hamilton). Hitler's confidential talks with ministers were recorded for our amazement in Hermann Rauschning's book *Hitler Speaks* (Butterworth). Mr. H. G. Wells reviewed the world situation and pleaded for a new order in * *The Fate of Homo Sapiens* (Seeker & Warburg). Mr. John Scalton wrote a satire on modern statesmanship in *But Who Has Won?* (Allen & Unwin). Mr. Wickham Steed hoped for a Europe of federated free peoples in *Our War Aims* (Seeker & Warburg); Professor E. H. Carr contributed *Britain* (Longmans), which dealt with our foreign policy. A book sure to influence contemporary thought was *Nationalism* (Oxford University Press), a report by a study group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Mr. Lionel Robbins wrote *The Economic Causes of the War* (Cape), and pleaded for a United States of Europe. Sir Arnold Wilson took stock of England up and down the country from September, 1937, to August, 1939, in *More Thoughts and Talks* (Longmans). Mr. Duff Cooper published *The Second World War* (Cape). After all these books about our present discontents, it is pleasant to find that Professor Gilbert Highet has translated Werner Jaeger's splendid book *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture* (Blackwell).

Autobiographies of a number of writers appeared during 1939. Mr. A. A. Milne's *Ifs Too Late Now* (Methuen) revealed an adventurous independence of mind and the contentment of one who has achieved freedom to live the life that pleases him. Sir John Squire in *Water Music* (Heinemann) made a short holiday in a canoe the excuse for a delightful book of reminiscences. *The Debate Continues* (Heinemann), by Margaret

Campbell, otherwise Miss Marjorie Bowen, was the record of an unhappy-life. Mr. Llewelyn Powys in *Love and Death* (Lane) told his own story behind what he calls an "imaginary biography." Mr. Sean O'Casey's *I Knock at the Door* (Macmillan) described his early formative years. Mr. Thomas Burke upheld the Victorians, among whom he numbered himself, in a genial volume, *Living in Bloomsbury* (Allen & Unwin). Mr. James Bridie showed a rich sense of humour and many interests in *One Way of Living* (Constable). Sir Edward Marsh drew a delightful picture of himself and others in *A Number of People* (Heinemann and Hamish Hamilton). Many things besides cricket will be found in Mr. C. B. Fry's vigorous record, *Life Worth Living* (Eyre & Spottiswoode). Sir William Rothenstein's third volume of memories, *Since Fifty* (Faber), included personal records of many important people and a history of art from 1922-38. The title of Mr. L. S. Amery's book, *Days of Fresh Air* (Jarrolds), speaks for itself. Sir Donald Cameron's memoirs, *My Tanganyika Service* (Allen & Unwin), threw light on the new system of Colonial government he introduced there. From America came *Philosopher's Holiday* (Constable), in which Mr. Irwin Edman refused to write either philosophy or autobiography, and did both, for the reader's delight. Lady Eleanor Smith's *Life's a Circus* (Longmans) was enthusiastically welcomed. Mr. J. B. Priestley gave a picture of his mind to-day and described the formative elements that have made him what he is in *Rain Upon Godshill* (Heinemann). Mr. William Holt, a Yorkshire weaver, told of his roving life with appealing directness in *I Haven't Unpacked* (Harrap). Features of London life in 1914 and the changes the war brought about were humorously recalled in Mr. J. B. Booth's *Life, Laughter, and Brass Hats* (Werner Lawrie), and Mr. Edward Knoblock wrote *Round the Room* (Chapman & Hall), with a warning preface to aspiring playwrights. A *Painter's Pilgrimage Through Fifty Years* (Cambridge Press) was the title of Mr. A. S. Hartrick's volume of memoirs, and it contained chapters on Gauguin and Van Gogh, both of whom he knew in his youth.

Travel books dealing with the international situation were of special moment. Mr. W. H. Auden and Mr. Christopher Isherwood went to China and wrote *Journey to a War* (Faber). Mr. Osbert Sitwell also travelled to China and recorded his impressions delightfully in *Escape with Me* (Macmillan). Mr. F. D. Ommanney described a voyage in a deep-sea trawler in ** North Cape* (Longmans). Miss Rosita Forbes recorded her travel experiences in *A Unicorn in the Bahamas* (Jenkins), and Mr. Marco Pallis drew a fine picture of Tibet in *Peaks and Lamas* (Cassell). In *Ecuador the Unknown* (Jarrolds) Mr. Wolfgang von Hagen reveals himself both as a scientist and an entertaining traveller. A work of outstanding beauty, even in translation, was *Wind, Sand, and Stars* (Heinemann), by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, a record of the author's experiences as an air-mail pilot. An important publication was the first volume of *Marco Polo: the Description of the World* (Routledge), by Mr. A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot. The second volume consisting of a Latin text found recently at Toledo appeared last year. Here at last was the definitive edition containing everything that can claim to be the real Marco Polo. In

* *Oriental Assembly* (Williams & Norgate) some of the best travel sketches of T. E. Lawrence were collected.

The English scene was the subject of some delightful books. Miss Margaret Westerling showed her love of the Cotswolds in *Country Contentments* (Constable) which, besides being a rough diary of the seasons, was full of interesting detail concerning old crafts connected with the farm and home. Mr. Richard Church wrote a charming record of home-making in an old cottage in East Anglia—*Calling For a Spade* (Dent). Profound knowledge of rustic things, with digressions on dialect, English cheese, village architecture, and many other things, made Mr. H. J. Massingham's *The Sweet of The Year* (Chapman & Hall) a book to read with pleasure. Miss V. Sackville-West distilled in words and pictures the very essence of rural England in a quite beautiful book, *Country Notes* (Joseph), and Mr. H. Gathorne-Hardy wrote about gardening, with taste and simplicity, in *Three Acres and a Mill* (Dent). *Country Relics* (Cambridge Press) was the joint work of Mr. H. J. Massingham and Mr. Thomas Hermell. Mr. Massingham has long collected rare and obsolete tools and chattels, and Mr. Hermell drew the country people at work using them.

Among miscellaneous books we had Mrs. Miniver, familiar to readers of *The Times* (Chatto & Windus), by Jan Struther; *The Scrapbook of Katherine Mansfield* (Constable), edited by Mr. J. Middleton Murry; *The English Child in the Eighteenth Century* (Murray), by Rosamond Bayne-Powell; and *Grandma Called It Carnal* (Joseph), by Bertha Damon; *Four to Fourteen* (Hale), the diary of a Victorian child kept between the age of ten and fourteen, written with a remarkable eye for character, and unusually interesting.

Fiction as a whole had more substance in it, and the tendency in established writers was towards greater length. The outstanding event of 1939 was the much-heralded appearance of Mr. James Joyce's work, * *Finnegans Wake* (Faber), in a class by itself and not to be imitated. To the best of our judgment the following works represented the most notable achievements in the year's novels. * *The Wild Palms* (Chatto & Windus), by William Faulkner, exhibited a new technique. * *After Many a Summer* (Chatto & Windus) was in Mr. Aldous Huxley's familiar style. Mr. Adrian Bell's * *The Shepherd's Farm* (Cobden Sanderson) was a quiet book about rural matters. The voice of America was heard in Mr. John Steinbeck's masterpiece, * *The Grapes of Wrath* (Heinemann). Miss Stella Gibbons told a romantic story with humour in * *My American* (Longmans), and Mr. A. G. Macdonnell mixed a potion of love, hate, and travel in * *Flight from a Lady* (Macmillan). *Come Michaelmas*, by Geraint Goodwin (Cape), provided a full-blooded picture of Shropshire life, showing the influence of D. H. Lawrence. Mr. T. D. Beresford gave an amusing study of a millionaire and his philanthropy in *SnelVs Folly* (Hutchinson). Mr. George Orwell tried to recapture the pattern of life in a small town in Oxfordshire before the last war in *Coming Up for Air* (Gollancz). Miss G. B. Stern's *The Woman in the Hall* (Cassell) concerned a professional beggar, an original theme providing scope for many lively character sketches. In *The Patriot* (Methuen) Miss Pearl Buck told the story of

a Chinaman who settled in Japan, married his employer's daughter and returned to fight for the new China. Mr. C. Day Lewis's *Child of Misfortune* (Cape) cleverly attempted to combine burning topics of the hour with telling a story. *We Lived as Children* (Dent), by Kathryn Hulme, depicted an aspect of American life not revealed in films. It described a cultured though impecunious family, and was written with distinction. Miss I. Compton-Burnett's *A Family and a Fortune* (Gollancz) was an intellectual burlesque. In *The Miracle of Brean* (Cassell) Mr. Ernest Raymond gave us a charming novel about a woman who marries late in life. Earl Whitehouse's *Supercargo* (Harrap) described a remarkable voyage from South America to Siberia. Life in a Totalitarian state was the basis of Mr. Norman Macowan's *Glorious Morning* (Hodder & Stoughton), expanded from the play. In *The City of Gold* (Heinemann), by Mr. Francis Brett Young, the children of the principals in *They Seek a Country* experienced varied and exciting adventures in South Africa, related at great length. Mr. Christopher Isherwood's *Goodbye to Berlin* (Hogarth Press) was a casual, humorous picture of German people, whose morals are faintly shocking. Another skilful hand was Mr. L. A. G. Strong's in *The Open Sky* (Gollancz).

The Land of the Leal, by Mr. James Barke (Collins), also depicted peasant farmers, but grimly and with a certain brutality. In contrast to this may be placed the charming picture of Dublin society in Mr. Conal O'Riordan's *Judith Quinn* (Arrowsmith), which vividly portrayed life in the 1870's. Miss Storm Jameson's *Farewell Night: Welcome Day* (Cassell) continued the history of the Hansyke family with the complete sincerity that distinguishes all her books. Mrs. Norah Lofts made character drawing subservient to incident in her rapidly moving story *Blossom Like the Rose* (Gollancz), while Mr. Robert Liddell evoked the freshness of childhood experience, unspoilt by adult sentimentality, in *Kind Relations* (Cape). Still brilliant, and tireless, Mr. H. G. Wells forecast the coming World-State in *The Holy Terror* (Joseph), in which fiction is subordinated to the conception of a "mechanistic Utopia." Mr. Somerset Maugham broke fresh ground in *Christmas Holiday* (Heinemann), where a young man goes to Paris for a week, has an unexpected adventure with a Russian woman and comes home changed. *Judas*, by Eric Linklater (Cape), provided a thoughtful study of the betrayer of Jesus, which comes strangely from this writer. Sir Hugh Walpole's *The Sea Tower* (Macmillan) will satisfy his admirers. Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith's *The Valiant Woman* (Cassell) dealt effectively with the coming of the townsman to the countryside, while Mr. Cecil Roberts described the adventures of a porter and his wife on the Continent in *They Wanted to Live* (Hodder & Stoughton). Wagner and his circle were the subject of Miss Henry Handel Richardson's novel *The Young Cosima* (Heinemann), a thoughtful, painstaking study of great interest. In *The Stronghold* (Dent) Mr. Richard Church continued the story of those improbable Civil servants who appeared in *The Porch*. Mr. John Brophy's *The Ridiculous Hat* (Collins) gave a more convincing study of a Civil servant and his innocent romance. As light entertainment Mr. E. F. Benson offered *Trouble for Lucia* (Hodder & Stoughton),

and Mr. Frank Swinnerton's *The Two Wives* (Hutchinson) was true to life.

Mr. Priestley's *Let the People Sing* (Heinemann), unique, in that parts of it were broadcast before publication, returned to the cheerful vein of *The Good Companions*. Another happy book was Mr. Henry Williamson's *The Children of Shallowford* (Faber). Adventure was admirably represented in Mr. John Masefield's *Live and Kicking Ned* (Heinemann). Sir Philip Gibbs had two novels *This Nettle*, *Danger* and *Broken Pledges* (Hutchinson), both of which told the story of John Barton, and the second book included the invasion of Poland. Mr. John Marquand's *Wickford Point* (Hale) was a brilliant study of an American family, and Mr. William McFee's *Derelicts* (Faber) challenged comparison with Conrad's *Lord Jim*. Mr. Stuart Cloete's *Watch for the Dawn* (Collins) was another tale of South Africa. Mr. Edward Thompson's *John Arnison* (Macmillan) furnished a revealing novel about Edwardian times. In *The Song of the Peasant* (Heinemann) Mr. Robert Young wrote a powerful book about the Spanish War. Much praise was given to Miss Ethel Vance's *Escape* (Collins), an exciting, skilfully constructed story of contemporary Germany. *Night of the Poor* (Chatto & Windus), by Frederic Prokosch, was an uneven piece of work, but had moments of imaginative power. Mr. David Rame's *Wine of Good Hope* (Collins) was a fine, exciting story, and Miss Clemence Dane's *Arrogant History of White Ben* (Heinemann) a strange but entertaining fantasy. Mrs. Angela Thirkell described polite society in a country house in *Before Lunch* (Hamish Hamilton). *Dark Star* (Collins), by March Cost, was distinguished in style but had unconvincing characters. Miss Vicki Baum scored a deserved success with *Nanking Road* (Bles), and Lord Dunsany wrote a typically Irish tale in *The Story of Mona Sheehy* (Heinemann). Mr. Louis Bromfield's *It Takes All Kinds* (Cassell) contained three long novels and six long short stories, distinguished for their strong human interest and snappy dialogue. *Luke's Circus* (Collins), by Ruth Manning-Sanders, was written with evident enjoyment of the ring, and *We Are Shadows* (Butterworth), by Jean Ross, was a novel about stage life that rings true. Miss Ann Bridge's *Four Part Setting* (Chatto) was a well-written novel about China, while Mr. Maurice Collis chose Burma for the background of *Sandra Mala* (Faber).

Novels that were being widely read were *This Porcelain Clay* (Hutchinson), by Miss Naomi Jacob; *Penny World* (Harrap), by Mr. Humphrey Chesterman; *Three Marriages* (Macmillan), by Miss E. M. Delafield; *Rogue Male* (Chatto & Windus), by Mr. Geoffrey Household; *Passport for a Girl* (Heinemann), by Mary Borden; *Mr. Emmanuel* (Rich & Cowan), by Louis Golding; and *Wild Geese Overhead* (Faber), by Neil M. Gunn.

Of first novels the most remarkable was Mr. Richard Llewellyn's * *How Green Was My Valley* (Joseph), a study of Welsh mining folk. Another interesting work was Mr. Desmond Hawkins' *Hawk Among the Sparrows* (Longmans), a frank and amusing tale in which the function of the artist was discussed. Mr. Arthur Pumphrey showed fine powers of description in *Pink Danube* (Seeker), and Mr. Leslie Halward's *Gus and Ida* (Joseph) was an admirable study of humble, conventional marriage.

Among other first novels worthy of commendation were *Swallows*⁹ *Eaves* (Hodder & Stoughton), by R. Cameron Ward ; *Without Comment* (Barker), by Miss Barbara Beauchamp ; *Purposes of Love* (Longmans), by Miss Mary Renault; *Challenge to the Night* (Peter Davies), by Mr. Cecil Lewis. Mr. Xavier Herbert's *Capricornia* (Rich & Cowan) was awarded a prize as part of the Australian 150th Anniversary celebrations and presented a critical study of his country as well as a lively plot. Mr. Robert Henriques won the 3,000Z. International prize with *No Arms, No Armour* (Nicholson & Watson), a thoughtful, brilliant analysis of the mind of a simple soldier.

Among historical novels perhaps the first on the list should be Miss Margaret Irwin's *The Bride* (Chatto & Windus), a scholarly, effective study of Montrose and his betrothal to the daughter of the Queen of Bohemia. Mrs. Naomi Mitchison's *Blood of the Martyrs* (Constable) gave a convincing picture of Nero and the early Christians. In *Not Peace But a Sword* (Collins) Miss Jane Oliver once again turned for a theme to Scottish history of the seventeenth century. American history was represented by Mr. Kenneth Roberts's *Rabble in Arms* (Collins), in which the hero was Benedict Arnold. Mr. Neil Bell contributed *The Abbot's Heel* (Collins), with a setting in the fourteenth century. For history in a most attractive form high praise is due to Mr. Francis Hackett's * *Queen Anne Boleyn* (Nicholson & Watson). Mr. Branch Cabell chose a sixteenth-century Italian state for *The King Was In His Counting House* (Lane). Miss Joan Grant, who gave a realistic picture of life in Ancient Egypt in *Winged Pharaoh*, now created a vivid picture of Italy in the sixteenth century in *Life as Carola* (Methuen). In *Brief Light* (Methuen) Mr. Jack Lindsay portrayed the mind of the poet Catullus, told of his love for "Lesbia," and provided a lively picture of Roman life.

The level of accomplishment in short stories remained high, though the market for them in book form was shrinking. Foremost among the year's yield was Mr. H. E. Bates's * *The Flying Goat* (Cape), distinguished throughout by clarity of perception. Mr. William Saroyan's stories in *The Trouble With Tigers* (Faber) were rich, varied, and happy. Mr. A. E. Coppard showed his usual airy delicacy in *You Never Know, Do You ?* (Methuen), and Miss E. M. Delafield dissected the mind of woman in *Love Has No Resurrection* (Macmillan). In *Sunday Bugles* (Cape) Mr. H. A. Manhood provided a substantial feast of stories grave and gay, while Mr. Noel Coward displayed an easy colloquial style in *To Step Aside* (Heinemann). Mr. C. G. Learoyd found fresh subject-matter in *Physicians*⁹ *Fare* (Arnold), and Mr. H. W. Nevinson wrote twelve fantasies in *Films of Time* (Routledge). From America we had Mr. Ernest Hemingway's omnibus volume, *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories* (Cape), containing one play, some new stories, and three previous volumes of short stories, most of which were starkly brutal with an occasional dash of sentimentality, but his technique is admirable. *O. Henry Encore* (Hodder & Stoughton) contained some of his earliest work. Mr. John O'Hara provided interesting reading in *Hope of Heaven* (Faber), Miss Dorothy Parker's *Here Lies* (Longmans) was extremely good, and John Steinbeck's

The Long Valley (Heinemann) deserved admiration. Miss Dorothy Savers' *In the Teeth of the Evidence* (Gollancz) was up to standard, and Peter Chamberlain's *Our Lives are Swiss* (Hamish Hamilton) showed talent. Mr. Edward O'Brien made a splendid selection of English and American matter in *The Best Short Stories of 1939* (Cape); Miss G. B. Stern contributed *Long Story Short* (Cassell). The long short story was represented by Mr. E. W. H. Meyerstein's *Four People* (Seeker) and *The Barly Fields* (Constable) by Robert Nathan.

This year's list of translations was extremely interesting. First in importance was Roger Martin du Gard's * *The Thibaults* (John Lane), which was awarded the Nobel Prize. A fine display of emotional sensibility marked Rene Behaine's *The Conquest of Life* (Allen & Unwin), which described the anguish of parted lovers. Georges Duhamel wrote a very charming book about the minds of young children in *Days of Delight* (Dakers). Mr. Jules Romania* *Verdun* (Peter Davies) contained two more books of *Men of Good Will*.

From Scandinavia we received a collection of essays by Sigrid Undset, *Men, Women, and Places* (Cassell), showing the Catholic point of view, enlarged by sympathy and human understanding. Holland was represented by Jo Van Ammers-Kuller's *The House of Tavelinch* (Cape), the story of a burgomaster's family told at great length, but full of colour. German emigrant literature included a work of extraordinary power, Stefan Zweig's *Beware of Pity* (Cassell), and Hans Habe's book, *Three Over the Frontier* (Harrap), showed the heterogeneity of the German Jews in exile. The attitude of the Jew towards his race was emphasised in Robert Neumann's *By the Waters of Babylon* (Dent), a story of suffering and exile. Sholem Asch in *The Nazarene* (Routledge) retold with flashing insight the familiar story of Jesus from the point of view of three eye-witnesses.

Czechoslovakia contributed Karel Capek's last novel, *The First Rescue Party* (Allen & Unwin), an eloquent tribute to the courage of humble folk and the expression of the writer's faith in human values. Mr. Georg Kaiser's novel *A Villa in Sicily* (Dakers) told the story of a man's punishment.

Of the above books the following have been chosen for special notice ; they are given in the order in which they appear in the General Survey :—

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Behold this Dreamer!, by Walter de la Mare (Faber).—No anthology could be more welcome in these distressful times, for " all that relates in life to broad daylight, to what we call actuality, to the wholly wide-awake, is outside its aim." So writes Mr. de la Mare in a charming preface of a hundred pages and more devoted to the dreaming mind and the Unconscious. He affirms that he has spent a far more active and adventurous life in sleep than when awake. His dreams are of exceptional interest, but he does not seek to explain or interpret them. He is no

pyscho-analyst, but a poet, and poetry is often the distillation of dreams. The anthology is garnered from a wide field, and contains much that is not specifically connected with sleep. There are sections, for example, on Day-dreaming, Apparition, Hallucination, The Drowsy Approaches, The Bourne, Reason and Imagination, The Artist, and Bed itself. In effect this is a magnificent collection of lyric poetry, skilfully arrayed, and amplified with passages of prose by way of illumination. It is curious, however, that in ransacking the ages for his material, the anthologist has ignored the Eastern mystics who have so thoroughly explored the dreaming state. That is an omission which can be excused no doubt in view of the vastness of the subject. What we have before us is a rich and varied panorama of verse and prose, classified in such a way as to give new significance to what may be already familiar, and to embrace unexpected evidence from scientists and philosophers concerning the dreaming mind. It is a rare and lovely book, providing an escape from a world that is too much with us, and suggesting that after all the dream life may be the link with ultimate truth.

In Good King Charles's Golden Days, by Bernard Shaw (Constable).—Mr. Shaw calls this play a "history lesson." It is a picture of seventeenth-century life as revealed by an odd collection of representative people who gather quite arbitrarily in Isaac Newton's house at Cambridge. Here they are—Charles II (who calls himself Mr. Rowley), George Fox the Quaker, Nell Gwynn, the Duchess of Cleveland, the Duchess of Portsmouth, James Duke of York, and Godfrey Kneller. There is also Isaac Newton's housekeeper, Mrs. Basham, who rules him in the true Shavian manner. The men talk endlessly about science, kingship, religion, and painting, while the ladies intersperse the conversation with displays of jealousy and feline malice. It is amusing and provocative talk, and reveals Mr. Bernard Shaw in a more gracious mood than usual. His wit is here, his love of reason still unabated, but there is less cynicism than we are accustomed to. Indeed, he almost shows humaneness at times. Of action there is none; the piece is only a drama in so far as the opinions expressed by each character re-act on the others and modify their views. There are two acts. The first occupies five-sixths of the play, the second is a short scene in the boudoir of Catherine of Braganza at Newmarket, where Charles and his queen appear as a happily married couple despite his admitted unfaithfulness. The facts of history are not strictly adhered to, but the spirit of the times lives in these pages, and the characters are strongly realised. There is no falling off of the dramatist's vigour, only a pleasing tolerance is remarkable. Mr. Shaw writes no preface to this play, but the book is enlivened with curious illustrations by Feliks Topolski.

The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. XII.—The Imperial Crisis and Recovery, A.D. 193-324 (Cambridge University Press).—The publication of this volume is important not merely as the completion of the Cambridge Ancient History, but also as marking the successful conclusion of an enterprise which occupies a place of honour as well in the annals of British scholarship as in those of British publishing. The fourteen volumes

of the Cambridge Modern History took eight years to appear (1902-10). They were followed by the Cambridge Medieval History in eight volumes (1911-36), and now we are able to record the publication of the twelfth volume of the Cambridge Ancient History (1923-39). The book was unquestionably a landmark in the literary output of the year. To say that it follows the plan and maintains the standard of the previous volumes in this series is to give it the high praise it deserves. The century and a quarter which is surveyed in these pages was full of interesting events, shaped by great figures and marked by movements which were destined in some degree to make their influence felt down to this day. It was the age of Diocletian and Constantine, but it also threw up the Emperor Elagabalus. Needless to add, the reader will find an adequate picture of these three characters as of many others who have a claim, good or evil, to fame. It was an age when Christianity reached the goal of official recognition ; many readers will find food for thought in the late Professor Burkitt's two chapters on the Church. Equally absorbing is the section which reviews pagan thought in the Empire. One cannot help reflecting that the devotees of paganism, in whom the tradition was rooted by reason of faith, habit, and upbringing, must have taken an attitude towards the new Creed much the same as that which confirmed Conservatives of to-day take towards Socialist philosophy. But Christianity did not triumph without suffering ; the story of the persecutions under Diocletian and his predecessors is told in these pages with great skill and interest, and it is made apparent that the persecutions were political rather than religious in character. Readers will also find in this volume the origins of the theory of monarchical rule by Divine right, and more than one illustration of how Dictatorships established themselves. But tyranny is generally a costly method of government, as is shown in the economic history of the Roman Empire during the third century, which is written by a competent hand. It would seem that Capitalism is no modern phenomenon, and that in the hey-day of the Empire men made fortunes not only by hard work, but also by hazardous speculations. Lastly, the Barbarians were already at the gate, and the reader will find much useful information about the peoples of Germany and Illyria, of China and the Asiatic Steppes. Each of the eleven predecessors of the present volume was not only a source of interest concerning the period it surveyed, but also had a message for our own times, and the twelfth is no exception.

The Grand Whiggery, by Marjorie Villiers (Murray).—Of the four or five distinguished books on the Regency period that have recently been issued, this is the most enlightening and substantial. It deals with a brilliant set of people whose liberal ideas of progress and social freedom were startling in that age. The appeal of this *coterie* rests as much on the talents and wit of its women as on its men—famous though they were. At no time have women exercised more influence in politics, and it is true to say that the drawing-rooms of Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire and her sister Lady Bessborough were as important as Parliament itself. Fox, Burke, Sheridan, the Prince Regent, bustle from Devonshire House to Whitehall when far-reaching Parliamentary reforms were in progress, when

the French Revolution was running its course, and later when Napoleon was striking terror throughout Europe. The effect of these events is shown in letters and memoirs of the time, and it is from these that we realise the power exercised by the great Whig families. In spite of their complicated loves and hates, and their lax views about marriage, they observed the decencies in public, and set a higher standard of virtue for their children than they themselves attained. It is a fascinating book, because the age it mirrors produced such vital people, such enthusiasms, such a diversity of talent. That the Spencer sisters should have personally canvassed the voters of Westminster in support of Fox is only one example of the initiative and drive of these Whig ladies, but it is typical of the Devonshire House set. Mrs. Villiers has written a delightful book, the fruit of great research, no doubt, but her vivacious style makes it easy to read and inspires one to get hold of those admirable letters and diaries from which so much of her information is drawn.

A Study Of History, vols. 4, 5, and 6, by Arnold J. Toynbee (Oxford University Press).—For depth of learning, for soundness of judgment and for attractiveness of style Professor Toynbee's three volumes must be given pride of place among the distinguished publications of the year 1939. The first three appeared in 1934, the second three are of the same quality. In the former Professor Toynbee examined the problem of the rise and growth of civilisations ; in the latter he turns his attention to their decline and fall. His technique is the same in both cases. Why do civilisations break down ? How does the breakdown manifest itself ? In answering these questions Professor Toynbee takes a wide sweep of history, surveying illustrations from the story of Greece, Rome, Judea, Egypt, China, Japan, India ; and always he draws a moral from the past to adorn the tale of the present. Scarcely any problem of history, whether ancient or modern, but Professor Toynbee will be found a reliable guide upon it, whether it be the power of the Papacy, the role of Venice, the theory of Marxism, or the ideals of the Nazi movement. One of his most fascinating sections is that which considers some of the elements in the story of Jesus which are also found in that of other saviours. Here as throughout the three volumes the reader will be astounded and delighted by the wide erudition of the author, by his charm of style, and by his admirable skill in the art of quotation, bearing witness as it does to a close acquaintance with the literature of many languages. The quotations are a joy in themselves. And what shall be said of the extensive notes ! It is certain that the experience of at any rate one reader who found them stimulating in the extreme will not be singular. They are worthy of a work which may justly be characterised as great, a work which is in the tradition of British scholarship at its best.

Edmund Burke, by Sir Philip Magnus (Murray).—In 1759 Edmund Burke established the ANNUAL REGISTER, and he remained editor for thirty-two years. It is meet, therefore, that when in 1939 a new life of Burke was published, the ANNUAL REGISTER for that year should draw special attention to the volume. But apart from this consideration, Sir Philip Magnus, following in the third generation in the literary tradition of his family,

lias produced a full-length portrait of Burke which will give pleasure to those who examine it and of which the subject would most certainly have approved. It is comprehensive and adequate, not glossing over the faults nor omitting to stress the permanent contributions to thought made by his hero. Of Burke the politician one need say no more than that he was an outstanding example of the eighteenth-century type—pushing in the crowd, willing to take what awards were available not only for himself but also for his needy relatives, and ready to seize upon anything that might be useful as party capital. To Burke the man Sir Philip is eminently fair, extolling his innate humanity, his interest in the under-dog, his passion for a square deal for all and sundry, his personal charm, and his fine qualities as husband and father. But it is to Burke the writer that Sir Philip is most attracted, as who that delights in the grandeur of English prose is not? When Burke the politician and Burke the man are long forgotten, the fame of Burke the writer will still remain. Even those who cannot accept all the arguments in the *Reflections on the French Revolution* must admire the form in which they are clothed, and some of the more famous passages, as for instance that in which he deplores the passing of the age of chivalry (which Sir Philip quotes in full) will be acclaimed among the classical gems of English prose. That is one aspect of Burke which Sir Philip brings into the foreground; the other is that Burke was the father of modern enlightened Conservative thought.

Moses and Monotheism, by Sigmund Freud (Hogarth Press).—Any book by a writer whose fame is established as one of the great original thinkers of his age must necessarily command attention. Professor Freud's last work is in this category, and whatever the final judgment upon it may be, certain it is that it is thought-provoking. The world-renowned psychologist advances a novel, not to say revolutionary, theory that Jewish Monotheism is of Egyptian origin; that Moses himself was an Egyptian who rescued the monotheistic religion of Ikhnaton, the Pharaoh who was husband of Nefertiti, after the reaction which followed that monarch's death; that the Israelites upon whom Moses had imposed his religion rose against him and the new faith and killed him; and that eventually a second Moses re-established Monotheism among the Jews. All this is hypothetical and Freud admits as much, implying that perhaps the hypothesis may be the key to the problem. That problem for Freud is to account for the rise of Monotheism among the Jews. But why, it may be asked, go to Egypt and Ikhnaton? Why not trace this religious outlook to some inherent Jewish characteristics or to the environment in which the Jewish people lived? Freud goes further and asks himself why Monotheism holds such sway over the human mind. The answer to this question he finds by psycho-analytical methods in the theory of the father slain and eaten by his rebellious sons, who felt sorry ever after. The slaying of Moses and later of Jesus are brought into some mystic relationship with the theory which Paul, perhaps sub-consciously, recognised, and, according to Freud, it was Paul who freed mankind from the sense of guilt arising from the Father-murder by introducing "the tenet of the somewhat shadowy conception of Original Sin." It is all very fascinating,

and Freud's book will arouse interest in all thinking readers. But the majority will feel, what Freud himself records, that perhaps after all " we have scarcely achieved more than a probability."

Union Now, by Clarence K. Streit (Jonathan Cape).—If there is one thing which commands general consent it is that the present times are out of joint. There is much hatred in the world ; in large territories men have lost their liberty ; economic relationships are mal-adjusted ; there is too much suffering and too much despair. War holds us in thrall. Some turn away from it all in utter despondency. Not so Mr. Streit. He sees the evils and desires to show a better road away from them and towards the greater happiness of mankind. What is his remedy ? That we should free ourselves from our national prejudices, cultivate the wider view beyond the interests of sovereign states to the well-being of humanity and join forces at once in a union of democracies. This is not a problem for our grandchildren Mr. Streit avers ; it is one for us of this generation. For such a union Mr. Streit sees fifteen countries ripe—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, the Netherlands, Belgium, Australia, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Norway, the Union of South Africa, and New Zealand. Let these join in a Federal Union immediately. Let them enjoy a common citizenship, a common currency, a common defence force, a postal union, and a customs-free economy. Mr. Streit's book is characterised by the living conviction of a prophet. If ever an author wrote not only with his pen but also with his heart and soul and might, Mr. Streit has done so. He is encouraged in the belief that his plan is feasible by the example of the fusion or union of the thirteen American States into one political entity. What was possible in 1789 in America should not be impossible in 1939 in Europe. Difficulties ? Of course Mr. Streit sees the difficulties, but he is convinced that they can be overcome. In the course of his study he considers some of them, including the failure of the League of Nations. By providing a programme which appeals to many thinking people, Mr. Streit has not only produced a best-seller, but the suggestions contained in it actually led to the foundation of an organisation known as " Federal Union," with the object of putting into practice the ideas propounded in the book.

The Fate of Homo Sapiens, by H. G. Wells (Seeker & Warburg).—In his *Outlines of History* Mr. Wells surveyed human development in the past ; in his *Fate of Homo Sapiens* he closely examines present-day civilisation, and he is struck by three salient facts. Mechanical inventions, instead of being man's servants, have become his master ; instead of being instruments for the increase of man's happiness, they have become weapons for his destruction. In the second place, though material progress has made stupendous strides, man's intellectual growth has not kept pace with that forward movement. Mr. Wells passes in review some of the dominant ways of thought which have influenced and still influence man's outlook—Christianity and Judaism, Marxian Socialism and Fascism, the thought of the New World, China, Japan, and Russia. In one way or another he finds fault with each. They hamper freedom in thinking by reason of ancient or modern inhibitions. There is thus a too great disparity between

what may perhaps be called progress in soul-growth and advancement in the physical sciences. The third fact which Mr. Wells observes is the excess everywhere of "bored and unemployed young men" who do not seem able to find work to do in Society as it is organised to-day. They therefore tend to become a source of unrest, disillusionment, and frustration. All this is considered in Mr. Wells's vigorous prose, and the clarity of his style matches the forcefulness of his thought. After having diagnosed what he terms "these present-day realities/' whajj is his remedy? He warns the generation of to-day that unless it wakes up to a proper appreciation of the situation in the world, it may sink back into a horrible barbarism. Accordingly he pleads for the "re-education of our species," which means that man must cultivate his reason, must think scientifically, must become the Perfect Rationalist. "The scientific vision of the Universe and no other has to be his vision of the Universe": such is the conclusion of a book which must be reckoned as one of the outstanding literary productions of the year 1939.

North Cape, by F. D. Ommanney (Longmans, Green & Co.).—One day a man signed on to join a trawler on its trip to Iceland. Out of this simple fact Mr. Ommanney's book grew, and it says much for his skill as a literary artist that by the time we have finished reading the volume we know the crew as though they were old friends—the skipper, the engineer, the cook, and the "deckies." We see them not only at their work, but Mr. Ommanney enables us to become acquainted with their hopes and dreams, to learn of what human material they are made, and so to realise that with such as these trawlers are manned who brave the seas in face of an unscrupulous enemy. They may be rough in manner and foul in speech, but Mr. Ommanney succeeds in bringing out their humanity. He also provides a first-hand account of a specialised economic activity which plays no small part in providing food for the inhabitants of these islands. Incidentally the author paints a picture of Grimsby and Blyth, the latter a "special area," and engages in some wise reflexions on human life in Blyth or in Seydisfjörður, a little town on the east coast of Iceland. It must have been a poignant experience that Mr. Ommanney underwent on this voyage. He reproduces it skilfully for the reader of his book, and he also adds twenty illustrations which are calculated to enhance the value of his story.

Oriental Assembly, by T. E. Lawrence (Williams & Norgate).—All the hitherto uncollected writings by Lawrence about the East are to be found in this volume. The first section is a diary of a month's journey on foot in Northern Syria in the summer of 1911. His purpose was to study and photograph Crusaders' castles and to collect antiquities for the Oxford museum. It was rough going, food was peculiar, and he was frequently ill. The two outstanding features of the diary are his physical endurance and the welcome he invariably received in the villages. The diary is illustrated with photographs and a map of the route. In the next part, "The Changing East," Lawrence shows how Asia has in thirty years seen changes that in the West took several centuries to come about, and that the disturbance and unrest in the East are due to an attempt to

" digest Europe." The ideas of self-determination and fierce nationalism in place of State religion have led to turmoil and wars. The third section, " The Evolution of a Revolt," describes Lawrence's part in the Arab revolt against the Turks in 1916, and is a most interesting account of unconventional warfare. Next follows the suppressed introductory chapter for *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, suppressed because his views were not complimentary to the British Government. The last printed matter is a preface to a catalogue of an exhibition of Arab portraits by Eric Kennington illustrating *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. Lawrence tells how the artist went out alone to a great Arab camp and made sketches of sheikhs, donkey-boys, camel-men, peasants, and princes of the desert. The second part of the book consists of more than a hundred photographs taken by Lawrence during the revolt in the desert. They form a pictorial record of events and places later to be described in *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, and constitute a valuable supplement to that book, besides being of great geographical interest in themselves. The volume is edited and annotated by the author's brother, Mr. A. W. Lawrence.

FICTION.

Finnegans Wake, by James Joyce (Faber & Faber).—*Ulysses* was an experiment; *Finnegans Wake* is its continuation and consolidation. Bloom and Daedalus were hard enough to understand but theirs were the conscious thoughts of daytime. Finnegan is still harder, for he reveals the unconscious part of his mind at night-time. No one except the author can honestly say in detail what the book is about. Broadly speaking, it is an essay in the mental, analytical method of free association which, in its simpler terms, is the old parlour game of " reminders " (this reminds me of that, which reminds me of that, etc.). Mr. Joyce is a genius at this, carrying it *ad absurdum* and *ad infinitum*. He ranges from such obscurities as Welsh poetry to popular jokes and advertisements. He changes with bewildering suddenness from description to narrative, and from narrative to reflexion. One section is a parody of a manuscript with full annotations. The reader's difficulties are increased by the author's use of his own special language. It is, as it were, a looking-glass language, distorted, fantastic. To take a single example :

Guld modning, have yous viewsed Piers' aube ? Thane yaars agon we have used yoors up since when we have fused now orther.

That this is the famous soap advertisement of several years ago becomes quickly obvious if it is read slowly and aloud. And this is the best, and perhaps the only way to appreciate Finnegan—the whole six hundred pages. Read aloud, sections which appear gibberish become sense. To the question, " Is it worth while ? " one must reply with another question, " Is any experiment worth while ? " Like his counterpart in painting, the Surrealist, Mr. Joyce is an experimenter. It is easy to pour scorn and ridicule on him, but one cannot ignore him. Beyond doubt, he is sincere. No man would devote sixteen years to writing a book of insincerities. It may be argued that his characters seem too often concerned only with the

sordid and low side of life, but perhaps the author expresses his own views when he writes of one of his characters, " he had to see life foully." He is proud of his break with convention ; those who want something more traditional must find it in " Those crylove fables fans who are keen on the pretty-pretty, common-face sort of thing you meet by hopeharrods." Perhaps the final word to be said about *Finnegan* is that it is a book about which the reader must form his own judgment.

The Wild Palms, by William Faulkner (Chatto & Windus).—Herein are two parallel stories, told in alternate chapters, which bear no relation to one another, except that each is dominated by the motive of inescapable fate. The first tale, from which the book takes its name, concerns two people for whom physical passion becomes the ultimate reality. The man has nearly completed his medical training ; the woman has a husband and two children. They meet at a party, and go away together. The young doctor sacrifices his career to the woman's encompassing desire, and tragedy overtakes them. The second story describes the adventures of a convict during the Mississippi floods of 1927. Sent with a gang to stem the ravages of the deluge, he is carried away by the current, alone in a small boat, that comes to rest under a tree in which a woman has taken refuge. She attaches herself to him, and together they suffer unspeakable hardships for seven weeks. Hating his bondage to the woman from whom there seems no release, he surrenders to authority and gladly goes back to an extended term of imprisonment. Mr. Faulkner's narrative power is beyond question, and unique. One might condemn his style for its exaggeration, want of lucidity, continual and protracted parentheses, even for its disregard of grammar. Yet these singularities fade before the headlong compulsion of the story. Every page is aflame with conviction, whether he is describing the misery and desolation of the chained convicts on a train journey, or the wild waste of waters, or the utter loneliness of the doctor when he realises that he has killed his lover. This book is full of pain that the reader must endure ; but having endured it, he will experience a sense of purgation, and recognise that he has been in contact with a mind of exceptional quality.

After Many a Summer, by Aldous Huxley (Chatto & Windus).—Here is a rich, strange and thought-provoking novel, based on the theme that God is not mocked. The central figure is a Californian millionaire, Mr. Stoyte, who is terrified of death, and wishes to extend his span of life. In his fantastic mediaeval castle he employs a doctor and research student to inquire into the cause of senile decay. He also keeps a young, pretty, and disturbing lady. Having bought the Hauberk papers from an impoverished nobleman's family, he invites an English dilettante to catalogue them, and the remarkable discovery is made that the Fifth Earl, 200 years ago, found a secret for prolonging life. At length the Americans come to England, and see the appalling result of the Earl's experiment—for he is still alive. The book starts with a light-hearted, satiric picture of life in the castle, but the undercurrent of horror grows stronger and stronger until the story takes on the aspect of a nightmare. Living in a bungalow at the millionaire's gates is a philosopher, Mr. Propter, who is the

mouthpiece of Mr. Huxley's own views on time and eternity, freedom of spirit, and the nature of reality. The pattern of the book lends itself to discussion of ultimate truths, though the characters are unpleasant, with the exception of Mr. Propter and young Pete, who dies accidentally at the hand of Mr. Stoyte. Many readers will find the subject-matter of this novel distasteful and resent its cynical attitude towards humanity at large. It often makes painful reading in spite of its witty characterisation, but when one has laughed at the extravagance, admired the encyclopaedic knowledge displayed, and shivered with horror at the climax, the impression remains that Mr. Huxley has written a deeply serious book and postulated ideas of immense value to those who are not afraid to think.

The Shepherd's Farm, by Adrian Bell (Cobden Sanderson).—If ever there was a novel to make one forget the civilised barbarities of modern war, here it is. Mr. Bell's reputation for accurate portrayal of country life and pursuits is firmly established. He writes of what he knows, without emphasis, but with the sincerity of those who live close to the soil. This is the simple story of a shepherd, Luke Pargetter, who aimed at possessing a farm of his own, worked hard to achieve his object, prospered, married a wife in complete sympathy with him, acquired another farm, which he handed over to his son, who failed, and ruined them both. In the end Luke becomes once more a shepherd. Within this framework we watch the march of the seasons, see the stock increase on the farm, realise the unending toil of the farmer's life, share the deep-rooted satisfaction of harvest time. The sturdy characters of Luke and Miriam dominate the scene, but in the background are their friends and neighbours, thatchers, hurdle-makers, cowmen, game-keepers. Market days were their only excitement. Yet things were happening all the time, and the book calls up a number of vivid intimate pictures of their peaceful lives. Not the least memorable character is the dumb boy Dido who becomes an integral part of Luke's household. Of romance there is little. Luke's wooing of Miriam took the form of a long talk about his family and himself, and at the end of it, he and Miriam were in such accord that their marriage became an unspoken necessity. In his convincing portraits of country people Mr. Bell shows some kinship with Thomas Hardy, though he escapes Hardy's pessimism. If we judge *The Shepherd's Farm* by the eternal standards of truth and beauty, it is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Bell has written a work of art.

The Grapes Of Wrath, by John Steinbeck (Heinemann).—This is the story of a mass migration of tenant farmers whose land was bought up by banks and finance companies and worked by tractor. Dispossessed and adrift, thousands of families made their way to California to seek work picking fruit and cotton. The Joad family, whose fortunes we follow, are typical of the rest. They buy an ancient truck, pack the barest necessities into it, and set forth over the desert and mountains to the Promised Land, to find it only a mirage and deceit. On this desperate journey food and money dwindle, the grandparents die, several of the young menfolk desert, a child is born dead, the ex-Preacher who goes with them is killed. In spite of Mrs. Joad's valiant attempt to keep the family together, only half

of it is intact when the story closes. "Ma" is the heroine of the book. She has the wisdom of the ages and imperishable courage. Her character alone would make the book unforgettable. But she is typical of many of the emigrants, whose life is described with pity, humour, and indignation. This is not a story for the complacent nor the squeamish. These people who were born on the soil are reduced by circumstance to the lowest possible level of existence. Their needs are as primitive as those of animals, and there is no escaping them. They speak frankly of elemental necessities, of ugly facts of life, yet they retain a feeling for the beauty of the earth to which they belong. The Joad family lives in these pages, rich and varied in temperament, but united in their angry resolve to find a decent way of life. Whether they succeed we are not told. The book stops rather than ends, with Ma, as usual, trying to "rigger somepin out." If, as it is claimed, Mr. Steinbeck speaks for the vast population of America, that he has expressed the soul of a nation, he has lighted a candle that cannot go out. *

My American, by Stella Gibbons (Longmans).—In this book Miss Gibbons has struck out in a fresh direction, and her going is exceedingly well done. Her new book has the Cinderella theme which finds its echo in every woman's heart, particularly in these dull days, the old but ever young story of the poor girl who marries her prince. The book is divided into two distinct parts. The country in which each takes place is different, so are the characters, and so, too, it must be admitted, is the quality of the work. Miss Gibbons knows and loves her England and her English. Every character is etched in clear lines, and the sounds and smells of England are alive in our ears and our nostrils. She sees beauty in English trees and scenes and evenings, and in her men and women too. The American part is different and less convincing. To those of us who do not know the States the scenes and characters in *My American* are very reminiscent of Hollywood. It may be that American films are more true to life than one had thought, or else that Miss Gibbons herself has never been to America, and has taken her knowledge of that country from the same source as ourselves. However that may be, the English characters live before us, natural and vivid, Dora, Mona and the babies, Mrs. Beeding, Old Porty, and even the unseen Edie. The American crowd on the other hand are undistinguishable the one from the other, drawn in the flat and painted in with the crude, harsh colours to which the film world has accustomed us. Bootleggers, motor crashes, faked trials, all follow each other as if off a reel, and one can only hope that Amy, who, from the beginning we have loved, will find happiness with the boy that she met and loved on a far off lovely day in the gardens of Ken Wood when they were both children.

Flight from a Lady, by A. G. Macdonell (Macmillan).—Many years ago a very successful play was produced at the Haymarket called "This Woman Business." In it five misogynists of varying ages took refuge in an isolated country house and discoursed at length on the frailty that is woman, whereat each male in the audience clapped as long and loudly as he dared. Then in the last act Woman entered, eternal, triumphal,

and every little glove in the stalls split its side with laughter. Mr. Benn Levy and Mr. A. G. Macdonell have the same knowledge of human nature, and in his novel *Flight from a Lady* the latter has brought the old story up to date. No moated grange suits the hero of this story but a K.L.M. aeroplane, and off he flies in it, spitting fire and curses at the lady of his affections, till a cable brings him down like a shot pigeon. It is not, however, as a novel that this book is delightful, but as a travel book—witty, brilliant, and up-to-date; and as the anonymous lover flies over many lands he lets fall sheaves of wisecracks, anecdotes, and political gibes. First there is Amsterdam and how good is his "patchwork quilt" simile for tulip time in Holland and France which he knows and loves, with particular reference to Provence, the Marseillaise, and Chateau Neuf du Pape. Perhaps he is not fair to Italy for her history began long before Caporetto and the Duce (and was it not Murat and not King Bomba who cried "F . . . les en rouge, f . . . les en bleu, etc."?). Farther and farther east we fly with our delightful traveller. Greece lives for us in beauty, and with anecdotes old and new, Egypt and then Lydda with St. George and Ccsur de Lion. India follows with its heat and dust, and the British Raj and an evening of loveliness at Rangoon. It does not matter that the journey is cut short by the sudden cable. We have travelled enough to know that Mr. Macdonell is a delightful companion, and that on dull evenings when a Wanderlust seizes us, we can defy Hitler and the passport office and journey to unknown lands with his wit and his eloquence to keep us company.

How Green was My Valley, by Richard Llewellyn (Michael Joseph).—In this his first novel, Mr. Richard Llewellyn has achieved instant fame. His subject is the childhood and adolescence of the son of a Welsh miner, born in one of the mining valleys in South Wales some sixty years ago. Labour conditions were not regularised in those days, and the Trade Union movement was still in its infancy. The Morgan family was, in fact, at odds with itself as to the value of Trade Unions at all. For before the coming of oil power, unemployment in the collieries was rare, and it was a prosperous if vigorous form of life into which young Huw was born. For all the obvious realism of its detail, there is nothing dull or documentary about this story. The scenes recaptured from the past remain just as a child would have experienced them—not laboured in the telling as in the Proustian mode, but springing fresh from the heart, and made vivid by a style which is at once quaint and limpid. Huw's intimate history with all its ups and downs, its rebuffs and successes, melts into a complex background of family and social life. Mr. and Mrs. Morgan, the numerous brothers and sisters all markedly individual, Mr. Gruffydd the robust but saintly minister, the rascals of the village and of the neighbouring countryside, all have their being as in a many-coloured tapestry. There is much beauty in the peasant life thus presented, but over it all hangs the menace of smoke and grime, and the triumph of the machine, so that the very title of the book sounds like a lament. Essentially, however, this novel is a monument not of despair but of courage. The Christian fortitude and gaiety of the Morgans dominate every trial—even the horrors of the great

strike which makes a powerful climax to the story. The romance of the ordinary pleasures of existence is a recurrent theme, and the peculiar intensity of affection with which inanimate objects are described will remind the fascinated reader of Dutch painting.

Queen Anne Boleyn, by Francis Hackett (Nicholson & Watson).—The test of a good historical novel is the writer's capacity for making the past come to life, since the main facts are already familiar. Mr. Hackett has entirely succeeded. Research and imaginative sympathy have enabled him to make the court of Henry VIII and conditions in Tudor England as real as our own times, and each character he draws is alive, sentient, and individual. The portraits of the King, Wolsey, Thomas Cromwell, Queen Catherine, Anne Boleyn, and Thomas Wyatt are admirable in every detail. Their motives raise no doubts, and the clash of temperaments leads naturally to disaster. If Anne Boleyn's love for Thomas Wyatt had not been the sport of circumstance, the whole history of England might have been changed. Frustrated, she becomes ambitious, brings about the fall of Wolsey, the divorce of Catherine, the break with Rome. In this novel she is not the minx of our previous conceptions, but a faithful wife who failed to produce the heir that Henry so fervently desired, and whose death was wholly unjustified. That Henry should have waited so many years to marry Anne, and then have listened to the tales of her enemies seems inexplicable. Thus the King appears a monster, yet all the same, credible. Laying down the book, one cannot withhold gratitude to Mr. Hackett for having so vividly presented a period of history when momentous events took place, for enlarging one's outlook, and above all, for providing a fresh, absorbing narrative.

The Flying Goat, by H. E. Bates (Jonathan Cape).—Clarity of perception is the prevailing characteristic of Mr. Bates's work, whether in the novel or short story. It is as though he used a telescope to bring his subject right up to the eye of the reader. The content of this volume is poignant and melancholy, with two exceptions. "The Flying Goat" is a fantastic story about a man who prayed that God would send him a kid that could fly, and the miracle happened. "A Funny Thing" is a light-hearted tale of Uncle Silas. In "I Am Not Myself" we have a strange story of insanity in a young girl, and the reader is vividly conscious of the peculiar atmosphere she creates in the house, sympathises with the tenderness the visitor feels for her and experiences his necessity for flight. "The Ox" is a tragic study of a hard-working peasant woman, who saves for her two young sons, but her oafish husband steals the money, commits a murder, and leaves her bereft even of her children. The discrepancy between a man's public and private life is not a new theme, but it is admirably treated in "The Late Public Figure," where Mr. Bates's sharp observance of human eccentricities is particularly evidenced. "The White Pony" describes a little boy's delight in his pet and the impression left on his mind when it died. There is irony in the short sketch "Perhaps We Shall Meet Again," a chance encounter between a starving young woman and an overfed rich one who pines to be slim. One of the most memorable stories is the deeply pathetic "The Ship," in which a sailor

brings home a coloured bride from the South Seas. Each story has its own mood, its own particular radiance. Common to them all is a deeper and wider interest in humanity than the author has hitherto revealed.

The Thibaults, by Roger Martin du Gard (John Lane).—This is a picture on the grand scale of prosperous bourgeois France from the beginning of the century till just before the war of 1914. In the foreground are the figures of Oscar Thibault and his sons Antoine and Jacques. The background is filled in with people in many walks of life whose existence influences the Thibaults in varying degrees. Dominating the whole is the patriarchal Oscar, given over to social service, greedy for honours, respected in public life, but so tyrannical at home that Jacques, a boy of thirteen, runs away, and ironically is brought back and sent to the Oscar Thibault Foundation for moral delinquents. Antoine is a young doctor, forceful as his father, but lacking his fervour for morality. It is the rebellious, sensitive Jacques with his unruly passions who gives unity to this long book. He suffers and makes others suffer. Indeed he draws forth all our sympathy. Oscar has his public work to interest him, Antoine his patients, but Jacques seems to have no roots. The host of minor characters have their perplexities too, and these are presented with intense realism. At no point does the author's power of creating vital people fail, nor does he ever lose his sense of proportion. Each part of the book is a whole in itself, though subordinated to the main story. The flavour is, of course, entirely French. Antoine's love affair with the exotic Rachel is quite unlike anything in English fiction, and the minute descriptions of Oscar's fatal illness might offend a fastidious reader. But Mr. du Gard is a realist above everything else, and it is his very love of the truth which gives power and distinction to his work. It is not surprising that *The Thibaults* won for him the proud distinction of the Nobel Prize. A word of praise is due to Mr. Stuart Gilbert for his admirable translation.

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

THE winter exhibition of the Royal Academy, which opened on January 6, was composed of works by deceased Scottish artists, and covered the period from 1587, when the little-known George Jameson was born in Aberdeen, down to those of Allan Ramsay, Raeburn, Wilkie, and of many men of more modern times and high reputation, whose names are as familiar in London as in their native country. An earlier Scottish painter was also represented, in the person of Michael Wright, whose portrait of the "Highland Chief" showed him wearing the earliest known version of the kilt. Wright was probably one of the most successful of the few Scottish artists who worked in London in the seventeenth century, where he obtained many important commissions, including the portraits of the twelve Judges now at the Guildhall; and several others for Charles the Second. There were other portraits of this period in the exhibition, and an entire room was devoted to the work of Allan Ramsay, whose natural talents exceeded those of any of the earlier Scottish artists. But they were to some extent wasted by his anxiety to shine in other fields than those of painting, particularly the study of ancient Italian architecture, and not improved by his appointment as Royal painter to George the Third, in the execution of which he engaged assistance. A separate room was given to his works by the Royal Academy; and a much larger one to the portraits by Sir Henry Raeburn, the first President of the Royal Scottish Academy. This fine collection was the most impressive feature of the exhibition, and remarkable as the work of an artist whose early training had been of the slightest. Wilkie's pictures did not show to advantage in the exhibition, and the state of what was once regarded as his most famous work is now appalling. This, the "Chelsea Pensioners reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo," was painted for the Duke of Wellington, and attracted great attention when it was shown at the Royal Academy, a few years after Napoleon's defeat. It was then, of course, in perfect condition, but Wilkie used asphaltum in the painting of what was once one of the finest of his pictures, and with deplorable result. It retained its good condition for many years, for Richard Redgrave, R.A., writing in his "Century of Painters" in 1890, says of this picture, "it is delightful to find it uncracked and sound." The picture's present appearance is appalling.

Among many good things the portraits by Raeburn demand the highest praise. They were very numerous and were given a gallery to themselves, an honour they well deserved. Most were of life size, but among them was

the earliest work by the artist, a miniature of his friend and first teacher, David Deuchar. The portraits were all excellent, and most of them look as if the artist had painted them easily—as was probably the case. Among them was the striking portrait of himself which Raeburn presented to the Royal Academy when he was elected to membership in 1815. It was returned to him because the laws of the institution do not permit the acceptance of a self portrait, and he sent instead his well-known "Boy and Rabbit." The self portrait is now in the Scottish National Gallery at Edinburgh.

The fortieth exhibition of the Pastel Society, held at the Royal Institute Galleries in the spring, was above the average in quality, and included capital works by Mr. Arthur J. W. Burgess, Mr. A. L. Baldry, and Mr. H. Davis Richter, and others; and among the paintings and drawings at the Beau Arts Gallery in Bruton Street, also shown in the spring, were interesting works by Sir William Nicholson, Mr. P. W. Steer, and Mr. Henry Rushbury. Another good exhibition held at the same time was one of Venetian paintings, held at the Matthieson Gallery in Bond Street—a fine collection of works by old Masters, lent by well-known collectors, and shown in aid of Lord Baldwin's fund for refugees. Messrs. Agnews' famous yearly spring exhibition of water colours was as fine as any of its predecessors, which is something to say; and very attractive also was the collection of French caricatures of 1750 to 1850, shown at the New Burlington Gallery. Another good exhibition of French graphic art was held at the Rembrandt Gallery; at Mr. Frank T. Sabin's, No. 154 New Bond Street, one of the most attractive exhibitions, was a remarkable collection of "Drawings of old London," all in marvellous condition. Dame Laura Knight's exhibition of paintings and drawings at the Leicester Gallery in April was most successful; as was also one of water colours by Mr. Wilson Steer held at Barbizon House.

The opening of these exhibitions was followed by that of the Royal Academy, which attracted only 10,576 would-be exhibitors; against **11,221** in the preceding year. Most of these were rejected, as only 1,315 works of all kinds were exhibited, and many were the work of members. Of these the most fortunate was Mr. Gerald L. Brockhurst, R.A., whose six portraits of women were all excellent, and only one, No. 19, marked for sale, which was effected on the opening day of the exhibition. Other artists well represented included Mr. Charles M. Gere, Mr. Meredith Frampton, Mr. F. W. Elwell, Mr. Gerald Kelly, Mr. Alfred Munnings, Mr. Charles M. Gere, Mr. Stanhope Forbes, Mr. Charles Oppenheimer, Mr. S. Seymour Lucas, Mr. Algernon Newton, Dame Laura Knight, Sir William W. Russell, and Mr. F. W. Elwell.

Those artists who this year suffered most were the miniature painters who, for reasons not explained, were represented in the exhibition by only three works out of 532 submitted. For many years the number of miniatures had always been well over a hundred, and this sudden reduction was very painful for many artists whose works had always formed part of the exhibition. The sculpture at the Academy was less remarkable **than** is usual, but it included a model of a statue of Queen Mary, one

third size, by Sir W. Goscombe John; some interesting models by Mr. Eric Gill for the decoration for the Council Chamber of the League of Nations at Geneva ; and a bust of Lord Moynihan, by Sir W. Reid Dick.

Three works were purchased this year by the Royal Academy under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest: Mr. R. G. Brundrit's "Fresh Air Stubbs," 250Z.; "The Stack Yard," by Mr. A. Houthuesen, 63Z.; and "Portrait of Mrs. James McKie," by Mr. T. Lowinski, 125Z.

II. DRAMA.

When the war broke out in September most theatre managers in London had already made their plans for the autumn season. Some of them indeed, following the new fashion of beginning this season in August, had already staged their new productions ; others had plays in active rehearsal ; others again, more fortunate, were collecting their companies. On September 4 the English theatre everywhere fell into a state of suspended animation. Every light was extinguished after dark and no place of entertainment was allowed to be open for fear of collecting crowds which might be caught in the expected air-raids. This condition continued for some time without any alleviation. The air-raids did not materialise, but still might do so at any moment. Little by little, however, it was realised that Germany was unable or unwilling to deliver the expected blow in the expected way, and the authorities began to look about them to see what could be done in the way of relaxing the stringency of the embargo on entertainment.

After about a couple of weeks' total darkness a cinema was allowed to open under the strictest supervision at Aberystwyth in the extreme West. Almost immediately picture houses in the safer areas everywhere were permitted to resume business. But for a time at any rate these facilities were not granted to the theatres ; all that they might do was to open till six o'clock, at which time it was still daylight.

This concession did not afford the managers much help. It meant that theatres could only give matinee performances, to which London playgoers have never been attracted in large numbers. Even with good audiences, the theatres could only be run at a loss except for the so-called " non-stop " performances, which could run from noon till six o'clock continuously, and so manage to pay their way. In addition, those managers who had had experience of theatrical conditions in the war of 1914 were very reluctant to take the risk of putting on plays at all for the moment. They remembered that although the previous war had in the end turned out a gold mine for the London theatres, the first six months after the outbreak of hostilities had been a time of anxiety and financial loss. Not until the nation had begun to realise its need of relaxation, and London had begun to be full of soldiers on leave, had people felt it right to go to the theatre in war-time. Managers openly said that they feared a repetition of this experience and that anybody who put on plays was likely to burn his fingers.

But as week succeeded week it became clear that the experience of the old war was not going to be **valid for the present war**. This time **there** were no great battles proceeding, and consequently the heart of the nation was not daily wrung by the publication of growing casualty lists. The most insistent fact was the blackness at night, and it became evident that there was a welcome waiting for anything which would make that blackness lie more lightly on people's spirits. The theatre managers consulted with the authorities and a scheme of "staggered" hours was evolved whereby some playhouses would be allowed to keep open till ten on condition that others still kept to the six o'clock rule. A few plays were staged in these conditions, and outside the West End, where the ten o'clock rule was made general, considerable activity soon manifested itself. Two productions just outside the restricted area showed that Londoners were ready to grope their way both to high-brow and low-brow entertainment if they were given the chance. These two were J. B. Priestley's *Music At Night* (Westminster, Oct. 10) and a "Crazy" show at the Palladium called *The Little Dog Laughed* (Oct. 11).

The managers now took heart and the authorities also. Very soon the scheme for staggered hours became an attenuated shadow of itself. Theatres were allowed to open and close at what hour they pleased so long as neighbouring playhouses avoided opening and closing simultaneously. More and more plays were put on, but they proved to be of a uniformly low artistic quality. Farces, revues, and musical comedies were considered the proper fare for war-time playgoers. Among the farces *French for Love* (Criterion, Oct. 31) deserves special mention for its clever acting. Hardly a single management dared to appeal to the minds of its customers. The Priestley success at the Westminster was not looked upon as safe evidence of a desire for better things, since that theatre was small and catered for a specialised audience. By Christmas all the theatres except half a dozen had opened again, and it was possible to say that conditions were back to normal so far as quantity was concerned; but still the average for quality was poor. The best signs to be discerned that something better might come in the New Year were the facts that two productions which had been running well in London in the summer, and had gone on tour in the first months of the war, returned on Boxing Day to the West End and instantly resumed their former success. These productions were John Gielgud's brilliant revival of *The Importance Of Being Earnest* at the Globe (first played on Aug. 16) and Emlyn William's *The Corn is Green*, which had run throughout the early part of the year at the Duchess and now returned to the Piccadilly.

Even before the outbreak of war the year had settled down to a low level of achievement. The political situation was so unsettled and managers could see so little distance ahead that enterprise was stifled. Many of the leading dramatists were represented by new work but not one of them achieved a major success. Bernard Shaw contributed a new play, *In Good King Charles's Golden Days*, to the Malvern Festival. It was even **more** unashamedly a conversation piece than the rest of his later plays; **and though** the conversation was good, **and had** the Government of England

for a theme, it was neither so urgent nor so topical as the third act of *Geneva*, and so made no great stir. J. B. Priestley presented *Johnson Over Jordan* at the New on February 22, and this was in a way the chief theatrical event of the year. The play was Priestley's most ambitious venture so far, and in his own opinion was his best work. Its story of the adventures of the soul of an ordinary man after death had a certain sublimity of conception, and if its achievement had been equal to its intention it would have been a great work of art. As it was it missed its mark, probably because Mr. Priestley's brilliant gifts do not include poetic inspiration. There were great moments in the play, and the part of Johnson was very finely interpreted by Ralph Richardson. The production had a mixed reception from Press and public and the end of the run was soon announced. This caused a rush, and the play was moved to the Saville Theatre in the hope that Mr. Priestley's great reputation might still ensure a good run. It was not to be however. The play was a very expensive one to keep going, and the support that was forthcoming was not enough to prevent loss and deep disappointment to the author.

Another production that was looked forward to with excitement and ended in disappointment was T. S. Eliot's *The Family Reunion*. This was staged at the Westminster on March 21 and speculation was lively whether Mr. Eliot could repeat the resounding success of his *Murder in the Cathedral*. The new play was an experiment in verse of very great interest to students of the theatre, since it seemed that the author had solved, in part at any rate, the problem of making modern language effective on the stage in the form of verse. Unfortunately the theatre sense displayed in the choice of language did not extend itself to the rest of the play. The story of a young English peer pursued by the Furies of old Greek legend was ineffective and, in places, involuntarily funny. It was clear that Mr. Eliot's experience in the playhouse was still not practical enough to enable him to carry through so bold an experiment in form.

Of the other established dramatists, Ivor Novello had his customary Drury Lane success with *The Dancing Years* (March 23), and Ian Hay made a successful adaptation of a Hungarian comedy under the title of *Little Ladyship* (Strand Theatre, Feb. 7). The rest aimed higher but had less success. Keith Winter attempted something much more serious than hitherto in a play called *We at the Cross Roads* (Globe Theatre, March 7), in which a group of over-civilised people were confronted with their earlier and more genuine selves. In some opinions this was Mr. Winter's best play but the public did not agree. Almost the same story is to be told of Terence Rattigan's *After the Dance* (St. James's Theatre, June 21). This was a serious study of the difference between the disillusioned post-war generation known as the "bright young people" and the earnest modern youth of Mr. Rattigan's own generation. The play showed clearly that Mr. Rattigan is a dramatist with more weight of metal than he had used in his light-hearted *French Without Tears*, but the play did not appeal much to the popular taste.

In *The Devil to Pay* Dorothy M. Sayers wrote a modernisation of the Faust legend which was very well received at the Canterbury Cathedral

Festival, and did much to enhance this writer's reputation as a dramatist; but it had no success when it was transferred to His Majesty's on July 20. Most successful in this group was Max Catto, whose *They Walk Alone* had a considerable run at the Shaftesbury (Jan. 19) with Beatrice Lehmann as a crazy murderess.

The Malvern Festival was held under great difficulties since the ever-deepening threat of war had come very close indeed by August. A programme of six new plays by authors of repute promised well but proved disappointing. The Shaw play has been already mentioned. James Bridie contributed *What Say They?* which failed of its due effect through miscasting in chief parts. Sir Robert Vansittart's brittle comedy, *Dead Heat*, did no harm to his reputation as a diplomatist, but certainly did not make him a dramatist. Alexander Knox, a young actor of promise, showed equal qualities as author in an untidy piece called *Old Master*. Doctor Hsiung, author of the much-admired *Lady Precious Stream*, ventured too far into the methods of the Western theatre in *The Professor from Peking*, and only managed to mystify his audiences. The most satisfying play of the week was an unpretentious comedy of three generations called *Big Ben*, by two actresses, Evadne Price and Ruby Miller.

New dramatists who achieved distinction during the year were Adrian Brunei, the film producer, whose *Only Yesterday* at the Playhouse (May 25) was a timely reminder of the effects of the last war on domestic relationships, and Rutherford Mayne whose *Bridge Head* at the Westminster (May 10) had a vividness which owed nothing to its story of an Irish Civil servant going about his business. Lesley Storm had written plays before, but in *Tony Draws a Horse* she brought off her first long run. The nature of this run was so strange that it deserves some detailed notice. The play started at the Criterion on January 26 and had a good reception; but the public were slow to respond and the owners of the theatre gave the management their notice. The Strand Theatre fell vacant and the play moved there, but did so badly that its company agreed to run it on a commonwealth basis. The production then changed hands and the new management moved it to the Comedy where it did fairly well. At the outbreak of the war its run was stopped with the rest; but as soon as leave was given for matinée performances the play opened, once more on a commonwealth basis, and although it never took any considerable sum of money it contrived to limp along somehow until it had actually seen the year out and had been performed 364 times.

Another of this group was Jack Jones, whose play of Welsh life, *Rhondda Roundabout* (Globe Theatre, May 31), had vision and poetic force and dealt with conditions in the distressed Welsh mining areas with feeling and knowledge.

From the point of view of popular success, the best productions of the year were plays which were distant from the actualities of everyday life either in time or in clime—that is, they were either revivals or plays from abroad. Gielgud's *The Importance of Being Earnest* has been mentioned already. Originally produced early in the year for a few special matinees at the Globe it opened for a run at that theatre on August 16, and achieved

the unique distinction of playing to a full house when all the other theatres were half empty on the eve of war. It was acted by an exceptionally strong company with Gielgud and Edith Evans at its head. In this category comes Noel Coward's *Design for Living* (Haymarket, January 25), which can hardly rank as a new play, since its arrival in London had been delayed for years by the Censor's refusal to give it a licence. John Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men* (Apollo, May 24) was a notable importation from America. The enthusiasm with which it was received was the more remarkable since its story dealt with the very remote theme of the friendship of two tramps in the Middle West, and the play was acted by an English company. Another American play of very different texture which drew great crowds was *The Women*, by Claire Boothe (Lyric, April 20). This was a rather terrible satire at the expense of rich women of New York. It was done with great force and had a *succes de scandale*.

Karel Capek's *The Mother* was much praised when it was produced at the Garrick Theatre, March 2, with Louise Hampton in the chief part. *She Stoops to Conquer*, at the Old Vic, and the *Doctor's Dilemma*, at the Westminster, remain in the memory vividly, and the visits to England of the companies from the Comedie Francaise and the Greek National Theatre gave us a taste of admirable foreign acting.

During the year a great London playhouse closed its doors. This was the Lyceum, which was given a memorable last appearance when John Gielgud staged there his production of *Hamlet* on the point of its departure for Elsinore.

III. THE CINEMA.

The film industry has been through few stormier years than 1939, marked as it was by internal struggle, quarrels, panics, unemployment, and tension culminating in international war.

Yet it opened serenely enough with an excellent production of Dr. Cronin's novel, "The Citadel," made this side, with the British talents of Robert Donat and Ralph Richardson, and the money of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Robert Donat scored a further success later in the year with "Goodbye Mr. Chips," in which Greer Garson made a fleeting but effective appearance and was promptly engaged by Hollywood.

Colour and music were attractively allied in "The Mikado," and there were hopes that Gilbert and Sullivan might have new life on the screen. But the best picture of the year came to us in March with "Dawn Patrol," a Journey's End of the air, with acting honours going to Errol Flynn and David Niven.

The prevailing fashion, however, was for light comedy such as "Love Affair," "Bachelor Mother," "Eternally Yours," which provided release from the growing tension.

Biographies were also in demand. A very mixed bag included Nurse Cavell (Anna Neagle), Young Mr. Lincoln (Henry Fonda), Stanley and Livingstone (Spencer Tracy and Cedric Hardwicke), Juarez (Paul Muni), General Sam Houston (Richard Dix), and Irene and Vernon Castle (Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers),

The serial—old style—had a successful revival in America though here it only enjoyed a patronage of curiosity.

The series—in which the same characters run through several pictures, though each picture is complete in itself—proved very popular. Of these The Hardy Family was the best and made Mickey Rooney as big a draw as Shirley Temple. Then there was the Jones Family, Blondie and her family, the Saint detective stories, the Charlie Chans, the Mr. Motos, the Lone Wolves, the several Thin Men of William Powell and Myrna Loy, Tarzan and his descendants, Frankenstein and his relations, Bulldog Drummond and his adventures. More serious were the "Young Dr. Kildare" stories with Lew Ayres and Lionel Barrymore, and, finally, the English contribution of "This Man" who is now "News" and now "In Paris" and is always Barry K. Barnes supported by Valerie Hobson.

Walt Disney's contribution was the creation of Ferdinand the Bull who—too practical a pacifist for the life of the bull ring—ultimately returned to bask amid the flowers of the field.

An ambitious full length cartoon was "Gulliver's Travels" from the pens of Max and Dave Fleischer.

Early in the year film hopes were dashed. It was rumoured that the Amalgamated Film Studios, built at Elstree in 1936 and never used, were to be reopened and that John Maxwell would start a big production scheme. Terms could not be agreed upon, however, and in the end the building was let to the Government to store official documents. This was a blow at a time when more than 30 per cent, of the available studio workers were unemployed and only six out of eighty studio floors were in use.

For such as were working, however, better conditions were promised. An agreement was signed by the Film Production Employers Federation and the Association of Cine Technicians regulating the hours and working conditions of some 1,000 workers in fourteen laboratories. For the extras and crowd players came the long desired establishment of the united Casting Offices which charged a fixed commission of five per cent., did away with the weary trudging from agent to agent, and could assemble a crowd of a thousand at a few hours' notice.

In March the Cinema Exhibitors Association in their Annual Report complained about the decreasing supply of pictures and audiences. Overbuilding was partly to blame; 1938 had seen the completion of 100 new cinemas. Moreover, many of the pictures qualifying under the Quota Act were made in this country to American orders with American money, while it was impossible to finance a genuine British production. So much money had already been lost and there were so many stories of waste and extravagance that investors were shy. Matters were not improved by a colossal law suit, involving 1,000,000/., in which the Westminster Bank sued fifteen insurance companies relating to the affairs of a group of small producers. The action—in which eight K.C.s appeared—was settled out of court, but the affair did nothing to restore the confidence of the City.

Nevertheless, during the year several new companies of a more stable nature came into existence. Herbert Wilcox became managing director

of Imperadio Pictures to make six pictures annually with British technical units operating here and in Hollywood. Adelphi Films came into being to make two Empire subjects a year. The new Irving Asher Productions planned some four pictures a year to be made at Denham. The war happened before any of the new companies really had time to prove their worth.

One other new company, however, did actually get to work. Grafton Films completed a good but unambitious feature, "I Killed the Count/' and a super production of Dr. Cronin's novel, "The Stars Look Down," with Michael Redgrave and Margaret Lockwood.

"Gone With the Wind," one of Hollywood's costliest efforts, took three years to make and takes four hours to show. It has delighted America, but is being held back from Europe, however, till Europe is in better shape, for the producers want to make a considerable share of their profits this side of the Atlantic. The British actress Vivien Leigh plays the lead.

Alfred Hitchcock was temporarily lost to British production, as he went to Hollywood to make "Rebecca," from the Daphne du Maurier best seller.

It was hoped that an impetus would be given to trade when the possibilities of television were explored. Cinemas equipped with big screen television apparatus were showing national events in April. The first transmission was the Boon-Danahar fight, which proved a great success. Three hundred and fifty Gaumont British houses had the apparatus installed. The cinema trade went so far as to press the Postmaster-General for permission to make television transmission independent of the B.B.C., but Sir John Cadman's Television Committee reported in favour of exclusive B.B.C. control. There was, moreover, strong opposition to television outside of the home from the Wireless Retailers Association and the Eadio and Television Traders.

Amateurs were in the news at the beginning of the year, when, copying America, one of the news-reel theatres installed a special projector to show amateur scoops of new events. Other amateurs undertook the making of a film record of surviving folk-lore customs. Those of sufficient merit were to be deposited in the National Film Library.

European tension was growing and it was planned to produce a series of films for the National Service drive. A special department was created at the Ministry of Labour and Bryan Wallace was appointed Ideas Man to the Government. Another sign of the times was that the Censor allowed the showing of the frankly propaganda picture, "Confession of a Nazi Spy."

With the Budget flared up a new quarrel. Sir John Simon had proposed a tax on celluloid. The news-reels would be the hardest hit, as they used the most footage. They were able to demonstrate that the tax would be higher than their profits; the Chancellor bowed to the storm and withdrew the tax.

At the same time two new types of news-reel were instituted; one to deal with Empire subjects, and the other, called "Point of View," to illustrate topical arguments.

In September, with the outbreak of war, few sections of the community suffered a greater upheaval than the cinema industry. All cinemas were closed, Wardour Street moved their inflammable stores out of London, export censorship was tightened, production stopped, and the news-reel companies offered their services to the Government.

Great pressure was exercised to get permission for the cinemas to reopen. It was pointed out that thousands were thrown out of work, and that if the staffs scattered it might be difficult to get them reassembled. The Government yielded. At first all West-End houses had to close at 6 P.M. Later, staggered hours were introduced, and, finally, normal hours restored, though business was badly hit by the black-out.

Meanwhile there was talk of suspending the Quota Act as being unworkable in war-time. For nearly three months the industry was in a state of chaos. Late in November it was decided that the Quota should continue till March 31, 1940. Mr. Oliver Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, asked for an alternative scheme from the Films Council. The most concrete suggestion was some form of Government Bank to finance reputable companies in voluntary production, possibly using some part of the money received from the cinema's contribution to the Entertainment Tax.

When production got going again most companies decided to play for safety with comedy. One serious war film was completed. "The Lion Has Wings" starred Ralph Richardson, Merle Oberon, and the bombing planes and men that took part in the first Kiel Canal raid.

IV. MUSIC.

Musical affairs in 1939 were marked by an unprecedented rise and fall—up to the peak of the London Music Festival, and down to the depths of the September black-out.

During the early months of concert-giving in London two outstanding events occurred. One was the first performance in England of Bloch's Violin Concerto, with Szigeti as violinist and Sir Thomas Beecham conducting. With a few dissentient voices the concerto was praised for qualities of beauty and significance rare in modern music and accorded a high place among the works of one whom many consider the most distinguished composer of the day. The second of the season's landmarks was the complete performance in concert form of Hindemith's opera "Matis der Maler" ("Matthias the Painter"). The work had been previously heard only at the Zurich Festival of 1938, where it had strongly appealed to a wider public than is habitually reached by Hindemith's music. At Queen's Hall the loss of visual drama lessened the appeal to the senses; yet there could be no doubt that "Matis der Maler" was the most deeply felt of Hindemith's works, and one that betokened a change of heart on the part of the composer. The performance took place at one of the B.B.C. series of Wednesday concerts; Clarence Raybould conducted and the choir was the Philharmonic.

The first orchestral novelties of the year were a **Piano** Concerto by William Busch and a Symphony by Erik Chisholm, both given at a B.B.C. concert of contemporary music on January 6. At his Philharmonic concert on February 23 Weingartner introduced his *Sinfonietta*, a slight and amiable work. On March 1, at a B.B.C. concert, Sir Hamilton Harty signalled his return to the concert platform by introducing his tone-poem "The Children of Lir," based on a Celtic legend. Among the major novelties of the season we may include the new orchestration by Anthony Collins of Schubert's *Grand Duo* for piano, heard at the Cambridge Theatre concert on March 26. The London String Orchestra, a new and highly efficient body of players conducted by Alan Bush, gave a *Sinfonietta* by Miaskovsky on January 30. On March 30 the Philharmonic Society and Sir Thomas Beecham made themselves responsible for Bartok's *Suite* for strings, percussion, and celeste, a work of extreme modernism and of almost mystic intensity and strangeness.

Minor works by Hindemith, Elizabeth Lutyens, Elizabeth Maconchy and Alan Rawsthorne were brought out in the course of the Adolf Hallis concerts on January 14, February 14, and March 14. A new Double Trio for strings by Vaughan Williams was played by the Menges Sextet on January 21. New works by Cyril Scott were brought out at a special concert on March 20.

The words "Festival of Music for the People" were the banner under which the "Left" movement forced music into its service early in April. At the Albert Hall on April 1 a Pageant by Randall Swinger and a dozen composers was enacted by a large company, including 500 singers drawn from Labour choirs. On April 3 a miscellaneous programme of pronounced political colour, with Schonberg's early choral work "Peace on Earth" as its centrepiece, was given at Conway Hall. On April 6 Co-operative and other Labour choirs joined the London Symphony Orchestra under Constant Lambert at Queen's Hall to perform Benjamin Britten's "Anthem for Englishmen" (in memory of volunteers who had fallen in fighting for Republican Spain), the choral and ideological finale of Alan Bush's *Piano Concerto*, and Ireland's "These things shall be," a work above party. It was generally remarked, without bias, that tendencious music was apt to be of poor quality.

We come to the London Music Festival, a monument of the energy and ability possessed by Mr. Owen Mase, the prime mover and principal organiser. The practical basis of the scheme was in the first place a co-operation between existing organisations to work to a common time-table, and thus to ensure that occasions of importance did not clash with each other. The principal orchestras and opera houses fell in with the scheme, and between them contributed some twenty events to the co-ordinated programme. The Royal Philharmonic Society also made itself responsible for special chamber music concerts at the National Gallery, Burlington House, the Wallace Collection, and the Great Hall at Hampton Court, and also for an evening at the Prince's Galleries entitled "Ayres and Ale," given by Mr. John Goss and his singers. Other special concerts were organised, the most important being a performance of "The Dream

of Gerontius " at the Albert Hall, in which the Royal Choral Society was joined by choirs from Croydon, Bradford, and Huddersfield. Three evenings were contributed to the scheme by Covent Garden, three by Sadler's Wells, and two at the end of the festival (June 1 and 2) by Glyndebourne. Events of a festival character, half musical, half social, were visits to Cambridge, Oxford, Canterbury, Windsor, the R.A.M., and the R.C.M. Four performances at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon, and plays at the Old Vic and the Open-Air Theatre were given a place in the time-table. There was an opening service at Westminster Abbey, and church music recitals were given at St. Paul's Cathedral and the Albert Hall. One evening was devoted to Brass Band music and fireworks at Ken Wood. Altogether over fifty events were comprised in the festival scheme ; of these a little less than half would have taken place in the normal course. Broadly speaking the Festival had two effects upon London music : (1) At the annual period of London's greatest social activity it had always been customary for the most characteristic features of London music, that is to say orchestral and choral concerts, to come to an end and leave the field open to a largely imported opera season at Covent Garden, of late years a further visitation from abroad in the shape of Toscanini, and, for the rest, scattered recitals and chamber concerts ; by keeping orchestras and choirs at work the Festival prolonged the typical activities of London music into the " London season " ; (2) People of wide knowledge and observation had for some time been saying that London was the most musical of the world's capital cities ; but world-wide recognition of the fact was hampered by the lack of any period marked off for special parade and ceremonial; the Festival supplied the need and gave London an official status in the eyes of the world as a musical city. It was incidental that political stress held back a number of would-be visitors from abroad. The Festival unquestionably succeeded, and until the end of the summer it was viewed as opening a new era—the Festival of 1940 was in preparation when war intervened.

The title of " London Music Festival " was not new, having been previously adopted by the B.B.C. for an annual series of B.B.C. concerts. In 1939 these were absorbed into the larger organisation. They took the form of nine Queen's Hall concerts, seven of which were conducted by Toscanini. In other years Toscanini's programmes had been criticised for their irregularity ; this time he provoked as much complaint by going to the other extreme and conducting only Beethoven. At his first five concerts (May 3, 8, 12, 17, 22) he gave all the symphonies and various smaller works that included an arrangement for orchestral strings of two movements from the Quartet Op. 135. On May 26 and 28 he gave the Mass in D with the B.B.C. Choral Society.

During the early months of the year there seemed to be little likelihood of a summer opera season at Covent Garden, the German-Jewish crisis having set up prejudice and a financial barrier. Both were overcome in the end by the valiant efforts of Sir Thomas Beecham, and a season of normal repertory and personnel was held by the London Philharmonic Society Ltd. from May 1 to June 16. It had been announced that the

Prague National Opera would send its company, scenery, and operas by Smetana and Dvofak; but the German occupation of Czechoslovakia quickly put an end to the project. The first opera performed was Smetana's "The Bartered Bride," by a German cast. Of Wagner's operas, "Parsifal" and "Tannhauser" brought Weingartner to the conductor's desk for the first time. In "Tristan und Isolde" Madame Germaine Lubin (the Ariane and Alceste of the French productions in 1937) showed herself one of the great Isolde's of the day. One cycle of "Der Ring des Nibelungen" was given in June. In a revival of Mozart's "Don Giovanni," which had long been absent from the summer repertory, the chief figures were Ezio Pinza as Don Giovanni and Tauber as Don Ottavio. Jussi Bjorling made his Covent Garden debut in "Il Trovatore" and upheld the reputation he had already made by his gramophone records. Other outstanding personalities of the Italian performances were Eva Turner as Turandot, Gigli as Alfredo in "La Traviata," and Radames in "Aida." "Otello" was given with Melchior in the chief part. Sir Thomas Beecham conducted "The Bartered Bride," "Aida," "Don Giovanni," and the "Ring"; Constant Lambert "Turandot"; Vittorio Gui the other Italian operas; single performances were conducted by Pietro Cimara ("Traviata") and Basil Cameron ("Tristan und Isolde").

At Glyndebourne, where the sixth season was held from June 1 to July 17, the operas were "Le nozze di Figaro," "Don Giovanni," "Così fan tutte," "Macbeth," and "Don Pasquale," the casts being largely those of 1938. Among the new artists the most successful were the American Rise Stevens (Cherubino and Dorabella) and Margherita Grandi (Lady Macbeth); others were Maria Markan from Iceland (the Countess in "Figaro") and Luigi Fort (Ernesto in "Don Pasquale").

At Sadler's Wells on January 25 a revised and re-dressed "Il Trovatore," with a new translation by Edward Dent, upheld the standard of the house; so, too, did the first production of "Der Rosenkavalier" on March 3. Ethel Smyth's "The Wreckers" was revived on April 19. The new ballets of the period were the complete "Sleeping Princess," with new staging by Nadia Benois; and "Cupid and Psyche" by Frederick Ashton to music by Lord Berners.

The Russian Ballet Company, directed by Fokine, was at Covent Garden from June 19 to July 19. Two new ballets were presented: "Le fils prodigue" by Lichine to music by Prokofiev, and "Paganini" by Fokine to Rachmaninov's "Variations on a Theme by Paganini." The other Russian Ballet Company, directed by Massine, was to have been at Covent Garden for a fortnight from September 4.

The following events of the pre-war period deserved to be recorded. The Foundling Hospital celebrated its bi-centenary in January with a revival of Handel's "Theodora," which had not been performed in London for sixty years. In January Gluck's "Orpheus" was performed by the music branch at Toynbee Hall. The Alan Turner Opera Company gave Johann Strauss's "Der lustige Krieg" at St. Pancras Town Hall on February 2 and 3. T. C. Fairbairn's pageant production of Gounod's "Faust" occupied the Albert Hall for a fortnight in February. Swindon

College Musical Society gave Massenet's "Cendrillon" on February 20 to 25. At Bath a festival of special interest was given in March by the Municipal Orchestra and local resources under Mr. Maurice Miles. It was announced in June that Sir Henry Wood's Jubilee Fund (1938) had resulted in the payment of 8,500Z. to hospitals as endowment of beds for orchestral musicians. The Haslemere Festival of old music was held on July 17 to 29. The biennial opera at "Pollards," Loughton, Essex, consisted of a revival of Scarlatti's "Il trionfo d'onore" and the first performance in England of Gluck's "The Pilgrims of Mecca." Visitors from abroad during the musical season included the Finlandia Chorus, the Calvet Quartet from Paris, and a choir from Latvia.

The chief event of the interrupted Promenade concerts at Queen's Hall (August 12 to September 1) was the first performance in England, on August 17, of Bliss's Piano Concerto, a work commissioned for the World's Fair at New York and performed there in June. On each occasion Mr. Solomon was the pianist. On August 18 Ireland's Concertino Pastorale for strings, first heard at the Canterbury Festival in June, was given its first performance in London. A "Serenade Concertante" for violin and orchestra by Marcel Delannoy was played by Brosa on August 22. A dignified and well-written "Essay for Orchestra" by the American composer Samuel Barber was introduced on August 24.

The declaration of war put a sudden end to musical activity. Plans for the coming season were abandoned all over the country. Among other important events the Hereford Three Choirs Festival (September 3 to 8) and the Norwich Triennial Festival (September 27 to 30) were cancelled. Even the B.B.C., upon whom so much depended for the maintenance of music, found it necessary to join in the flight. The result was an almost total loss of occupation for the majority of professional musicians; and it was largely for the sake of restoring part of their livelihood that tentative beginnings were made some weeks later. The first in the field was Sadler's Wells, where a group of supporters made it possible for Saturday matinees of opera to begin on September 30. Thursday evenings and Saturday evenings were added in succession. By the beginning of December the enterprise had so gained in confidence that it was found possible to venture on a new production of Verdi's "Otello" on December 7. A new staging of Johann Strauss's "Die Fledermaus" followed on December 21. Meanwhile the Sadler's Wells Ballet had been touring the provinces with two pianos for accompaniment. Its itinerary enabled it to open a month's season at the Wells on December 26.

On October 10 Miss Myra Hess inaugurated a series of concerts at the National Gallery in aid of the Musicians' Benevolent Fund. The prospectus was a remarkable one: Mondays to Fridays, one o'clock, admission Is., Tuesdays and Fridays at 4.30, admission 2s. 6d. The public responded eagerly; at the end of the year this busy programme was still in operation, and on artistic grounds the concerts (largely chamber music and recitals) had grown into an important feature of London music. Much of the rapid re-growth of musical activity in the late autumn was undoubtedly due to this inspiring example.

Orchestral music was provided by " Sunday Pops " at Queen's Hall, given from October 8 by the London Symphony Orchestra under Charles Hambourg. The same orchestra began a series of symphony concerts on October 14. Courtauld-Sargent concerts, a season of six, were begun on October 21, and Beecham Sunday concerts with the London Philharmonic Orchestra on October 29. At one of the latter Sir Thomas Beecham conducted the first performance in England of a set of Variations on " Under the Spreading Chestnut Tree " by the Czech composer Weinberger. All these music-makings were confined to the week-end. The Royal Philharmonic Society opened its 128th season on Thursday afternoon, November 16.

Other ventures were " Everyman's Concerts " at the Rudolf Steiner Hall, five concerts at Sadler's Wells promoted by the Philharmonic Society, and a series at the Embassy Theatre, Hampstead.

A similar revival was taking place all over the country. Halle concerts were resumed in Manchester, and in other large cities orchestral music returned to life. By the beginning of December seventy or eighty choral and orchestral societies throughout the country had issued prospectuses, and a great number of smaller enterprises were in progress. At the end of the period covered by this chronicle musical activity was still on the up grade and evidently ready to advance to a higher level, given continued immunity from foreign interruption.

Late in November the Fifth Symphony by Shostakovitch was heard in London by means of a sound-film recording brought from Russia by the Society for Cultural Relations between the Peoples of the British Commonwealth and the U.S.S.R. This was the first occasion on which this means of transmission had been used for an important musical work.

The most important books published during the year were " The Greek Aulos " by Kathleen Schlesinger, " Eigar " by W. H. Reed, " Brahms and his Four Symphonies " by Julius Harrison, " Chopin's Musical Style " by Gerald Abraham, and " Music in the Modern World " by Rollo H. Myers. The year's obituary included the names of Sir Dan Godfrey, J. H. Foulds, and Herman Finck.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

IN almost all branches of biology 1939 was a year of phenomenal publication.

Human Evolution.—Further skull and jaw fragments of *Pithecanthropus* were found in Java. *Sinanthropus* and *Pithecanthropus* seem to be merely "racial" variants of Prehominids, and distinct from the English Piltdown group and the later and widely spread Neanderthal group. A Neanderthal burial in Uzbekistan, with characteristic Mousterian implements and an old fauna, extended this group eastwards. In the upper Pleistocene of South Africa there lived a group of small brained man-apes, derived from the widespread dryopithecene stock, which were the less progressive cousins of man. Skeletal remains from the upper cave of Choukoutien represent an upper Palaeolithic population of very diverse character. No skeletal remains of Folsam man were discovered in America. In general, evidence suggested that the development of the human stock was orthogenetic, with polycentric "racial" differentiation which is traceable in the early Hominidae. There was general recognition of the limitations of physical anthropology and of the tentative nature of any conclusions based on skeletal structures only. Books included Weidenreich's "*Sinanthropus pekinensis* and Related Forms," McCown and Keith's "Fossil Remains from the Levallois-Mousterian (of Mt. Carmel)," Terra and Peterson's "The Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures," O'Brien's "Prehistory of Uganda Protectorate," Boas *et al.*, "General Anthropology," Dubois' "Des Betsileo," Thompson *et al.*, "Race Relations and the Race Problem," Coon's "Races of Europe," and Morant's "Races of Central Europe."

Cytogenetics.—Much detailed research was published on the structure and behaviour of chromosomes, on the analysis and crossing of species and genera, and on the induction of cytogenetic novelty by treatment with radiations, colchicine, etc. Certain general trends were evident, such as the evaluation of genetic differences and responses to environmental conditions in relation to the requirements of practical animal and plant husbandry; a marked correlative and unifying development of field and cytological studies, and of immediate laboratory view-points with developmental and evolutionary ones; an increased use of meiotic phenomena as a basis of genetic prediction and as a means of testing the reproductive methods of particular species; an appreciation of the need of standardising genetical symbolism; a marked co-ordinative development of cytogenetics with other branches of biology; and a great increase

in the attention paid to the geographical distribution of races. It was recognised that hybridisation in the wild among animals and plants is much commoner than had been thought, and that in micro-organisms it may have serious disease relationships. Gene mutations were generally regarded as due to individual atomic activations ; but there was a certain discounting of the gene theory, an identification of the chromosomes as chemical units of linear pattern, with mutations due to changes in this pattern rather than to changes within discrete particles, or genes, of molecular order. More generally, there was recognition of the evolutionary stability of living things and of the slowness of evolutionary changes, and of the significance of man as an agent of evolutionary change in the world during the last three centuries. Books included Darlington's " Evolution of Genetic Systems," Schubert and Pickhan's " Erbschadigungen," Boyd's " Blood Groups," Hagedoom's " Animal Breeding," Muller's " Bibliography on the Genetics of *Drosophila*," Mangelsdorf and Beeves' " Origin of Indian Corn and its Relatives," Babcock and Stebbins' " American Species of *Crepis*," Harland's " Genetics of Cotton," Waddington's " Introduction to Modern Genetics," Mantalenti's " Elementi di genetica," Sturtevant and Beadle's " Introduction to Genetics," Scheinfeld's " You and Heredity," and Shapiro's " Migration and Environment."

Zoology.—Although zoology remained primarily descriptive there was a definite tendency towards experimentalism and a renewal of interest in animal behaviour. The encyclopedic anatomical and systematic treatises were continued, and many reports of oceanographic and land expeditions were issued. More general books included Neave's " Nomenclator Zoologicus, I," Okada's " Catalogue of Vertebrates of Japan," Sewell's " Fauna of British India," Kellogg's " Mammals of Tennessee," Davis' " Recent Mammals of Idaho," Allen's " Bats," Herter's " Biologie der europäischen Igel," Simpson's " Quantitative Zoology," Clements and Shelford's " Bio-Ecology," Puzanov's " Zoogeography," The Cold Spring Harbour symposium, " Plant and Animal Communities," Leruth's " Biologie du domaine souterrain et la faune cavernicole de la Belgique," Pickwell's " Deserts," Neumann's " Heimaterleben," Brezina *et al.*, " Klima, Wetter, Mensch," Pilgrim's " Fossil Bovids of India," Raymond's " Prehistoric Life," Harris' " Morphology of the Brachial Plexus," Bargmann's " Schildkriese, Epithelkorperschen, Langerhansche Inseln," Rijnberk *et al.*, " Alle de brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, I," and Wheeler's " Essays in Philosophical Biology."

Books on birds included Witherby *et al.*, " Handbook of British Birds, III," Berry's " Status and Distribution of Wild Geese and Wild Duck in Scotland," Hellmayr's " Birds of the Americas, XIII," Bent's " Life Histories of North American Woodpeckers : Piciformes," Cottam's " Food Habits of North American Diving Ducks," Chasen's " Birds of the Malay Peninsula, IV," Riley's " Birds from Siam and the Malay Peninsula," Bannerman's " Birds of Tropical West Africa, V," and Chapin's " Birds of the Belgian Congo, I L "

Numerous skeletal remains of Dinosaurs were found in Utah. Books included Deraniyagala's " Testudines and Crocodilians of Ceylon,"

Pope's "Turtles of the U.S.A. and Canada," and Pitman's "Snakes of Uganda." An outstanding event was the discovery off South Africa of a living Crossopterygian fish of a type believed to have become extinct by the close of the Mesozoic period. Books included Beebe and Crane's "Deep-Sea Fishes of Bermuda," Shaw and Shebbeare's "Fishes of Northern Bengal," Moy-Thomas' "Palaeozoic Fishes," Brough's "Triassic Fishes of Besano, Lombardy," Ege's "Genus *Anguilla*," Moulton *et al.*, "Migration and Conservation of Salmon," and Needham's "Trout Streams."

Entomology remained principally systematic and economic but showed strong developments along ecological and physiological lines. Considerable attention was paid to the problem of insect populations, which was recognised as fundamental in economic entomology; to the rearing of insect larvae *in vitro* under aseptic conditions; to the relation of hormones to metamorphosis; and to the discrimination of sounds by insects. Books included Wigglesworth's "Principles of Insect Physiology," Beeson and Bhatia's "Biology of the Cerambycidae," Lengerken's "Brutfürsorge und Brutpflegeinstinkte der Kafer," Chopard's "Biologie des Orthopteres," Zeuner's "Fossil Orthoptera Ensifera," Bounhiol's "La métamorphose chez les Lépidoptères," Stitz' "Hautflügler oder Hymenoptera, I," Duncan's "Biology of North American Vespine Wasps," Sandhouse's "North American Bees of the Genus *Osmia*," Edwards *et al.*, "British Blood-Sucking Flies," Jack's "Physiology and Behaviour of *Glossina morsitans*," Mosley's "British Caddis Flies," Duncan and Pickwell's "World of Insects," Osborn's "Meadow and Pasture Insects," Ferris' "Atlas of the Scale Insects of North America, II," Buxton's "The Louse," Bristowe's "Comity of Spiders," and Glick's "Distribution of Insects, Spiders, and Mites in the Air."

Of other invertebrates mention may only be made of progress in the tank breeding of oysters; in the cultivation of parasitic helminths in artificial media; the finding of nerve connexions and transmission of stimuli in bryozoa; and of cytogamy in *Paramecium*. Books included Buchsbaum's "Animals without Backbones," Ricketts and Calvin's "Between Pacific Tides," Eales' "Littoral Fauna of Great Britain," Gurney's "Bibliography of the Larvae of Decapod Crustacea," Pacaud's "L'écologie des cladocères," Tompsett's "*Sepia*," Spath's "Neocomian Cephalopods of India," Dall *et al.*, "Recent and Fossil Marine Pelecypod Mollusks of the Hawaiian Islands," Iredale's "Lamellibranchia of the Barrier Reef," Treadwell's "Polychaetous Annelids of Porto Rico," Schneider's "Freilebende und pflanzenparasitische Nematoden," Porter's "Larval Trematoda found in certain South African Mollusca," and Kudo's "Protozoology."

General Physiology.—Much detailed research was published on vitamins, hormones, and cognate problems. There was still no clear conception of the function of vitamin A in the animal body, but it was generally accepted that in man much ill-health of a serious nature is due to its shortage. A new vitamin, A₂, was found in visual purple and the livers of fresh-water fish. Ten B vitamins are recognised of which thiamin, riboflavin, and

nicotinic acid, are essential in diet. Thiamin and pantothenic acid seem to be necessary to the growth of all, or nearly all, living things. Vitamin B₆ was synthesised. It was shown that loss of vitamin C in vegetables on boiling or storage is reduced by excluding air: there is a more widely spread sub-acute deficiency of vitamin C than is generally recognised. Three D vitamins were accepted, D₃ being many times as active as D₂ on rickets in children. Vitamin E was marketed in standardised form. Vitamins K₁ and K₂ were isolated in pure state. Books included Oppenheimer's "Die Fermente: Suppl.," Giroud's "L'acide ascorbique dans la cellule et les tissus," Seitz' "Darstellung von Vitammpraparaten," the Society of Chemical Industry's "Vitamin E," and Elvehjem and Wilson's "Respiratory Enzymes."

Progress was made in knowledge of the physiological action of different hormones and in the preparation of synthetic hormones, and various human glands were kept alive for long periods on artificial media in the Lindbergh-Carrel apparatus. It was recognised that the pituitary intervenes at every phase of metabolism throughout the body, and that it is also the central transformer of nervous into chemical energy. The multiplicity of pituitary hormones was simplified as evidence suggested that the ketogenic, anti-insulin, anti-adrenaline, specific-metabolic-stimulating, and glycostatic effects are all due to one substance. Three more sexual hormones were standardised, and interesting work was done on the relation of sex hormones in animals to disease resistance. Evidence suggested that the activation of vertebrate chromatophores results in the main from blood soluble hydrohumors, chiefly intermedin and adrenaline, supplemented by several lipohumors from direct nervous sources: in these responses acetylcholine seems to play little or no part. Embryological studies showed the process of evocation in the chick and the newt to be fundamentally similar. Books included Goldzieher's "Endocrine Glands," Bomskov's "Methodik der Hormonforschung, I I," Bjergaard's "Comparative Studies concerning the Strengths of Oestrogenic Substances," Allen *et al.*, "Sex and Internal Secretions," van Dyke's "Physiology and Pharmacology of the Pituitary Body, I I," Simonnet and Robey's "Le corps jaune," McClendon's "Iodine and the Incidence of Goitre," Hanstrom's "Hormones in Invertebrates," Kopaczewski's "Traits de Biocolloidologie, V," Caullery's "Progres regents de l'embryologie experimentale," and Weiss' "Principles of Development."

Contractility seems to be related to the localisation and release of calcium in the cell's cortex, and all chemical activities of living organisms seem fundamentally to be hydrogen transfers. Evidence suggested the existence of an electro-dynamic field in living things. Changes of viscosity of protoplasm play an important role in cell activity, and the demonstrable structure of living protoplasm as an integrated protein framework strongly indicates a multimolecular organisation for the living cell. Investigation in the no-man's-land between physics and biology continued to produce startling results, and tends to a practical convergence of these two sciences that marks the beginning of a new scientific epoch. Books included Oppenheimer and Stern's "Biological Oxidation,"

Aschoff *et al.*, " Hundert Jahre Zellforschung," Just's " Biology of the Cell Surface/' Hirsch's " Form- und Stoffwechsel der Golgi-Körper," Beutner's " Life's Beginning on the Earth," and Northrup's " Crystalline Enzymes."

There is now no controversy about the main principles of nutrition, although there remains great need for more precise methods of assessing malnutrition. Whey is a valuable source of vitamins and vitamin products, including all the known water-soluble vitamins, the fat-soluble provitamin D, vitamin K, vitamin E, oestrin and vitamin B₂ or G; milk contains free vitamin B₂ and a vitamin B₁-protein complex; no detrimental effect of any practical importance is brought about by holder pasteurisation. The science of the storage and transport of food is one of the most noteworthy developments of the last twenty years, and the gas storage of fruits, the chilled gas storage of beef, and the brine-freezing and cold storage of fish are all now successfully practised.

Other major lines of progress include the startling results obtained by the use of artificial radioactive elements and heavy non-radioactive isotopes in the examination of the reactions and movements of substances in the living bodies of animals and plants; the explanation of many phenomena of vision on a basis of relatively simple chemical and physical reactions, and the relating of vitamins to visual sensitivity; the attention given to physiological problems of hearing, tasting, and ageing, and the problems of high flying; the importance of the hypothalamus as a heat regulating, and possibly as a " waking centre "; and the successful use of typed ascitic fluid for blood in transfusions. Books included Clark's " Tissues of the Body," Benninghoffs " Physiologie des Wachstums und des Bewegungen," Leriche's " Physiologie normale et pathologique du tissu osseux," ConePs " Post-natal Development of the Human Cerebral Cortex," Policard's " Le Poumon," Cowdry *et al.*, " Problems of Ageing," Bastai and Dogliotti's " Physiopathologie de la Vieillesse," Lane-Roberts *et al.*, " Sterility and Impaired Fertility," Roger and Binet's " Physiologie du foie et de l'appareil urinaire," Reynold's " Physiology of the Uterus," Duke's " Urine," Ihre's " Human Gastric Secretion," Haden's " Principles of Hematology," Bailliart's " Traite" d'Ophtalmologie," Simpkins' " Basic Mechanics of Human Vision," Curry's " Mechanism of the Human Voice," Stevens and Davis' " Hearing," Macnaughton-Jones' " Hearing and Equilibrium," Moon's " Shock and Related Capillary Phenomena," Jorpes' " Heparin," Beecher's " Physiology of Anaesthesia," Krogh's " Osmotic Regulation in Aquatic Animals," Read's " Chinese Materia Medica : Fish Drugs," Lanza *et al.*, " Silicosis and Asbestosis," and Muncie and Meyer's " Psychobiology and Psychiatry."

Botany.—The larger European systematic and anatomical treatises were continued, and there appeared Kanjilal *et al.*, " Flora of Assam, I II," Martin and Fraser's " Flora of Devon," Evans' " Flora of Cambridgeshire," Green's " Trees of the South (U.S.A.)," McMinn's " Californian Shrubs," and Quick's " Wild Flowers of the Northern States of Canada." Of numerous monographs attention may only be drawn to Prain and Burkill's " The Genus *Dioscorea* in the East," and of more popular works

to Hylander's " World of Plant Life," and Mangham's " Earth's Green Mantle."

Morphologists increasingly accepted the causal and developmental outlook in the interpretation of plant structure, and the view-point that organisation is not a single event but proceeds from level to level. Palseobotanists, in general, concurred in the view that the great climatic differences shown by the fossil floras of West Scotland, Greenland, etc., are best explained on Wegener's hypothesis. Books included Saunders' " Floral Morphology, II," Jones' " Floral Mechanism," Heim's " La reproduction chez les plantes," Darrah's " Principles of Palseobotany," and Berry's " Palseobotany of Middle and South America."

Ecologists increasingly concerned themselves not only with facts and terminology but with theory, and tended to accept the wider point of view which visualises the inter-relation of the soil, the atmosphere, the plant, and the animal as forming a complex cycle in which the same materials are used over and over again. There was general recognition of the tentative nature of many of our ideas on soil genesis and classification, of the inherent poverty of many, perhaps most, tropical soils, and of the fact that the richness of vegetation is no guide to the agricultural value of the soil. Books included Pallis' " General Aspects of the Vegetation of Europe," Tansley's magistral volume, " The British Islands and their Vegetation," Doposcheg's " Berge und Pflanzen," Gustafson *et al.*, " Conservation in the United States," Davies' " Grasslands of the Falkland Islands," Villar's " Los Suelos de la Peninsula Luso-Iberica," and Carpenter's " Ecological Glossary."

In plant physiology interesting work was done on the relation of hormones to sexuality, parthenocarpy, regenerative processes, premature dropping of fruit, etc.; traumatic acid was synthesised; cleistogamy and chasmogamy in *Viola* were related to photoperiod; a true cytochrome oxidase and a respiratory mechanism identical with that in yeast and animals was found in higher plants; and undifferentiated tissue was grown in synthetic jelly pabulum. Evidence indicated that the cellulose matrix of the cell walls of higher plants is a continuous system of anastomosed chain-molecules, the long axis of which is oriented parallel to the long axis of the cellulose fibril: it was generally recognised that the process of differential wall growth is an important aspect of cellular differentiation. Books included Meyer and Anderson's " Plant Physiology," Chibnall's " Protein Metabolism in the Plant," Borgstrom's " Transverse Reactions of Plants," Pearse's " Plant Hormones and their Practical Importance in Horticulture," the National Research Council of Canada's " Effect of Sulphur Dioxide on Vegetation," Alvik's " Dber Assimilation und Atmung einiger Holzgewachse im westnorwegischen Winter," and Ingold's " Spore Discharge in Land Plants."

Study of ferns, mosses, and algae remained primarily descriptive and systematic, and of the great amount of detailed work on the fungi note can only be made of the induction of the perfect stage of *Botrytis cinerea*. Books included Nessel's " Die Barlappgewachse," Krieger's " Die desmidiaceen Europas," Schroeder's " Algenflora der Mulde," Magnusson's

" Species of *Lecanora*" Harris* " British Purbeck Charophyta," Bisby *et al.*, " Fungi of Manitoba and Saskatchewan/" and Lihnell's " Die Mykorrhizen und die Wurzelpilze von *Juniperus communis*"

Books on economic botany included Hay ward's " Structure of Economic Plants," Cook's " Enfermedades de la plantas economicas de Las Antillas," Muenscher's " Poisonous Plants of the United States," Kosch's " Der deutschen Arzneipflanzen," Crevost and Petelot's " Plantes medicinales de l'Indochine," Tolkowsky's " Hesperides," Matagrín's " Le soja," Gushehin's " Ris," Fassett's " Leguminous Plants of Wisconsin," Goodacre's " Honey and Pollen Flora of New South Wales," Winton's " Structure and Composition of Foods, IV," Tressler *et al.*, " Fruit and Vegetable Juices," and Medsger's " Edible Wild Plants." Forestry books included Champion and Trevor's " Indian Silviculture," Westveld's " Applied Silviculture in the United States," Marshall's " Silviculture of the Trees of Trinidad and Tobago," Sen Gupta's " *Dipterocarpus* Forests in India," Schenck's " Fremdländische Wald- und Parkbaume," Cox *et al.*, " Empire Timbers," Henderson's " Timber," Hadert's " Holzschutz und Holzveredelung," and Trendelenburg's " Das Holz als Rohstoff."

Scientific horticultural and agricultural books included Dawson's " Practical Lawn Craft," Adriance and Brison's " Propagation of Horticultural Plants," Lawrence and Newell's " Seed and Potting Composts," Keeble's " Science Lends a Hand in the Garden," the presentation volume to Sir D. Hall, " Agriculture in the Twentieth Century," the International Institute of Agriculture's " Documentation for the European Conference on Rural Life, 1939," Jacks and Whyte's " The Rape of the Earth," Wadham and Woods' " Land Utilisation in Australia," Bennett's " Soil Conservation," Watson's " Science and Practice of Conservation: Grass and Forage Crops," and Sanders " British Crop Husbandry."

Microbiology and Disease.—Certain cancers of chicks and rabbits are due to viruses but there is yet no proof that human cancers are so caused. Nevertheless, there was a general hardening of the view-point that all malignant tumours owe their continued activity to the presence of a virus, with the possibility of a co-operation between viruses and chemical agents, and a conditioning by genetic, hormone, and nutritional factors. There was increased acceptance of the idea that viruses may be of different natures having only their size and disease-causing ability in common. Spectroscopic, ultracentrifuge, and X-ray diffraction study of viruses known to be crystallisable proteins tended to bridge the gap between the structures of the chemist, the microbiologist, and the geneticist. Many viruses exist as numerous strains which makes the production of effective vaccines difficult, but a vaccine was produced which proved to be a practicable and safe method of large scale immunisation against yellow fever. Fixed rabies virus and vaccinia were cultivated in the developing chick embryo; evidence suggested that poliomyelitic virus may occur in urban sewage. It was recognised that virus diseases are common and widely spread among trees and shrubs, and a new and rapidly spreading virus disease of elms was found in the U.S.A.

Work on the nature of the action of sulfanilamide compounds tended

to show that susceptibility to chemotherapeutic attack among different bacteria depends on their type of metabolism. Sulfanilamide treatment was largely replaced by sulfapyridine. There was general recognition of the serious danger of the spread of malaria, yellow fever, etc., by the accidental aeroplane transport of insects.

In soil microbiology bacteria and fungi were recognised as agents in soil conservation ; much attention was given to antagonism of micro-organisms, especially in relation to plant disease ; the local distribution of soil bacteria was found to be determined in part by thiamin and biotin excreted by plant roots ; and a new acid-tolerant *Azotobacter* and a kerosene fermenting bacterium were discovered.

Books included Scott's "History of Tropical Medicine," Sharp's "Microbiology and Public Health," Burdon's "Medical Microbiology," Simmons *et al.*, "Malaria in Panama," McCoy and McClung's "Bibliography of the Anaerobic Bacteria," Straker *et al.*, "The Nasopharyngeal Bacterial Flora," Thomson's "Tuberculosis and National Health," Huddieson *et al.*, "Brucellosis in Man and Animals," Heffron's "Pneumonia," Osterlin's "Chemotherapie," Long and Bliss' "The Clinical and Experimental Use of Sulfanilamide, Sulfapyridine and Allied Compounds," Gildermeister's "Handbuch der Viruskrankheiten I," Seiffert's "Virus und Viruskrankheiten," Doerr and Hallauer's "Handbuch der Virusforschung, I," Rocha-Lima *et al.*, "Methoden der Virusforschung," Stevenson and Butler's "Cultivation of Vaccinia on the Chorio-Allantoic Membrane of Chick Embryos," Bawden's "Plant Viruses and Virus Diseases," Holmes' "Handbook of Phytopathogenic Viruses," Melhus and Kent's "Elements of Plant Pathology," Wormald's "Diseases of Fruits and Hops," Rippel's "Mikrobiologie des bodens," and Killian and Feher's "Microbiologie des sols desertiques."

General.—In many countries the lamps of science were dimmed, and in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Finland they were blacked out. The refugee and evacuation problems intensified and created new problems of mental and social adjustment, public health, and nutrition. There was still no general recognition of the gap between the extent and clarity of our nutritional knowledge and its social utilisation on a national scale. There was, however, a general hardening of the view that adequate nutrition is basic to all civilised life and that the abolition of malnutrition must be the next major social reform. Adequate nutrition is not merely a question of food intake, it demands favourable conditions of mind and body, and these imply major changes in social conditions and correlative changes in human attitudes. These changes demand that social disorders be controlled in the same way that bodily diseases have been controlled, and it is clear that one of the most vital necessities of to-day is the study of the causes of war and other social disorders and of the means of their elimination : at basis this is a psychological problem. Books on various aspects of these problems included Durbin and Bowlby's "Personal Aggressiveness and War," Simpson's "The Refugee Problem," Pearl's "Natural History of Population," Kuczynski's demographic study, "The Cameroons and Togoland," Bigwood's "Guiding Principles for

Studies on the Nutrition of Populations," the British Medical Association's "Nutrition and the Public Health," Newman's "Building of a Nation's Health," Drummond and Wilbraham's "The Englishman's Food," Gangulee's "Health and Nutrition in India," the Economic Advisory Council's "Nutrition in the Colonial Empire," Price's "White Settlers in the Tropics," Vernon's "Health in Relation to Occupation," Robinson's "The Patient as a Person," East and Hubert's "Psychological Treatment of Crime," Morgan's "The Needs of Youth," Garnett's "Knowledge and Character," Walton's "Marihuana," and Wells' "The Fate of *Homo sapiens*."

There was increased recognition of the social nature of science, of science as a part of human life and not something separate and distinct; and an increased acceptance of the view that men of science can no longer stand aside from the social and political questions involved in the structure which has been built up from the materials provided by them. There was widespread recognition of the complete and dangerous lopsidedness of scientific development, and increased demand for a reorientation of scientific effort. Interesting books were Bernal's "The Social Function of Science," and the Carnegie Institute of Washington's "Co-operation in Research."

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The outstanding event in an otherwise quiet year was the solution of the problem presented by many of the so-called trans-uranium elements. The possible existence of radioactive elements of atomic weight greater than that of uranium was suggested by experimental results obtained by Fermi and his collaborators in 1934 (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*). By 1937 Meitner, Hahn, and Strassmann (*Zeit. Phys.*) had obtained evidence for six such elements, an embarrassingly large number. However, following experiments by Curie and Savitch (*J. Phys. Rad.*) in 1938, Hahn and Strassmann (*Naturwiss. Jan.*) found that three of these elements—obtained by bombarding uranium with neutrons—could not be separated from, and were therefore probably isotopes of, barium. Evidently the uranium had divided to form two (or more) elements of much smaller atomic weight. Meitner and Frisch (*Nature*), Bohr (*Nature*), and later Bohr and Wheeler (*Phys. Rev.*), showed how the phenomenon might arise from the "liquid drop" theory of the nucleus. If a neutron is captured by a nucleus it may disturb the nucleus so much as to cause it to break into two parts which would repel each other, gaining a total kinetic energy of about 200 million electron volts. Further and ample evidence that the uranium does break up into two approximately equal halves and that the trans-uranium elements are in fact isotopes of elements in the middle of the periodic table was quickly forthcoming and very many papers on this uranium "fission" appeared. Feather (*Nature*) showed that the compound nucleus, uranium + neutron, has a life not exceeding 5×10^{-13} sec. The immediate products of the fission are radioactive (otherwise they could not be detected in the minute quantities concerned) and break down into stable forms through a series of short period radioactive intermediaries. Possibly

the first products are isotopes of the rare gases krypton and xenon (Heyn, Aten, and Bakker, *Nature*), certainly the subsequent ones are isotopes of many elements between lanthanum (atomic number 57) and barium (35). A detailed account of the changes was given by Abelson (*Phys. Rev.*).

Uranium fission is produced by both fast and thermal neutrons. Thorium divides in the same way when fast neutrons are used. Magnan (*C.R.*) found indications of fission with gold, tungsten, and titanium, but none with several other heavy elements, including lead. Bretscher (*Nature*), on the other hand, concluded that lead may divide when bombarded by fast neutrons. Experiments performed by Gant (*Nature*) indicated that uranium may divide under deuteron bombardment.

In the earliest experiments only beta-rays were detected in the emissions from the fission products, but experiments first performed by Halban, Joliot, and Kowarski (*Nature*) showed that neutrons are emitted also. It subsequently appeared that at least two neutrons are emitted following the division of one uranium nucleus; Zinn and Szilard (*Phys. Rev.*) found that, on an average, $2\frac{2}{3}$ are emitted. The majority of these are produced in less than 10^{-3} sec. (Gibbs and Thomson, *Nature*), but others appear at definite intervals after the bombardment, namely 45 sec, 12 sec, 3 sec, and possibly 0.1-0.3 sec (Booth, Dunning, and Slack, *Phys. Rev.*; Roberts, Mayer, and Wang, *Nature*; Bosttrfm, Koch, and Lauriston, *Nature*).

The neutrons emitted as a result of the fission of the uranium nuclei themselves bombard other uranium nuclei, so that with sufficient material an explosive reaction is possible once the process has started. Perrin (*C.R.*) showed that the critical radius for such a reaction is about 130 cm. when fast neutrons are used for the bombardment.

An excellent account of the experimental work on the fission phenomena in the first few months of the year was given by Vick (*Science Progress*, July).

Blackett gave an account of recent work on the mesotron in his Bruce-Preller address to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in May. The mass of the particle appears to be about 160 times that of the electron, and it decays, when at rest, with a mean life of 2×10^{-6} sec. Dymond (*Roy. Soc. Proc. and Nature*) stated that balloon ascents with triple coincidence counters showed that the intensity of vertically directed mesotrons rises to a maximum at a height of 16 km.—the level which gives a maximum for all other particles. He pointed out that, while the mode of formation of the particles remained unknown, there was evidence that they are produced by protons. The charge may be positive or negative, and Shonka (*Phys. Rev.*) reported results which seemed to indicate the presence of the neutral mesotrons (neutrettos), postulated by Heitler, in cosmic radiation.

A. H. Compton (*J. Frank. Inst.*) describes the present state of our knowledge of time variations of cosmic ray intensity and suggested that the rays may be an accumulation of all the energetic particles ever produced within our galaxy. It remained possible, however, that the rays may originate outside the galaxy. Kolhorster (*Phys. Zeits.*) and Miczaika

(*Zeit. f. Astrophysik.*) found that some, though by no means all, of the variations in the intensity of the rays are due to solar effects.

Hubble (*J. Frank. Inst.*) gave data concerned with the motion of the sun and the galactic system with respect to the extra galactic nebulae. The galaxy moves with a speed from 100-200 km./sec. and the sun rotates about the centre of the galaxy with a speed about 275 km./sec. The resultant speed of the sun being of the order of 300 km./sec. Russell (*J. Frank. Inst.*) discussed Bethe's work on the building up of helium by the impact of four protons on a carbon atom acting as catalyst. Further details were given by Gamow (*Phys. Rev.; Nature*). The process involves the following chain of reactions: $^{12}\text{C} + ^1\text{H} \rightarrow ^{13}\text{N} + hv$; $^{13}\text{N} \rightarrow ^{13}\text{C} + e^+$; $^{13}\text{C} + ^1\text{H} \rightarrow ^{14}\text{N} + hv$; $^{14}\text{N} + ^2\text{H} \rightarrow ^{15}\text{O} + hv$; $^{15}\text{O} \rightarrow ^{16}\text{N} + e^+$; $^{16}\text{N} + ^1\text{H} = ^{12}\text{C} + ^4\text{He}$. There is a diminution in mass which liberates $i \times 10^{-5}$ ergs per cycle, and this is sufficient to supply the sun's energy if its temperature is about 20 million degrees C, a reasonable figure. Other reactions between protons and light nuclei are possible and may be in operation in the giant red stars where temperatures are much lower (about a million degrees C).

Gamow considered that stellar pulsation occurs when gravitational contraction begins to become a more important source of energy, that nuclear reaction and that supernovae may possibly result from the collapse of a star, following the formation of a large quantity of free neutrons in its interior. McCrea (*Occas. Notes Roy. Astr. Soc.*) agreed that in the brighter stars of the main sequence it seems well established that the source of energy is the formation of helium from hydrogen; but considered that the processes which occur in the giant stars have not yet been explained. Hoyle and Lyttleton (*Nature*) pointed out that the work summarised by Gamow did not provide for the production of the heavier elements in the stars, and that the differences in the ages of the stars which it indicates are unlikely. They showed (*Camb. Phil. Soc. Proc.*) that the stars are able to grow by accretions from the cosmic cloud, especially if their velocity is small.

In his presidential address to the British Astronomical Association Peek discussed the red spot on Jupiter first observed by Hooke in 1664, and shown in Schwabe's drawings in 1831. It is possibly a mass of ice floating in a highly condensed permanent gas, e.g. nitrogen, but further investigation is required before any reasonably certain hypothesis can be proposed.

On the occasion of the annual visitation by the Board of Visitors of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, in June, the Astronomer Royal, Dr. H. Spencer Jones, referred to the serious deterioration of observing conditions at Greenwich and the urgent need for the removal of the Observatory to a more favourable site.

Hall (*J. Frank. Inst.*) measured the intensity of visible and infra-red light from the variable star Algol with a photoelectric photometer and found that the minima for the two occur at the same time with an uncertainty of 3 minutes. The light from Algol takes 55×10^6 minutes to reach the earth so that the velocities of the two wave-lengths (5,599 and

8,060 A.) are the same to within 3 in 55 million—a result which indicates the scarcity of matter in interstellar space.

Vegard (*Nature*) pointed out that hydrogen lines sometimes appear in the auroral spectrum. In particular the H_α and H lines appeared in a spectrogram taken on October 18. He attributed this occasional appearance of strong hydrogen lines to a kind of hydrogen radiation (hydrogen shower) reaching auroral levels from the sun and removed by combining with oxygen, in the atomic or ozone states, to form water vapour. Cabannes (*C.R.*) considered that Chapman's theory that the luminosity of the night sky is in the main due to the dissociation of oxygen molecules in the daytime and their recombination at night may be correct. Some of the light is, however, due to other causes, e.g. collisions between nitrogen molecules and oxygen atoms.

Abbott discussed Paranjpe's and Brunt's criticisms of his work on the variation of the solar constant (*Roy. Meteorolog. Soc.*), maintaining the reality of the periodicities which he has discovered and of their effects on the weather.

Hoyle and Lyttleton (*Camb. Phil. Soc. Proc.*) showed that the passage of the sun through a nebulous cloud of interstellar matter would be able to bring about the small decrease in the solar constant required to produce an ice age, and also the considerable increase in this constant required for the Carboniferous Epoch.

Appleton and Weekes (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) detected a lunar tide in the Kennelly-Heaviside layer (Kegion E) of the ionosphere. It is semi-diurnal, of the order of 1 km. and in phase with lunar barometric pressure oscillations as determined at ground level at Greenwich. Coblenz and Stair (*J. of Research, Bureau of Standards*) investigated the distribution of atmospheric ozone using unnamed balloons reaching a maximum height of 88,000 ft. (27 km.). Most of the ozone was found at heights between 18 and 27 km. with a wide maximum at 25 km.

The peculiar behaviour of helium II (the form assumed by liquid helium below 2.19° K.) was the subject of several investigations. Johns, Wilhelm, and Smith (*Canad. J. of Research*) and Giauque, Stout, and Barieau (*Am. Chem. Soc. J.*) measured its viscosity, the latter finding its value to decrease with decrease of temperature in a manner suggesting that at 0° K. the viscosity would be zero. Allen and Misener (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) concluded that the phenomena accompanying the flow of the liquid through fine capillary tubes are due to two processes: (a) a normal flow with a viscosity of 10^{-4} poises increasing with decrease of temperature, and (b) a creep along the walls of the tube through a surface film about 5×10^{-6} cm. thick, the velocity of creep increasing rapidly with fall of temperature. The rate of transfer of heat through helium II is greater the smaller the temperature gradient, and it is not possible, therefore, to measure a true thermal conductivity. (See also Daunt and Mendelssohn, *Roy. Soc. Proc.*) Allen and Reekie (*Nature*) stated that when heat flows in a capillary tube containing helium II the liquid close to the surface is forced to flow in a direction opposite to the flow of heat (the fountain effect), while in the centre of the tube it moves in the direction of the heat flow.

Oasimir, de Haas, and Klerk (*Physica*) devised a method for measuring the specific heats of paramagnetic salts at very low temperatures by supplying known quantities of heat by means of an alternating field. Osborne, Stimson, and Ginnings (*J. Research, National Bureau of Standards*) measured the heat capacity and latent heat of evaporation of water between 0° and 100° C. The latent heat of steam at 100° was found to be $2,256 \cdot 30$ international joules per gm. (c. 539.0 calories) and the specific heat values agreed with those of, e.g. Laby and Hercus and Jaeger and von Steinwehr rather than with the results obtained by Callendar and Barnes. Stokland, Ronaess, and Tronstad (*Farad. Soc. Trans.*) showed that "heavy" water (D_2O) has a maximum density at $11.23 \pm 0.02^{\circ}$ C. Eck (*Phys. Zeits.*) found the critical data for water to be 374.2_3° C, 225.5_1 kg. wt./cm.² and 3.065_6 cm.³/gm. Experiments with D_2O gave the value 371.5° C. for its critical temperature. Malter and Langmuir (*Phys. Rev.*) found the melting-point of tantalum to be $3,269^{\circ}$ K. Colwell, Friend, and McGraw (*J. Frank. Inst.*) determined the velocity of sound in air over the range of temperature 2.5° C. to 29.6° C. and found values represented by the expression $331.12 - f 0.60t^{\circ}$ C. metres/sec. J. S. Clark (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) gave the result of the redetermination of g at the National Physical Laboratory, using a reversible pendulum oscillating *in vacuo* on a fixed knife-edge. The mean result was 981.181_5 cm./sec.².

Riley and Fankuchen (*Nature*) concluded that X-ray experiments give no direct confirmation of the cyclol structure proposed for insulin. An opinion maintained also by Bernal. Langmuir (*Phys. Soc. Proc.*) upheld the theory as being in accord with the crystallography and chemical behaviour of the proteins.

A new method of separating gases of different densities and therefore also gaseous isotopes, developed by Clusius and Dickel in 1938 (*Naturwiss.*), was used successfully in several laboratories (*Nature*). (See also Bramley and Brewer, *Science*; Taylor and Glockler, *J. Phys. Chem.*) The mixture is kept in a long vertical tube with an electrically heated axial wire and water-cooled walls. The heavier gas then tends to concentrate at the bottom of the vertical column.

Recent developments in cyclotron technique were described by Cockcroft (*Phys. Soc. Exhibition address*) and Mann (*Nature*). The latter stated that twenty-six cyclotrons were in operation or in course of construction in various parts of the world, three being in England, none in Germany. In a discussion at the British Association meeting it was stated that with the large cyclotron recently completed at Berkeley, California, deuterons of 18 million volts and alpha particles of 38 million volts had been obtained. Trump and Van de Graaff (*Phys. Rev.*) described a compact form of their belt electrostatic machine suitable for scientific and medical purposes. Housed in a steel tank 34 inches in diameter and 100 inches long it gives 1.25 million volts when the tank is filled with air at 11 atmospheres or with Freon gas at one-third this pressure.

B. K. Johnson (*Phys. Soc. Proc.*) gave details of a low-power microscope objective, constructed from synthetic lithium fluoride and fused quartz, which gave excellent achromatism over the wave-length range

5,461 to 2,749 Å., thus making it possible to use visible light to focus the instrument for photography in the ultra-violet. Duclaux and Ahier (*Rev. d'Optique*) described the properties of hollow prisms filled with barium mercuric bromide solution of refractive index 1.63 and specific gravity 3.1. Such prisms are very transparent and give six times the dispersion of heavy flint.

In an address prepared for an evening lecture before the British Association Melville described recent progress in illumination. The latest type of discharge lamp used low-pressure discharge giving a maximum of ultra-violet radiation. This radiation activates fluorescent screens which can be mixed in a single tube to yield "white" light.

The Association met at Dundee on August 30 and disbanded on September 1. The address of Mr. R. S. Whipple, president of Section A, was devoted to a discussion of the dependence of the progress of science on the development of instrumental resources. Professor E. K. Rideal, president of Section B, discussed the chemistry and physics of interfaces, with special reference to their importance in biological processes. Preparations for the meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1940 were suspended.

An International Conference held in London in May, under the auspices of the International Standards Association, agreed that the international standard of concert pitch should be based on a frequency of 440 cycles per sec. for A in the treble clef. Other meetings held during the year included the Jubilee Meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science at Canberra, and the meeting of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics in Washington, D.C. Important discussions included those on the Expanding Universe (Physical and Royal Astronomical Societies); on the Chemical Composition, Density and Temperature of the Upper Atmosphere (Chemical Society, Physical Society, and Royal Meteorological Society), and on the Use of Isotopes in Biology (Chemical Society and Physiological Society).

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1939.

ALTHOUGH 1939 opened with little promise of relief from those anxieties which had threatened the peace and economic well-being of Europe for upwards of three years, the hope was entertained that the appeasement afforded totalitarian countries at the expense of their weaker neighbours in the previous year would provide time in which to seek a more acceptable solution of the remaining problems.

To some extent this hope was encouraged by indications that the war in Spain was in its final stages and, that in certain directions trade was beginning to recover from its relapse of the preceeding year. Commodity prices were relatively steady, sales compared favourably with those of the earlier months of 1938. Employment was increasing. The Budget closed with a deficit appreciably smaller than might have been expected from the conditions which had prevailed, while the new Budget was much less onerous than many anticipated. Export returns gave encouragement, which was the more welcome by reason of the fact that imports were lower, and although re-exports fell sharply in the succeeding months they still showed a favourable balance in the early autumn. The Board of Trade index of production steadily advanced and soon reached the level of 1937. The French Bank was reduced from 4½ per cent, to 2 per cent., and Hitler promised " a long period of peace."

But much of the increased industrial activity was uneconomic, for it arose largely because of continued rearmament on a world-wide scale, particularly on the part of democratic countries. Bitter experience had convinced all that none could afford to neglect this side of their political economy, and confirmation of this impression was quickly forthcoming. For in March Germany, in contravention of her pledges given at Munich in September, 1938, renewed her policy of aggression on weaker neighbours by establishing protectorates over Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia and later annexed Memel, notwithstanding strong protests by all interested parties, while Hungary, under coercion from the same quarter, took control of Euthenia. These steps aroused fresh uneasiness in most of the Western Powers, which was further accentuated when, in April, Italy, another totalitarian state, seized Albania. Meanwhile, Japan in her efforts to subjugate China so increased her threat to the interests of the International Settlements of that country that 10,000,0002. was provided to stabilise Chinese currency. All were then obliged to recognise that a policy of appeasement was no longer practical. Credits were freely granted a number of small European states to defend themselves, including Greece, Eumania, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, and their independence was guaranteed by France and Britain, but failure to secure a similar agreement with Russia was eventually explained by her economic alliance with Germany. This was all but the final stage in the European drama for shortly afterwards Germany invaded Poland, in defiance of France and Britain. This was the cause of the present struggle.

While all these negotiations were being carried through steps were taken to prepare for the worst. In January, the Exchange Equalisation Fund was allotted 200,000,000* of gold by the Bank of England whose remaining reserve of the metal was later revalued at current prices. The Chancellor's borrowing powers for defence were increased from 400,000,0001. to 800,000,000*. A comprehensive scheme of war risks insurance was inaugurated. Conscription for military service was imposed, and profits arising mainly from defence work were made the subject of a special tax. A Ministry of Supply was established to control and regulate supplies of all essential materials in a national emergency, and an extensive series of measures were adopted for the protection of the civil population, including plans for the dispersion of women and children and shelters from air-raids.

Thus it was that Finance and Commerce came to be entirely dominated by preparations for war, the outbreak of which in September brought about a complete change in almost every quarter of the industrial community, large numbers transferring their operations to areas calculated to be less liable to enemy air attack. But war inevitably brings about an abrupt dislocation of industrial activity. Many obligations of a contractual nature automatically became void. Commandeering by the Government of essential supplies and services preclude fulfilment of others. The change in the immediate needs of consumers, whether neutral or belligerent, all but close markets to normal trade.

Many stocks of goods produced exclusively for peace-time consumption became almost unsaleable, and large sums are thus tied up for an indefinite period. A demand arises for goods of a different character, designed to meet the change in circumstances, and in order to provide these, manufacturers are often obliged to effect considerable alterations both in plant and methods, not infrequently at the behest of the authorities. But on this occasion Government requirements went far beyond anything witnessed on any comparable event with an ultimate effect that none can foresee.

To all intents and purposes finance and commerce passed under Government control early in September by virtue of a large number of orders sanctioned by Parliament under various Defence Acts, all of which were devoted to mobilising the entire resources of the whole country, both in men and materials. Much information regarding commerce was withheld by order of the authorities. Thus it was that soon after the close of August industry, and to a lesser extent trade, followed a very different course to that of the preceding eight months. So acute had the international situation become by August 24 that Bank Rate was doubled. Sterling was no longer officially supported, and the rate on New York fell heavily day by day until, finally, the principal foreign currencies were brought under control of the Bank of England which fixed the dollar rate around \$4.03, which compared with \$4.64| when the year commenced. Minimum prices for Government and other first class stocks were fixed by the Stock Exchange which, in a few days, was closed for a week. Banks and all commodity markets were closed for a day or more in order to introduce those changes which the occasion demanded. Business

was resumed with fixed prices for practically all essential materials, **and** these prices were little more than those which prevailed immediately before the crisis. Quotas in respect of those subject to schemes of restricted output were rapidly raised to ensure sufficient supplies. A few weeks later a supplementary Budget imposed additional taxation, income tax being raised to the new high record of 7s. 6d. in the £, and in the final weeks of the year plans were made for pooling the resources of France and Britain to facilitate the prosecution of the war.

Money Market and Banking.—Disturbing and conflicting influences arising from the threat of war and, later, of war itself, did much to render banking operations more difficult. In the earlier part of the year the withdrawal of French and other foreign balances, which was a feature of 1938, was continued, with the result that deposits were reduced. In March, those of the eleven London Clearing Houses were 100,000,000Z. lower than in the corresponding month of 1938. This was reflected later by a decline in advances which are among the more remunerative of banking assets. Subsequently, the financing of national defence, mainly by Treasury Bills, raised the Floating Debt to the unprecedented figure of 1,535,000,000L. This expenditure eventually brought about considerable accretions to both deposits and advances, which were further increased after the outbreak of war to record dimensions, deposits in December establishing a new high record of 2,440,800,000Z. Money thus remained cheap and plentiful throughout the year. Meanwhile, rates had risen. At the end of August, Bank Rate, which since 1932 had remained at 2 per cent., was raised to 4 per cent, and the Treasury Bill rate, which in January was little more than 10s. per cent., advanced to 3l. 14s. per cent. But the higher rates were not maintained long enough to have any material influence on banking profits, for within two months Bank Rate was back to 2 per cent, and Treasury Bills were being allotted around 1l. 3s. 8d. per cent. But largely because of less activity in stock markets the turnover of money was again smaller, the total cleared by the London Bankers' Clearing House being 36,641,800,000Z., or 74 per cent, lower than in 1938, partly because circumstances at the outbreak of war demanded settlements in cash, which lifted the note circulation to the record figure of 553,474,931L, and Postal Orders were made legal tender. Official control of the foreign exchanges became more comprehensive than ever and the measures adopted by the Government curtailed opportunities in other directions. But throughout the year circumstances demanded an abnormal proportion of liquid assets on which earnings are small. Similar reasons accounted for a decline in investments, the loss being more substantial in the case of foreign securities. Experience as regards bad debts was less unfavourable owing to a revival of industry. On the other hand, expenses were higher. Apart from taxation, Air-Raid Precautions, and the apparent need for decentralisation of activities absorbed considerable sums. Nevertheless, owing to preparations made well in advance of eventualities, the worst of the adverse influences were avoided and, although profits were invariably smaller, reductions were not sufficient to warrant smaller dividends.

MONEY AND DISCOUNT RATES.

1935

1936

1937

1938

1939

BANK RATE AVERAGE.

£ s. d.
2 0 0£ a. d.
2 0 0£ s. d.
2 0 0£ 8. d.-
2 0 0£ s. d.
2 5 3

DISCOUNT RATE (THREE MONTHS' BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.

0 11 7 | 0 11 10 0 11 6 | 0 12 7 1 4 5½

BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.

0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 0 13 7½

SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.

0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 0 19 0

TREASURY BILL (TENDER) RATE AVERAGE.

0 10 6 44 | 0 11 6-83 | 0 11 2 | 0 12 4 1 4 3-6

BANK OF ENGLAND RETURNS.

	End December, 1939.	End December, 1938.	End December, 1937.
	£	£	£
Coin and bullion	1,257,220	327,201,575	327,233,343
Note circulation	554,615,983	504,726,803	505,317,131
Public deposits	29,724,616	15,937,522	11,384,185
Other deposits :—			
Bankers'	117,329,509	101,027,025	120,640,908
Other accounts	42,026,789	36,754,756	36,566,801
Reserve (notes and coin) .	26,641,237	52,474,772	41,916,212
Ratio	14 per cent.	34⅛ per cent.	24⅞ per cent.
Government securities	151,466,164	69,216,164	114,598,165
Other securities :—			
Discounts and advances	4,268,785	28,538,950	9,205,417
Securities	24,619,800	21,455,849	20,866,663

LONDON BANKERS' CLEARING HOUSE RETURNS.

	1939.	1938.	Decrease in 1939.
	£	£	£
First quarter .	9,415,658,000	10,197,276,000	781,618,000 (7.6 per cent.)
Second quarter	8,653,684,000	9,559,693,000	906,009,000 (9*4 per cent.)
Third quarter	8,988,086,000	9,895,213,000	907,127,000 (9.1 per cent.)
Fourth quarter	9,584,445,000	9,958,047,000	373,602,000 (3*7 per cent.)
Grand total .	36,641,873,000	39,610,229,000	2,968,366,000 (7.4 per cent.)

LONDON CLEARING BANKS' MONTHLY RETURNS.

	(000's omitted.)			
	Deposits.	Bills Discounted.	Advances.	Investments.
1939	£	£	£	£
January .	2,229,981	255,557	967,650	623,942
February	2,176,340	211,946	977,407	616,698
March	2,152,248	190,348	988,643	610,981
April	2,154,804	184,369	992,522	610,539
May	2,166,793	200,722	987,972	604,538
June	2,218,830	248,650	987,278	600,234
July	2,239,893	278,038	981,915	596,952
August .	2,245,128	279,069	984,518	599,356
September	2,278,121	236,220	1,010,863	602,878
October .	2,327,328	289,038	1,013,116	605,136
November	2,344,624	353,298	995,219	610,767
December	2,440,886	333,860	1,001,972	609,307

PROVINCIAL CLEARING FIGURES.

Town.	Amount, 1939.	Increase or Decrease 1938.
	£	£ per cent.
Birmingham	116,308,000	- 4,633,000 or 3-8
Bradford	51,620,000	+ 10,555,000 or 25-7
Bristol	70,519,000	+ 5,235,000 or 8
Hull	39,900,000	- 3,209,000 or 7-4
Leeds	48,297,000	- 1,104,000 or 2-2
Leicester	36,289,000	4- 87,000 or 0-2
Liverpool	261,724,000	- 6,076,000 or 2-2
Manchester	498,318,000	4- 22,719,000 or 4-7
Newcastle-on-Tyne	75,431,000	- 2,665,000 or 3-4
Nottingham	23,871,000	- 1,606,000 or 6-3
Sheffield	47,219,000	- 8,044,000 or 14-5

Floating Debt.	Dec. 31, 1939.	Dec. 31, 1938.
Ways and Means Advances :—	£	£
By Bank of England		5,250,000
By Public Departments	65,265,000	45,805,000
Treasury Bills outstanding .	1,469,885,000	985,620,000
Total .	1,535,150,000	1,036,675,000

New Capital Issues.—Increasing apprehension as regards the outlook more than outweighed the encouraging trend of trade, so much of which was due to steadily expanding demands of rearmament. This class of operation is best financed by loans and, consequently, demand for new capital was very limited. After the war, appeals to the public were made subject to Treasury approval, with the result that there was a decline in

the total raised during the last four months of almost the same dimensions as in the preceding eight months when the figure reached was 65,121,593[^], some 26,000,000J. less than for the corresponding period of 1938. Thus the year's total of 66,294,000i. was the smallest on record, being less than three-quarters of the previous lowest figure of 88,666,000/. raised in 1931, when the gold standard was suspended. Largely because of a debenture issue by the Southern Railway, transport undertakings secured more than any other class of Home borrowers. Bather more was taken by undertakings operating abroad, the percentage raised by overseas borrowers rising sharply from 21.4 to 34.6.

	1939.	1938.	1937.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom	43,335,000	92,746,000	138,768,000
India and Ceylon	934,000	458,000	1,634,000
1 Other British Countries	17,379,000	20,826,000	23,304,000
Foreign Countries	4,646,000	4,067,000	7,200,000
Total	66,294,000	118,097,000	170,906,000
Percentage for Overseas Borrowers	34.6	21.4	18.8

Foreign Exchanges.—In 1939 the eclipse of the foreign exchange market was all but complete. But although the cost to the British Exchange Fund was severe, sterling during the first eight months was maintained at a level which compared not unfavourably with the average of 1938. By February 27 the rate on New York had risen from around \$4.62 to \$4.69| which was the highest of the year. From that date until August 25 the rate never went below \$4.68. The outbreak of war, however, brought about drastic changes. All official support for sterling was withdrawn and in three days the rate fell by almost 60 cents to \$4.02. Permission to deal in all foreign currencies was then confined to banks and similar authorised dealers. These were obliged to transact business in the chief monies at rates fixed by the Bank of England, only a few of the less important being left to negotiation. Thanks to the confidence inspired by M. Daladier and Reynaud the French franc was remarkably stable. In December an agreement of the highest importance was to pool the exchange resources of Britain and France. Meanwhile, Scandinavian countries abandoned their allegiance to sterling, while those of the Low Countries continued to adhere to the dollar only at the cost of a considerable loss of gold.

Gold and Silver.—The course of international affairs was again responsible for an eventful year in the bullion market. But owing to the control exercised by the Government from time to time, developments in some respects were less spectacular than in 1938. In the earlier months, money continued to leave the country on a substantial scale, which obliged the Exchange Equalisation Fund to release large quantities of gold, America receiving over 484 million ounces in eight months against only 30*6 million

in the whole of the preceding year, while Canada took 9 million, against 490,000 ounces. Exports to August 31 amounted to 60·8 million ounces, and imports to 21·5 million, whereas in 1938, exports totalled 42·3 million and imports 34·1 million ounces. Much of this capital sent abroad was

Place.	December 81, 1989.	December 81, 1938.	Highest, 1939.	Lowest, 1939.
New York	4-03*	4-64f	4-69* (27/2)	4-02 (5/9)*
Montreal .	4-45*	4-68J	4-72½(7/1)	4-18 (28/8)
Paris	176½*	176M	177½(7/1)	174 (29/8)
Brussels .	24-02½*	27-57	27-91 (27/2)	22-00 (2/9)
Milan	78	88*	89¼ (7/1)	72 (16/9)
Switzerland	17-87½*	20-60	20.90 (30/3)	17-50 (1/9)
Athens	535‡	547*	555 (2/1)	535 (9/9)
Helsingfors	210‡	226	230 (5/12)	190(15/11)
Madrid .	38¼‡	150 §	42* (30/3)	37* (15/11)
Lisbon	108	110*	111 (12/9)	107* (17/11)
Amsterdam	7-55*	8-53*	8-85 (27/2)	7-00 (2/9)
Berlin † .	X	11-57	11-76 (24/8)	10-50(1/9)
Budapest	22‡	23J	24i (17/7)	20 (1/0)
Prague	X	135½	137* (7/1)	122 (1/9)
Danzig	X	24*	25* (22/8)	21½ (28/8)
Warsaw .	X	24J	25* (22/8)	21½ (28/8)
Riga	201½‡	25*	25 (2/1)	20 (10/11)
Bucharest	55‡	660	675 (23/8)	530 (23/9)
Istanbul .	51‡	575	588 (14/3)	510 (9/9)
Belgrade .	160‡	209	215 (1/2)	160 (30/9)
Kovno	23‡	27	28* (12/5)	22* (10/11)
Sofia	320‡	385	400 (2/1)	315(10/11)
Tallinn .	16½‡	18¼	18¾ (2/D)	15¾(10/11)
Oslo	17-70*	19-90	19-95 (2/1)	17.50 (20/9)*
Stockholm	16-90*	19-40	19-45 (2/1)	16-70 (14/9)*
Copenhagen	20f	22-40	22-50 (29/8)	19i(13/9)
Alexandria	97*	97*	97 (2/1)	97} (2/1)
Bombay .	1/6	1/5 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	1/6 ^ (5/10)	1/5 (19/6)
Calcutta .	1/6	1/5 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	1/6 V (5/10)	1/6 « (19/6)
Madras .	1/6	1/5	1/6 A (5/10)	1/5 » (19/5)
Hong-Kong	1/211	1/3	1/34(2/1)	1/2* (5/4)
Kobe	1/2A	1/2	1/2H (10/11)j	1/11(7/9)
Shanghai	Mid.	8fd.	Qd. (2/1)	2¾d.(11/8)
Singapore	2/4A	2/3**	2/4, ⁵ / ₁₆ (19/9)	2/31(19/4)
Batavia .	7-51*	8-52½	8.84 (1/3)	7.44(1/11)*
R. de Janeiro .	3 ⁵ / ₃₂	3 ¹ / ₁₀ d	3 ³ / ₈ (19/9)	2½.d(29/8)
B. Aires	17-75*	20.42½	20.46(3/1)	16-40 (23/9)*
Valparaiso	110‡	116	120 (14/9)	90 (19/9)
Montevideo	22d.	19d.	24½d. (19/9)	17¼ (28/5)
Lima	21-50	22-50	2800(29/6)	2000(14/9)
Manila	2/5H	2/1 ⁵ / ₈	2/5 (5/9)	2/1* (26/2)

† The discount on registered marks was 52½ per cent. on January 10, and 69 per cent. on August 25.

* Bank of England official rate. ‡ Sellers. § Nominal.

British, to check which an embargo was placed on forward dealings. Nevertheless, so severe had the strain on sterling become that some 350,000,00\$. of the metal, at rates then current, was transferred from the Bank of England to the Exchange Fund. On the outbreak of war

the entire gold resources of the country were mobilised and all dealings confined to official channels. Owing to the control exercised the quantity dealt with in the open market was 87,362,000Z. against 207,674,000Z. in the preceding year, and the price fluctuated narrowly between 148s. 2d. per oz. to 150s. 6d. per oz. until August 24. Official support for sterling was withdrawn next day and the price subsequently moved up to a new high record of 168s. 5d. per oz., which remained the Bank of England's buying price until the close of the year. The year opened with a shortage of spot silver, the premium on which rose to $15\frac{1}{16}$ d. per oz., the largest premium since 1923. Uneasiness over America's policy in regard to the metal in July caused prices to fluctuate over a range of 5d., and on the 10th it reached its lowest level of $16\frac{1}{16}$ d. per oz., the lowest on record in terms of gold. But it stimulated buying from India, whose demand was further increased on the outbreak of war. This demand reached its climax early in December when 10 million ounces changed hands in a single day. But when the Indian authorities announced that imports would be permitted under certain conditions, demand fell away and prices declined. Up to August 31 imports were 65,158,568 ozs., and exports 71,897,398 ozs., the United States again taking most, whereas in the whole of 1938 imports were 213,074,778 ozs., and exports 344,494,563 ozs.

Stock Exchange.—In many respects the course of stock markets in 1939 was similar to that of the preceding year. For in spite of the steadily increasing apprehension felt as to the outlook for international affairs the disposition to sell securities was seldom embarrassing. Consequently, although the volume of business continued to shrink, the fall in prices was much smaller than might have been expected, largely because speculative operations were effectively discouraged. According to the *Bankers' Magazine* a valuation of 365 representative securities showed a depreciation on the year of only 3·3 per cent., values falling more or less steadily until September. British railway preference stocks and American railway issues showed a substantial improvement, while South African mines, gas stocks, and foreign corporation loans, were amongst those to suffer most. Owing to the gravity of the political situation the Exchange was closed on September 1. Reopening a week later, minimum prices were fixed for Government and other securities of more or less an investment character, and all bargains were done for cash. Business in other descriptions was entirely a matter of negotiation, dealers being unwilling to take stock in the absence of ready buyers. Reduction of the Bank Rate from 4 to 3 per cent, a few weeks later, coupled with the fact that there were no failures comparable with those witnessed in 1914, allayed anxiety and conditions steadily improved, and by the close of the year much of the earlier loss in prices had been recovered. Quite a number were actually higher than a year before, notably textiles, shipping, and several commodity shares which the unfavourable circumstances of recent years had reduced to exceptionally lower levels. Others, specialising on war services and consequently highly susceptible to the recently imposed profits tax, remained out of favour. Government control of so

many essential materials at fixed prices denied several commodity shares of much of their opportunities and the rise in quotations was modest. Fears that increased taxes and the rationing of supplies for civilian consumption may not altogether offset the larger demand for national purposes prejudiced oil shares. Although gold production established a new high record, interest in the shares was restricted by the decision of local Governments to appropriate receipts from the sale of the metal above certain levels. Shares dependent on the provision of luxuries, such as beer and tobacco, were depressed by the probability of additional duties, while the decline in building operations as the result of the uncertain outlook led to losses in brick, cement, and associated descriptions. Largely in consequence of special support the fall in British Government stocks was relatively small, while the prospects of war having a beneficial influence on their economic positions gave a stimulus to many foreign Government bonds. Chinese, however, continued to fall on account of the position in that quarter. But smaller dividends were the rule rather than the exception, for nearly all industrial accounts testified to the rising trend both of costs and taxation, and, as so little relief could be anticipated in this direction, operators were obliged to show more and more discrimination in the selection of their investments, particularly as so many trade indices were no longer being published.

Commodity Prices.—The feature of commodity prices was their extraordinary stability in the face of circumstances which are usually calculated to bring about sharp advances. According to *The Times* index, the level of wholesale prices during the first eight months of the year rose by only 06 per cent. By August, wheat and cotton were actually lower than in January, both being prejudiced by abundant crops aggravating the problem of excessive stocks, and the former fell to the lowest price for centuries. The failure of other prices to respond to the stringency promised by the possibility of war was due to several factors, among the chief being that the industrial reaction of 1938 had led to ample stocks, especially of certain metals, and those subject to schemes of curtailed output were kept well below their potential production. There was thus a latent supply which lessened anxiety as to the adequacy of supplies. At the outbreak of hostilities the production of both tin and copper was on a basis of only 45 per cent., and, except for rubber and cotton, most other commodities were immediately brought under official control. Stocks were acquired at a slight advance in prices, and consumers rationed for their supplies. But, mainly because values abroad advanced, these prices had to be revised in an upward direction. As a result, food prices on December 30 were 31 per cent, above the level of a year previous, while prices for materials showed an increase of 22 per cent. The index figure for all commodities was 25*2 per cent, higher at 142.5 per cent., and was the highest since the 144*4 per cent, registered in June 1928.

At the close of December *The Times* index number as to wholesale prices was as follows (1913 = 100).

Group.	Dec. 80, 1938.	Dec. 80, 1939.	Inc. or dec. per cent. on Dec. 1938.
Cereals	90-5	121-5	-f 34-3
Meat and fish	123-8	160-6	+ 29-7
Other food	115-4	150-3	-f 30-2
1 Total food	110-2	144-4	+ 31-0
Iron and steel	162-6	1630	4- 0-3
Other metals and minerals	101-9	122-6	+ 20-3
Cotton	95-4	1400	+ 46-8
Other textiles	98 1	149-4	+ 52-3
Other materials	115-9	135-2	+ 16-7
Total materials	115-9	141-4	+ 22-0
Total all commodities	113-8	142-5	-f 25-2

Tinplates.—Liquidation of abnormal stocks and an increased demand, much of which must be attributed to widespread preparations for war, led to decidedly more activity in the tinplate industry. And, although competition prevented any material improvement in prices, output rose from 400,000 tons in the first eight months of 1938 to 585,000 tons from January to August, 1939, equal to some 880,000 tons per annum, which compared with only 620,000 tons for all of 1938. Exports, however, remained difficult, only 211,537 tons being shipped to the end of August, as against 213,300 tons in the previous year. But technical improvements in recent years has led to the commencement of continuous methods of manufacture which promise a larger production of better products at lower prices.

Shipbuilding and Shipping.—It was not until the second half of the year that any material improvement took place in shipping, while in the first half the limited activities of shipbuilders was practically confined to warship work. The year opened with a substantially larger volume of idle tonnage, 342,423 being in British ports as against only 95,377 in January, 1938. Freights continued to fall until June, the average for eight months to August being some 3 per cent, lower than for a like period of the previous year. War, however, brought about a marked improvement, and very shortly ships were being fully employed on national service at rates which, if not generous, were at least sufficient to provide most owners with a margin over their increased expenses. Shipbuilders were somewhat more fortunate, for in March the Government announced proposals for assisting the industry against uneconomic foreign competition by means of a subsidy of 2,750,000l. for tramp vessels, and credits for building new ships. Orders were quickly forthcoming, and in three months over 400,000 tons were laid down, and some 75 per cent, of the yards were fully employed. War brought more orders, and by the close of December practically all available berths were occupied, with every prospect that the tonnage launched in 1940 would attain a new high record.

Iron and Steel.—Under the stimulus of lower prices and a steadily rising demand on national account, the iron and steel industry made a rapid recovery from its recession of 1938. So great was the demand that stocks were quickly reduced, and it was impossible to maintain exports. In order to facilitate supplies of foreign material it became desirable to remove the import duties reimposed towards the close of the preceding year. In May the output of steel reached a new high record of 1,218,100 tons, and a month later the production of pig-iron reached 715,700 tons, the highest level for many years. By the end of July the output of both iron and steel totalled 11,939,100 tons, or 816,300 tons more than in the same period of 1938. At the close of December it was understood that the figures had established new high records, and prices were raised to cover a rise in costs.

Coal Trade.—The coal trade continued to labour under the unsatisfactory conditions which prevailed in 1938 until well into the new year, when slower trade in the consuming industries was reflected in lower prices for iron and steel. Subsequently, as the national defence plans gathered momentum, there was an increased demand on home account, especially during the last few months when exports were handicapped by temporary dislocations arising from war. But prices moved narrowly until the end of August when output had reached 155,600,000 tons, which compared with 152,612,000 tons for the like period of 1938, while exports had totalled 25,229,000 tons against 23,411,000 tons. Costs, however, had risen.

Insurance.—Up to the outbreak of war life insurance business was reasonably well maintained, industrial recovery leading to increased employment and more opportunities of securing proposals. Experience with motor and fire risks was, however, again unsatisfactory, the former being adversely affected by difficulties arising from reduced public lighting. But total business was smaller, as most classes received a check from various adjustments rendered necessary by war, the major risks of which were assumed by the Government on a national scale.

Textiles.—Although most textiles enjoyed somewhat more favourable conditions than in 1938, especially rayon, it was not until the later months that cotton participated. Earlier in the year lower prices for the raw material, in consequence of abundant supplies, tended to retard demand both on home and foreign account. But war stimulated demand not only for immediate use, largely for the Services, but for fear of a rise in prices, which promptly responded, and many mills were soon working at, or near, capacity, chiefly on national account. Overseas trade was again disappointing and exports were smaller. Except that exports were larger, wool encountered similar conditions which, however, was less marked, for the statistical position was much stronger than in cotton, which was left free to establish its own price, while wool was brought under official control at 2s. 6fd. per lb. Rayon made a steady recovery from the depression of 1938 largely because manufacture is in relatively few hands, which facilitates rapid adjustment to changing circumstances. Not only did output increase, especially of staple fibre, the exports of which were almost trebled, but prices were advanced.

Oil and Rubber.—Partly because of some improvement in the trade of America and a desire in others to accumulate stocks, demand for oil products continued to expand. Production, however, was also increased, particularly in Egypt and Trinidad, and stocks became such as to bring about a reduction in prices at mid-summer. Production was then suspended for a week or two in certain areas of the United States whose total output was again far in excess of all others. World output up to September 30 was estimated at 1,542,000,000 barrels or 4.3 per cent, above that for the corresponding period of 1938. In the autumn, prices advanced in expectations that war would lead to much larger demands. But these were falsified owing to rationing of supplies in many countries whose Governments assumed control of the industry and fixed prices relatively little above those of pre-war. But in Kumania, where demand from Germany was larger than ever, prices continued to rise. Apart from a steady decline in stocks little took place in rubber until the second half of the year when an increased demand, especially from America, coupled with the probabilities of irregular supplies, brought about a sharp improvement. The indications were that world consumption was considerably greater than in 1938, America alone taking 50 per cent, more, and the total was probably in excess of the record of 575,000 tons reached in 1936. From around *1d.* per *lb.* the price rose to over *1s.* per *lb.*, the average being *11d.* per *lb.* above that of 1938. In order to meet the demand the quota under the restriction scheme was raised from 50 per cent, to 75 per cent.

Motor, Aircraft, and Films.—In common with many others, the motor industry suffered a severe shock on the advent of war when the introduction of petrol rationing, coupled with the prospect of 66 per cent, additional car tax on January 1, sufficed to induce nearly all manufacturers to divert their activities to munitions. Prior to that the industry gave promise of a material recovery, the production of 268,361 vehicles in the first half of the year being 9 per cent, above the like period of 1938 when total output fell by 10 per cent. The improvement was confined to cars, partly because of an increased demand for military purposes and the control exercised on road haulage undertakings. Exports, however, rose steadily until August, and there was a marked increase in shipment of cycles. Imports continued to decline. Substantial additions to the factories in recent years enabled the aircraft industry to make the most of its exceptional opportunities. Most of these were again a direct consequence of the growing tension of international affairs, and output was understood to have reached record dimensions. Not only was it sufficient to meet practically all demands on home account until war intervened, but exported goods to the value of 4,308,350*l.*, equivalent to 80 per cent, of the whole total of 1938. Partly because the times were not propitious for raising funds on the required scale, the film industry made a disappointing response to the opportunities afforded by the new Quota Act which was brought into operation. The industry did little more than hold its own up to August, when Government decrees prohibiting large assemblies during war led to a state of chaos and all activities were promptly suspended.

The Balance of Payments.—Calculations as to the balance of payments, which are usually prepared by the Board of Trade, were among the many services provided by those in authority which were suspended as a result of the outbreak of war. But so far as overseas commitments in respect of trade were concerned imports, compared with 1938, declined by 3·6 per cent, to 885,943,767?. Exports, excluding bullion, amounted to 484,731,554?, a fall of 9 per cent, on the preceding year. The excess of imports was thus 401,212,213?. and compare with an excess of only 387,228,967?. in 1938, while in 1937 imports exceeded exports by no less than 431,299,263?. Much of the decline both in imports and exports since then may be attributed to the fall in prices in the meantime, while part of the shrinkage in exports in 1939 was due to handicaps which arose directly from the war. Receipts in respect of shipping services were most probably lower than in 1938, and a similar view must be taken as to income from commissions and other sources and, as the excess of Government payments overseas must almost inevitably have been larger, the deficiency on the year was clearly well above the 55,000,000?. estimated in respect of 1938.

LAW.

THE law, like everything else, reflected the momentousness of the events of 1939. Contrary to the expectation of some, there was, up to the close of the year, no occasion to use the powers taken by the Lord Chancellor in the Administration of Justice (Emergency Provisions) Act to scatter to the corners of the country, courts, judges, and legal machinery generally, and but for the creation of the Prize Court, minor changes in the size of juries, or their absence, modification of the hours of the sittings of the courts, closing of the public galleries, and the like, and, of course, the absence on war service of many counsel and solicitors, the routine of business was undisturbed.

But the stamp of war was on the statute book of the year. The emergency was responsible during the second half of the Parliamentary session for the production by hard-worked draftsmen, and the passing by docile members, of statutes, literally in their dozens. Under these were issued satellite statutory rules and orders, one might truthfully say, by the hundred. As there has, on this occasion, been preparedness in warfare, so also in the law, and much saving was effected by promptly translating into action the lessons learnt in 1914-18. To take but two illustrations, the Acts designed to prevent hardship to tenants of smaller houses by the raising of rents, which had survived from the last war, were immediately amended by another, operating until six months after the termination of that which opened in 1939, while the Execution of Trusts (Emergency Provisions) Act re-enacted with no fundamental alteration the corresponding legislation of twenty-five years earlier.

In the early days of September Lord Maugham was succeeded as Lord Chancellor by Lord Caldecote (Sir Thomas Inskip), to be re-appointed almost at once as a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary to succeed Lord Macmillan, who had been appointed Minister of Information. The war made heavy claims also on Lords Justices, High and County Court judges, and barristers and solicitors of eminence, many of whom were chosen as chairmen of tribunals and committees under one or other of the Emergency Acts.

To the period before the outbreak of war belong the Civil Defence Act, which, *inter alia*, laid on employers of staffs of any size the obligation, albeit with Government assistance, to provide air-raid shelters and on Local Authorities the duty of arranging for evacuation of the civil population, and the Military Training Act of May, which provided for the compulsory training as militiamen of young men between twenty and twenty-one, only to be suspended for the emergency by the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, which rendered liable for service in the forces all male persons between eighteen and forty-one save such as should be exoepted. Prominent

among the statutes which were produced ready-made and passed *en masse* in early September were the Courts (Emergency Powers) Act and the Possession of Mortgaged Land (Emergency Provisions) Act, which helped to obviate the necessity of a moratorium by enacting that leave of the appropriate court should be required before persons seeking to recover money or to recover possession of mortgaged land under any judgment or order could proceed to enforce their rights; the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, severely curtailing the normal liberty of the ordinary citizen, some of the more drastic Regulations under which were amended under pressure from the House of Commons; the Landlord and Tenant (War Damage) Act; and the Compensation (Defence) Act, raising a number of practical problems in its application.

Other important War Acts provided insurance by the Board of Trade against certain war risks in respect of ships and goods ; placed under the supervision of that Board any circular or advertisement of insurance of property against war risks ; prevented the prices of goods of descriptions specified by the Board from being raised above a basic price by more than an amount referable to increase in specified expenses ; and controlled employment ; while a Finance (No. 2) Act imposed additional taxation, and provided, *inter alia*, that the standard rate of income tax over the whole year be seven shillings in the pound.

Apart from temporary legislation, there were passed during the year several Acts deserving of some notice. The Limitation Act simplified the law as to the limitation of actions on the basis of recommendations of the Law Reform Committee ; a short Official Secrets Act, owing its existence to the agitation following on the case of *Rex v. Cattle* in 1938, modified the provisions of section 6 of the 1920 Act by obliging the police, save in great emergency, to obtain the consent of a Secretary of State before exercising the powers given by the section ; the bulky but mainly consolidating Government of London Act regulated the relations of the London County Council and the London boroughs, repealing or partially repealing a number of ancient Acts, including one of the reign of Henry VIII; the Prevention of Fraud (Investments) Act, not all the sections of which were put into operation in 1939, attempted to put down the scandal of " share-pushing " by, among other things, providing for the compulsory licensing of dealers in securities other than members of recognised stock exchanges and persons acting in certain other capacities, requiring the production of deposits or guarantees, and so on; the Building Societies Act stipulated what additional security might be taken into account by societies in determining the amount of advances to members, and provided for careful assessment of the adequacy of the security, etc., and the Cancer Act, in addition to laying on Local Authorities the duty of providing adequate facilities for treatment, prohibited the publication of advertisements either containing offers to treat the disease or referring to alleged remedies. Finally, a word should be spared for the Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act, which had its origin in a private Bill. This Act, whose operation was subsequently postponed till March 1, 1940, was aimed at abuses in connexion with the informal adoption of children, made it necessary that adoption societies

be registered with the Local Authority, and imposed restrictions on adoption abroad, etc.

Turning to the more notable cases of the year, that which probably roused most popular interest was *Marrison v. Bell*, which held that there was nothing in the National Health Insurance Act, 1936, which could be interpreted as suspending an employee's common law right to wages during illness so long as the contract of service was not terminated by notice. As a result of the exposition therein of the common law right, a certain amount of misconception arose as to the position generally, which was corrected by subsequent judgments which made clear that this right to wages only applied to cases where the common law rule that wages were payable during the subsistence of the contract had not been excluded by either express or implied agreement, the terms of the contract being, of course, a question of fact in each case.

Side by side with *Marrison v. Bell* should be placed *Newstead v. London Express Newspaper, Ltd.*, which emphasised the difficulties of newspaper proprietors by establishing in the Court of Appeal that it was no defence to a claim for damages for libel for the defendants to prove that the defamatory words were not intended to apply to the plaintiff but to another person of similar name, of whom they were in fact true. The London daily newspaper in question having published an account of the conviction for bigamy of a certain barman, Harold Newstead, "a thirty-year old Camberwell man," Harold Cecil Newstead, a hairdresser, also of Camberwell, sued them for libel. To the question whether reasonable persons would understand the words complained of to refer to the plaintiff, the jury, in the court below, were unable to return an answer, while, be it noted, quantifying the possible damages at a farthing, and both the High Court judge and the Court of Appeal held that the action had still to be tried. Passages in the Court of Appeal judgment in the leading case of *Hulton v. Jones* to the effect that the libel must be shown to be published of the plaintiff, who would fail if the defendant could prove it was written of another, were strongly relied on by the defendants, but the Master of the Rolls refused to accept them, stating that it was not true to say that if defamatory words were true of A., then, as a matter of law, they could not be true of B., and going on to say that persons making defamatory statements about others might "not unreasonably be expected" so to identify the person as to make it unlikely that a judge could hold them reasonably capable of referring to another, or a jury hold that they did so refer.

A case, part of the decision in which interested and affected the very large body of building society clients, was the protracted action of *Bradford Third Equitable Benefit Society v. Borders*, in which doubts were raised as to the validity of a widespread practice. It was suggested among the defences to an action for recovery of possession of a freehold house mortgaged to the society that the existence of a collateral guarantee not referred to in the mortgage deed invalidated the transaction, the Building Societies Act of 1874 not permitting the advance of money save on the security of property. Mr. Justice Bennett held that it was not *ultra vires* the statutory powers of the society to advance money both on the security of the house

and also upon the collateral guarantee, provided the value of the house was not merely nominal but a substantial part of the security. As a result of the raising and discussion of this matter of collateral security, there was almost immediately passed the Building Societies Act, to which reference has already been made, which regulated in this and other matters the procedure of these societies in the matter of advances.

Also of popular interest and application were the judgments in *Gibbons v. Westminster Bank* (King's Bench) and in *Hewitt v. Bonvin*. The latter decided that where a son was, by permission of his father, using his father's car to drive his own friends to a certain destination and had an accident, the father was not liable. The son was driving for his own purposes and not on his father's behalf. The former decided that where a bank, in breach of contract, dishonours a cheque drawn on it by a customer who is not a trader, that customer is not entitled to recover more than nominal damages unless he pleads and proves special damage.

A point not previously covered and of some importance to commerce was decided by the Court of Appeal in *Madeleine Vionnet et Cie v. Wills*. There it was held that a creditor for a debt incurred abroad in foreign currency was entitled, in a suit in the English courts, to recover the equivalent of the debt in our currency, according to the rate of exchange prevailing when the debt first became payable.

Two interesting Workmen's Compensation cases turned on the familiar difficulty as to whether the injury could be said to arise, not only in the course of the employment, but out of it. In both cases, *Powell v. Great Western Railway* (Court of Appeal) and *Dover Navigation Company v. Craig* (House of Lords), the peril causing the injury was one shared by the community at large, the workman in the former case being a fireman injured in the eye while on the footplate by a shot fired by a boy from an airgun, and in the second a seaman who contracted yellow fever in a mosquito infested locality to which his ship was ordered, and succumbed. In each case the workman or his dependants gained their case. It was clearly impossible, Lord Macmillan remarked, in the latter case, to hold that all illnesses and diseases contracted by a workman in the course of his employment arose out of it, but if it could be shown that he was specially exposed to the risk by reason of his employment, that sufficed.

In the House of Lords the decision of the Court of Appeal in *Farley v. Westminster Bank* that "parish work" was not within the legal definition of "charity" was affirmed. In *Radcliffe v. Ribble Motor Services, Ltd.* (House of Lords), a most useful analysis was made of the conditions in which there should be applied that doctrine of common employment under which a servant must be supposed to have contracted on the terms that, as between himself and his master, he would run the risk of injury by the negligence or want of skill of a fellow servant incidental to the service which he undertakes. In his judgment Lord Atkin characterised it as one which "there are none to praise and very few to love," adding, however, that it was too well established to be overthrown by judicial decision, and in regard to its development the following passage from the judgment of Lord Macmillan is most apposite: "The danger attendant on all

doctrines which are founded on presumptions, implications, or fictions originally thought to be equitable is that they are apt to be extended by a process of logical development which loses sight of their origin and carries them far beyond the reach of any such justification as they may have originally possessed." (It should be stated in passing that the deliberations of a committee considering the whole question of Workmen's Compensation, which would probably have included the application of this doctrine, were suspended indefinitely as a result of the war.) To return to the facts of the *Radcliffe* case, they may be more or less adequately summarised by saying that three local associations employed the respondents under three contracts to supply them with motor coaches and their drivers for a certain journey. The drivers were instructed to return directly to their common garage and on the homeward journey each driver could go any way he chose. The drivers returned so far as a team, there being only one available route, but at a point whence there were several routes the drivers did not all adopt the same. Radcliffe took one of the recognised routes, stopped his coach for some reason unknown, alighted, and was standing on the offside when he was crushed by the coach driven by another of the drivers, who, seeing Radcliffe's coach standing, went up to it, stopped behind it to see what he had stopped for, then pulled out to get in front of it, and, in passing close to it, inflicted the injuries on Radcliffe. Evidence was given by the manager of the defendants' garage that it was customary for any driver on a common errand to stop when another driver had broken down, to inquire what was wrong. The House of Lords were unanimous in holding that the case was not one to which the doctrine of common employment applied, Lord Atkin opining that so to argue would be "implied contract run riot." Each of the three judges severally approved the decision in the analogous case of *The Petrel* (1893), where a collision occurred in the Thames between two steamers belonging to the same owners and the doctrine was held not to apply, adopting the reasoning therein of Sir Francis Jeune. The two drivers, when on the road severally driving their motor coaches on independent journeys, were, it was held, not within the scope of the doctrine, as explicitly laid down by the House of Lords in previous cases. A passage from the judgment of Lord Wright, which puts the matter with great clarity, is of sufficient general interest to quote verbatim: "If the risk from the fellow servant's negligence is accidental, not incidental to the employment, if the men are engaged to act on independent jobs, which do not necessarily, or in the ordinary course, bring them into relation, if the risk from the fellow servant is only the same risk as from men employed by other masters in the same type of occupation, if there is no common object, immediate or remote, between the employments of the fellow employees even though concerned in the same class of work except that they are all engaged in seeking to make money for the same employer, I think there is *prima facie* no case of common employment."

Of more than academic interest, also, was the reversal by the Court of Appeal of the embarrassing decision in *Shenton v. Tyler* that the old privilege attaching to communications between husband and wife applied in the case of a widow so as to prevent an attempt to get disclosure by her of

communications made to her by her late husband. The Appeal Court said there was no such common law rule, but merely the statutory rule, the existence of which ceased on the death of the spouse.

Of the many interesting cases arising from the gradual working out of the new provisions of the 1937 Matrimonial Causes Act, three only can be mentioned. *WiUiams v. WiUiams* was a case in which there was desertion by the one party earlier than the statutory period of three years, immediately followed by insanity during the whole of that period. The Court held that abandonment must be wilful and voluntary in order to constitute desertion and that a person of unsound mind was incapable of the mental or moral activity necessary to constitute desertion, with the result that the remedy of divorce was not available, adding that the hardship was a question for the Legislature. *Pardy v. Tardy* (Court of Appeal) was concerned with a separation deed, which, of course, normally rules out the possibility of desertion. There it was held that if both parties during the relevant period in truth regard the agreement as a dead letter no longer regulating their matrimonial relations, there can be desertion in spite of the existence of a separation deed. Separation originally consensual can change its quality and become desertion. Finally, *Jordan v. Jordan* dealt with the effect on desertion of a petition for divorce. The wife having deserted her husband in 1932, the latter, in 1933, petitioned for divorce. His petition was dismissed in 1934, and there was no subsequent cohabitation. It was held that in these circumstances the wife's desertion revived after the dismissal of the petition.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I.

AGREEMENT OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND POLAND.¹

LONDON, AUGUST 25, 1939.

THE Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Polish Government:

Desiring to place on a permanent basis the collaboration between their respective countries resulting from the assurances of mutual assistance of a defensive character which they have already exchanged ;

Have resolved to conclude an Agreement for that purpose and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries :

The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

The Kt. Hon. VISCOUNT HALIFAX, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ;

The Polish Government:

His Excellency Count EDWARD RACZYŃSKI, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Polish Republic in London ;

Who, having exchanged their Full Powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions :—

ARTICLE 1.—Should one of the Contracting Parties become engaged in hostilities with a European Power in consequence of aggression by the latter against that Contracting Party, the other Contracting Party will at once give the Contracting Party engaged in hostilities all the support and assistance in its power.

ARTICLE 2.—(1) The provisions of Article 1 will also apply in the event of any action by a European Power which clearly threatened, directly or indirectly, the independence of one of the Contracting Parties, and was of such a nature that the Party in question considered it vital to resist it with its armed forces.

(2) Should one of the Contracting Parties become engaged in hostilities with a European Power in consequence of action by that Power which threatened the independence or neutrality of another European State

¹ No. I. is reprinted from Cmd. 6144 and No. II. from Cmd. 6123 by kind permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

in such a way as to constitute a clear menace to the security of that Contracting Party, the provisions of Article 1 will apply, without prejudice, however, to the rights of the other European State concerned.

ARTICLE 3.—Should a European Power attempt to undermine the independence of one of the Contracting Parties by processes of economic penetration or in any other way, the Contracting Parties will support each other in resistance to such attempts. Should the European Power concerned thereupon embark on hostilities against one of the Contracting Parties, the provisions of Article 1 will apply.

ARTICLE 4.—The methods of applying the undertakings of mutual assistance provided for by the present Agreement are established between the competent naval, military, and air authorities of the Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 5.—Without prejudice to the foregoing undertakings of the Contracting Parties to give each other mutual support and assistance immediately on the outbreak of hostilities, they will exchange complete and speedy information concerning any development which might threaten their independence and, in particular, concerning any development which threatened to call the said undertakings into operation.

ARTICLE 6.—(1) The Contracting Parties will communicate to each other the terms of any undertakings of assistance against aggression which they have already given or may in future give to other States.

(2) Should either of the Contracting Parties intend to give such an undertaking after the coming into force of the present Agreement, the other Contracting Party shall, in order to ensure the proper functioning of the Agreement, be informed thereof.

(3) Any new undertaking which the Contracting Parties may enter into in future shall neither limit their obligations under the present Agreement nor indirectly create new obligations between the Contracting Party not participating in these undertakings and the third State concerned.

ARTICLE 7.—Should the Contracting Parties be engaged in hostilities in consequence of the application of the present Agreement, they will not conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement.

ARTICLE 8.—(1) The present Agreement shall remain in force for a period of five years.

(2) Unless denounced six months before the expiry of this period it shall continue in force, each Contracting Party having thereafter the right to denounce it at any time by giving six months' notice to that effect.

(3) The present Agreement shall come into force on signature.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Agreement and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in English in duplicate, at London, August 25, 1939. A Polish text shall subsequently be agreed upon between the Contracting Parties and both texts will then be authentic.

(L.S.) HALIFAX.

(L.S.) EDWARD RACZYŃSKI

II.

**TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY IN
RESPECT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE PRESIDENT OF
THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE
TURKISH REPUBLIC.**

ANGORA, OCTOBER 19, 1939.

THE President of the French Republic, His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India (in respect of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland), and the President of the Turkish Republic :

Desiring to conclude a treaty of a reciprocal character in the interests of their national security, and to provide for mutual assistance in resistance to aggression,

Have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, namely :

The President of the French Republic :

M. ~~Rene~~* Massigli, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary,
Commander of the Legion of Honour ;

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India (in respect of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland):

Sir Hughe Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen, K.C.M.G., Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary;

The President of the Turkish Republic :

Dr. Refik Saydam, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs, *ad. int.*, Deputy for Istanbul.

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows :—

ARTICLE 1.—In the event of Turkey being involved in hostilities with a European Power in consequence of aggression by that Power against Turkey, France, and the United Kingdom will co-operate effectively with Turkey, and will lend her all aid and assistance in their power.

ARTICLE 2.—(1) In the event of an act of aggression by a European Power leading to war in the Mediterranean area in which France and the United Kingdom are involved, Turkey will collaborate effectively with France and the United Kingdom, and will lend them all aid and assistance in its power.

(2) In the event of an act of aggression by a European Power leading to war in the Mediterranean area in which Turkey is involved, the Government of the United Kingdom and the French Government will collaborate effectively with the Turkish Government, and will lend it all aid and assistance in their power.

ARTICLE 3.—So long as the guarantees given by France and the United Kingdom to Greece and Rumania by their respective Declarations of the 13th April, 1939, remain in force, Turkey will co-operate effectively

with France and the United Kingdom, and will lend them all aid and assistance in its power, in the event of France and the United Kingdom being engaged in hostilities in virtue of either of the said guarantees.

ARTICLE 4.—In the event of France and the United Kingdom being involved in hostilities with a European Power in consequence of aggression committed by that Power against either of those States without the provisions of Articles 2 or 3 being applicable, the High Contracting Parties will immediately consult together.

It is nevertheless agreed that in such an eventuality Turkey will observe at least a benevolent neutrality towards France and the United Kingdom.

ARTICLE 5.—Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 3 above, in the event of either :

- (1) aggression by a European Power against another European State which the Government of one of the High Contracting Parties had, with the approval of that State, undertaken to assist in maintaining its independence of neutrality against such aggression, or
- (2) aggression by a European Power which, while directed against another European State, constituted, in the opinion of the Government of one of the High Contracting Parties, a menace to its own security,

the High Contracting Parties will immediately consult together with a view to such common action as might be considered effective.

ARTICLE 6.—The present Treaty is not directed against any country, but is designed to assure France, the United Kingdom, and Turkey of mutual aid and assistance in resistance to aggression should the necessity arise.

ARTICLE 7.—The provisions of the present Treaty are equally binding as bilateral obligations between Turkey and each of the two other High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 8.—If the High Contracting Parties are engaged in hostilities in consequence of the operation of the present Treaty, they will not conclude an armistice peace except by common agreement.

ARTICLE 9.—The present Treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited simultaneously at Angora as soon as possible. It shall enter into force on the date of this deposit.

The present Treaty is concluded for a period of fifteen years. If none of the High Contracting Parties has notified the two others of its intention to terminate it six months before the expiration of the said period, the Treaty will be renewed by tacit consent for a further period of five years, and so on.

In witness whereof the undersigned have signed the present Treaty and have thereto affixed their seals.

Done at Angora, in triplicate, the 19th October, 1939.

(L.S.) R. MASSIGLI.

(L.S.) H. M. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN.

(L.S.) DR. R. SAYDAM.

PROTOCOL NO. 1.

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries state that their respective Governments agree that the Treaty of mutual assistance dated this day shall be put into force from the moment of its signature.

Done at Angora, in triplicate, the 19th October, 1939.

R. MASSIGLI.

H. M. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN.

DR. R. SAYDAM.

PROTOCOL NO. 2.

At the moment of signature of the Treaty between the United Kingdom, France, and Turkey, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, duly authorised to this effect, have agreed as follows :—

The obligations undertaken by Turkey in virtue of the above-mentioned Treaty cannot compel that country to take action having as its effect, or involving as its consequence, entry into armed conflict with the U.S.S.R.

The present Protocol of Signature shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance concluded to-day between the United Kingdom, France, and Turkey.

Done at Angora, in triplicate, the 19th October, 1939.

R. MASSIGLI.

H. M. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN.

DR. R. SAYDAM.

III.

RUSSO-GERMAN PACT.

(SIGNED, AUGUST 23, 1939.)

GUIDED by the desire to strengthen the cause of peace between Germany and the Soviet Republics, and based on the fundamental stipulations of the Neutrality Agreement concluded in April, 1926, the German Government and Soviet Russia have come to the following agreement:—

ARTICLE 1.—The two contracting Powers undertake to refrain from any act of force, any aggressive act, and any attacks against each other or in conjunction with any other Powers.

ARTICLE 2.—If one of the contracting Powers should become the object of warlike action on the part of a third Power, the other contracting Power will in no way support the third Power.

ARTICLE 3.—The Governments of the two contracting Powers will in future remain in consultation with one another in order to inform themselves about questions which touch their common interests.

ARTICLE 4.—None of the two contracting Powers will join any other group of Powers which directly or indirectly is directed against one of the two.

ARTICLE 5.—In case differences or conflict should arise between the two contracting Powers on questions of any kind, the two partners will solve these disputes or conflicts exclusively by friendly exchange of views or if necessary by arbitration commissions.

ARTICLE 6.—The agreement is concluded for the duration of ten years, with the stipulation that unless one of the contracting partners gives notice to terminate it one year before its expiration it will automatically be prolonged by five years.

ARTICLE 7.—The present agreement shall be ratified in the shortest possible time. The ratification documents are to be exchanged in Berlin. The treaty comes into force immediately after it has been signed.

IV.

THE GERMAN-SOVIET TREATY ON AMITY AND THE FRONTIER BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND GERMANY.

(SIGNED, SEPTEMBER 30, 1939.)

AFTER the dissolution of the former Polish State, the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government regard it as their exclusive task to restore peace and order in that territory and to secure for the peoples residing there a peaceful existence in conformity with their national characteristics.

FINAL FRONTIER.

With this aim in view they arrived at agreement on the following :—

ARTICLE 1.—The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government establish as the frontier between the interests of their respective States, on the territory of the former Polish State, the line which is drawn on the appended map, which will be described in more detail in a supplementary protocol.

ARTICLE 2.—Both parties recognise the frontier between the interests of their respective States established in Article 1 as final, and will eliminate any interference by third Powers with this decision.

ARTICLE 3.—The necessary state reorganisation of the territory west of the line indicated in Article 1 shall be effected by the German Government, and on the territory east of this line by the Government of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 4.—The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government regard the reorganisation mentioned above as a reliable foundation for the further development of friendly relations between their peoples.

ARTICLE 5.—This treaty is subject to ratification. The exchange of ratification instruments shall be effected in Berlin as early as possible. The treaty comes into force as soon as it is signed.

EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

The Declaration of the Soviet and German Governments of September 28, 1939.

The German Government and the Government of the U.S.S.R., by the treaty signed to-day, having finally settled questions that arose as a result of the dissolution of the Polish State, and having thereby created a firm foundation for a lasting peace in Eastern Europe, in mutual agreement express the opinion that the liquidation of the present war between Germany on the one hand and Great Britain on the other (*sic*) is in the interests of all nations.

Therefore both Governments will direct their common efforts, if necessary in accord with other friendly Powers, in order to attain this aim as early as possible.

If, however, these efforts of both Governments remain futile, it will be established thereby that Great Britain and France bear the responsibility for the continuation of war, and in the event of the continuation of the war the Governments of Germany and the U.S.S.R. will consult each other on the necessary measures.

The following letter was addressed by Molotov to Ribbentrop :—

"Herr Reichminister,—Referring to our conversations we have the honour to confirm to you that, on the basis and in the spirit of the general political agreement reached by us, the Government of the U.S.S.R. is filled with the desire to do everything to develop economic relations and the trade turnover between the U.S.S.R. and Germany.

" With this aim in view both parties will draw up an economic programme in accordance with which the Soviet Union will supply Germany with raw materials which Germany will, in her turn, compensate by deliveries of industrial goods to be effected in the course of a lengthy period.

" Both countries will draft this economic programme in such a way that the volume of the German-Soviet trade turnover should again reach the highest level attained in the past.

" Both Governments will immediately issue the necessary instructions for the realisation of the above measures, and will see to it that negotiations should be begun and brought to a conclusion as soon as possible."

V.

SOVIET-ESTONIAN PACT.

(SIGNED, SEPTEMBER 28, 1939.)

THE text of the Mutual Assistance Pact between Estonia and Russia is as follows:—

ARTICLE 1.—The two contracting parties undertake to render to each other every assistance, including military, in the event of direct aggression or the menace of aggression arising on the part of any great European Power against the sea frontiers of the contracting parties in the Baltic

Sea, or their land frontiers across the territory of the Latvian Republic, as well as against bases indicated in Article 3.

ARTICLE 2.—The U.S.S.R. undertakes to render to the Estonian Army assistance in armaments and other military equipment on favourable terms.

ARTICLE 3.—The Estonian Republic assures the Soviet Union of the right to maintain naval bases and several aerodromes for aviation on lease terms at reasonable prices on the Estonian islands of Saare Maa (Osel), Hiiumaa (Dago), and in the town of Paldiski (Baltiski Port). The exact sites for the bases and aerodromes shall be allotted and their boundaries defined by mutual agreement. For the protection of the naval bases and aerodromes, the U.S.S.R. has the right to maintain at its own expense on the sites allotted for the bases and aerodromes, Soviet land and air armed forces of a strictly limited strength, their maximum numbers to be determined by special agreements.

ARTICLE 4.—The two contracting parties undertake not to conclude any alliances nor participate in any coalitions directed against one of the contracting parties.

ARTICLE 5.—The realisation of this pact should not affect in any extent the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their economic systems and State organisation. The sites allotted for bases and aerodromes (Article 3) shall remain the territory of the Estonian Republic.

ARTICLE 6.—This pact comes into force upon the exchange of the instruments of ratification. The exchange of these instruments shall take place in Tallinn within six days from the date of the signature of this pact. The term of the validity of this pact is ten years, and if one of the contracting parties does not find it necessary to denounce this pact one year before the expiration of its term, the pact shall automatically continue valid for the next five years.

VI.

SOVIET-LATVIAN PACT.

(SIGNED, OCTOBER 5, 1939.)

THE text of the Mutual Assistance Pact between Latvia and Russia is as follows:—

(1) Both sides pledge themselves to universal, including military assistance in case of a direct attack or threat of attack by any other European Power. This covers the sea borders of the Baltic Sea as well as the land frontiers adjoining the territory of Estonia or Lithuania.

(2) The Soviet Union promises to help the Latvian Army by supplying it with arms and war materials on advantageous conditions.

(3) Latvia grants the right to the Soviet Union to establish naval bases for the Russian Navy in the ports of Liepāja (Libau) and Ventspils (Windau), and to build several aerodromes for the Soviet Air Force according to special arrangements. Further, the Soviet Union is entitled, for the defence of the Gulf of Riga, to set up artillery bases along the coast between Ventspils and Pitrags (Petragge). At the naval bases and aerodromes

the Soviet Union may maintain a certain number of troops, whose strength will be fixed in a separate agreement.

(4) Both partners undertake not to enter into any alliances or system of alliances directed against the other. Nothing in the pact is to be allowed to impair the sovereign rights of the parties nor affect their internal regime, their economic and social system, or their other military measures. The naval bases or aerodromes granted to the Soviet Union remain the territory of the Latvian State.

(5) The pact will come into force with the exchange of the ratification Notes which should take place within the next six days in Riga. The validity of the pact is ten years.

VII.

SOVIET-LITHUANIAN PACT.

(SIGNED, OCTOBER 10, 1939.)

THE official text of the agreement is as follows :—

ARTICLE 1.—For the purpose of the consolidation of the friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania, the city of Vilna and the Vilna district are transferred by the Soviet Union to the Lithuanian Republic and included in the territory of the Lithuanian State, the boundary between the U.S.S.R. and the Lithuanian Republic being established in accordance with the map appended hereto.¹ This boundary shall be specified in more detail in a supplementary protocol.

ARTICLE 2.—The Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Republic undertake to render each other every assistance, including military assistance, in the event of aggression or the menace of aggression against Lithuania as well as in the event of aggression or the menace of aggression against the Soviet Union over Lithuanian territory on the part of any European Power.

ARTICLE 3.—The Soviet Union undertakes to render the Lithuanian Army assistance in armaments and other military equipment on favourable terms.

ARTICLE 4.—The Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Republic undertake jointly to effect the protection of the State boundaries of Lithuania. For this purpose the Soviet Union is granted the right to maintain at its own expense, at points in the Lithuanian Republic established by mutual agreement, Soviet land and air armed forces of strictly limited strength. The exact locations of these troops and the boundaries within which they may be quartered, their strength at each particular point, and all other questions, economic and administrative, and questions of jurisdiction arising in connexion with the presence of Soviet armed forces on Lithuanian territory under the present treaty, shall be regulated by special agreements. Sites and buildings necessary for this purpose shall be allotted by the Lithuanian Government on lease terms at a reasonable price.

A map accompanied the text of the pact.

ARTICLE 5.—In the event of the menace of aggression against Lithuania or against the U.S.S.R. over Lithuanian territory, the two contracting parties shall immediately discuss the resulting situation and take all measures found necessary by mutual agreement to secure the inviolability of the territories of the contracting parties.

ARTICLE 6.—The two contracting parties undertake not to conclude any alliances nor to take part in any coalitions directed against either of the contracting parties.

ARTICLE 7.—The realisation of this treaty should not affect in any way the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their State organisation, economic and social system, military measures, and generally the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs. The places of location of the Soviet land and air armed forces (Article 3 of this Treaty) in all circumstances remain a component part of the territory of the Lithuanian Republic.

ARTICLE 8.—The term of the validity of this treaty in regard to the undertakings for mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Lithuanian Republic (Articles 2-7) is fifteen years, and, unless one of the contracting parties finds it necessary to denounce the provisions of this treaty for a specified term of one year before the expiration of that term, these provisions shall automatically continue valid for the next ten years.

ARTICLE 9.—This treaty comes into force upon the exchange of instruments of ratification. The exchange of these instruments shall take place in Kaunas within six days from the day of signature of this treaty.

VIII.

TEXT OF THE MEMORANDUM OF APRIL 28, 1989, FROM THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT TO THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, REGARDING THE GERMAN-POLISH NON-AGGRESSION PACT OF 1984.

THE German Government has been informed by statements which have been published in Poland and Great Britain of the progress to date and the objective of the negotiations recently conducted between Poland and Great Britain. According to these, the Polish and British Governments have reached a preliminary understanding, which is shortly to be replaced by a permanent agreement, by which Poland and Great Britain are to render each other mutual assistance, in the event that the independence of either State is directly or indirectly threatened.

The German Government feels itself obliged to present the following communication to the Polish Government:—

When in 1933 the National-Socialist Government applied itself to the task of reorganising Germany's foreign policy, its first objective, after Germany's resignation from the League of Nations was to place the relations between Germany and Poland on a new basis. The Fihrer of the German Reich and the late Marshal Pilsudski met at that time with the determina-

tion to break with the political methods of the past and to open the way for a direct friendly understanding between the two States for dealing with all questions concerning their mutual relations.

By the unconditional renunciation of any use of force against each other, it was intended to create a guarantee of peace, in order to render easier for both Governments the great task of finding for all problems, whether political, economic, or cultural, solutions based on a just and equitable settlement in conformity with their mutual interests.

These principles, which were laid down in the form of a binding treaty in the German-Polish Peace Declaration of January 26, 1934, were intended for and have actually resulted in the introduction of a wholly new phase in the development of German-Polish relations. That they have proved advantageous in practice to both peoples, is shown by the political history of the last five years. This was also publicly stated as recently as January 26 of this year, the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration, by both parties, who emphasised their united determination to continue for the future to abide by the principles laid down in 1934.

The agreement now concluded by the Polish Government with the British Government is so obvious a contradiction of the spirit of these solemn declarations made only a few months ago, that the German Government can take cognisance of so sudden and radical an alteration in Poland's policy only with surprise and astonishment.

The new Polish-British agreement, whatever final form it may take, is regarded by both partners as a regular treaty of alliance, and, moreover, as one which, in the light of preceding events, which are commonly known, and of the political situation as a whole, is directed exclusively against Germany. It follows from the obligations now undertaken by the Polish Government that Poland intends to take part in any conflict that might arise between Germany and England, by means of an attack on Germany, even in the event that such conflict in no way concerned Poland and Polish interests. This constitutes a direct and flagrant infraction of the agreement to renounce all resort to force, contained in the Declaration of 1934.

The contrast between the German-Polish Declaration and the Polish-British agreement, however, goes considerably further than this one point. The Declaration of 1934 was intended as the basis for the adjustment, under the protection of the guarantee of peace agreed upon, of all questions that might arise between the two countries, free from international entanglements and combinations and from outside influence, in direct discussions between Berlin and Warsaw. Such a basis naturally presupposes complete mutual confidence on the part of both partners and the good faith of each in its political intentions towards the other.

On the other hand, the Polish Government has made it clear by the decision it has made to enter into an alliance directed against Germany that it prefers the promise of support of a third Power to the guarantee of peace directly assured to it by the German Government. Furthermore, the German Government is compelled to conclude that the Polish Government at present places no further value on seeking the solution of German-Polish questions in direct, friendly discussion with the German Government.

The Polish Government has thereby abandoned the method agreed upon in 1934 for the organisation of German-Polish relations.

The Polish Government cannot cite the fact that the Declaration of **1934** stipulated that the already existing obligations of Poland or Germany in other directions were to be left intact and that the articles of the alliance between Poland and France thereby remained in force. When Poland and Germany entered upon the reorganisation of their relationships in 1934, the Franco-Polish Alliance was an existing fact. The German Government was able to accept this fact because it could reasonably expect that such dangers as might have arisen from the Franco-Polish Alliance, dating as it did from a time when differences between Germany and Poland were most acute, would increasingly lose significance through the opening of the way for friendly relations between Germany and Poland. Poland's entry into an alliance with Great Britain, five years after agreement on the Declaration of 1934, affords therefore no political comparison whatever with the continuance in force of the Franco-Polish Alliance. With this new alliance the Polish Government has made itself the tool of a policy instigated in other quarters, the aim of which is the encirclement of Germany.

The German Government for its part has not provided the slightest cause for a change of this kind in Poland's policy. On every conceivable occasion it has given the Polish Government, both openly and in confidential conversations, the most binding assurances to the effect that the friendly development of German-Polish relations was a major objective of its foreign policy, and that in its political decisions it would always pay due regard to the consideration of Poland's justifiable interests. Thus, in the view of the German Government, the course of action pursued by it in March of the present year for the pacification of Central Europe has in no way adversely affected the interests of Poland. In connexion with this course of action a common boundary between Poland and Hungary was created, which has always been regarded by Poland as an important aim of her policy. Furthermore, the German Government has expressed its readiness in unmistakable terms to negotiate with the Polish Government in a friendly spirit, in the event that the latter should in any way consider that new problems had arisen for it as a result of the reconstruction of the situation in Central Europe.

The German Government has endeavoured in the same friendly spirit to initiate a settlement of the only question still remaining between Germany and Poland, the Danzig question. That a new settlement of this question is necessary has long been emphasised by Germany to Poland. Nor has Poland disputed this. The German Government has for a considerable time endeavoured to convince the Polish Government that a settlement that will do justice to the interests of both parties is perfectly possible, and that once this last obstacle has been removed, the way would be open for a promising political co-operation between Germany and Poland.

In regard to these matters the German Government has not confined **itself** to generalities, but has proposed in the friendliest spirit—on the latest **occasion** at the end of March of this year—a settlement on the basis of the **following**:—

The return of Danzig to the Reich.

A railway line and automobile road, with extra-territorial rights, between East Prussia and the Reich.

In return for this, recognition of the whole of the Polish Corridor and the entire western frontier of Poland.

Conclusion of a non-aggression pact for twenty-five years.

Guarantee of Poland's economic interests in Danzig and a comprehensive settlement of such other questions, whether economic or in regard to means of communication, as may arise for Poland from the reunion of Danzig with the Reich.

The German Government has declared its readiness, in guaranteeing the independence of Slovakia, to take Poland's interests into account.

No one familiar with the situation in Danzig and the Corridor and with the problems connected with them, can impartially dispute the fact that this proposal contained no more than the minimum demanded by Germany's indispensable interests, and that it took into account all interests in any way essential to Poland. Nevertheless the Polish Government has given an answer which, though couched in the form of counter-proposals, was actually devoid of all understanding for the German point of view and amounted to a flat rejection of the German offer.

That the Polish Government itself did not regard its reply as conducive to paving the way for a friendly understanding, it has proved in a manner that is as surprising as it is drastic, inasmuch as its reply was accompanied by a partial mobilisation of considerable extent. By this utterly unjustifiable measure it clearly showed in advance the aim and end of the negotiations with the British Government into which it entered directly afterwards.

The German Government did not deem it necessary to reply to the partial mobilisation of Poland with military counter-measures. On the other hand it cannot merely ignore in silence the other decisions at which the Polish Government has recently arrived. On the contrary, it feels obliged thereby, to its regret, to state the following :—

(1) The Polish Government has not taken the opportunity offered to it by the German Government for a just settlement of the Danzig question, for a final securing of its frontier with the German Reich and thereby for a permanent strengthening of a relationship between both countries as friendly neighbours. Instead it has rejected the German proposals which were made with this aim in view.

(2) At the same time the Polish Government has undertaken political obligations to another State, which are irreconcilable not only with the spirit but also with the letter of the German-Polish Declaration of January 26, 1934. The Polish Government has thereby deliberately and unilaterally rendered this Declaration null and void.

Despite the fact that it has become necessary to make this statement, the German Government does not intend to change its fundamental attitude towards the question of shaping of German-Polish relations in the future. Should the Polish Government lay value on a new settlement of these

relations by treaty, the German Government is willing for this, with the sole provision that such a settlement must be based on a definite obligation which will be binding on both parties.

IX.

TEXT OF POLISH MEMORANDUM TO GERMANY.

(MAY 5, 1939.)

I.

As follows from the text of the Polish-German Declaration of January 26, 1934, as well as from the negotiations that preceded its conclusion, the Declaration had for its purpose the establishment of the foundation for a new form of mutual relations based on the following two principles :—

(a) The abstention from the use of force between Poland and Germany.

(b) The conciliatory settlement through free negotiation of problems that might arise in the relations between the two nations.

That is how the Polish Government has always understood its obligations consequent on the Declaration, and it was always ready to shape its neighbourly relations with the German Reich accordingly.

II.

The Polish Government has been aware for some years that the difficulties encountered by the League of Nations in the carrying out of its functions in Danzig would produce an equivocal situation that should be solved in the interests of Poland and Germany. For some years the Polish Government has made it clear to the German Government that frank conversations on the subject would be desirable, but the German Government avoided them and merely stated that Polish-German relations should not be affected by the Danzig problem.

Moreover, the German Government frequently gave the Polish Government assurances on the subject of the Free City of Danzig. It will be sufficient to quote the statement of the Chancellor of the Reich of February 20, 1938. The Chancellor stated publicly in the Reichstag on the subject of Danzig that " the Polish State respects the national relations in that State while the city and Germans respect Polish rights. Thus the path has been smoothed for an understanding which, proceeding from Danzig, has now succeeded, in spite of the efforts of certain peace troublers, in finally unpoisoning the relations between Germany and Poland converting it into a sincere and friendly collaboration."

It was not until after the events of September, 1938, that the German Government made the suggestion of commencing conversations between Poland and Germany on the subject of a change of the situation in Danzig and of the transit roads between the Reich and East Prussia. In con-

nexion with that the German memorandum of April 28, 1939, refers to the suggestions made by the Foreign Minister of the Reich in his conversation of March 21, 1939, with the Polish Ambassador in Berlin. In that conversation the importance of speed in the settlement of these matters was stressed by the German side as a condition for the holding up by the Reich of the whole contents of the proposal.

The Polish Government, animated by the desire of maintaining good relations with the Reich, although it was surprised by the urgency with which the proposals were presented and the circumstances in which they were made, did not refrain from conversations, considering, however, that the German demands could not be accepted in the sense in which they were defined.

In order to assist the endeavour of finding a conciliatory settlement of the matter, the Polish Government formulated on March 26, 1939, its point of view in writing to the German Government, stating that it fully appreciated the importance of maintaining the good relations of the neighbourhood with the German Reich. The Polish point of view was summed up in the following points :—

(a) The Polish Government proposed a common guarantee by Poland and Germany of the separate entity of the Free City of Danzig, the existence of which would be based on the complete freedom of the internal life of the local population and the safeguarding of respect for the rights and interests of Poland.

(6) The Polish Government was willing to study together with the German Government all further facilities for travellers in transit as well as technical facilities in railway and road transit between the German Reich and East Prussia. The Polish Government was guided by the idea of offering to the citizens of the Reich all possible facilities that would make it possible for them to travel across Polish territory in transit without any difficulties. The Polish Government stressed that it is its intention to treat with the utmost liberality the German demands in that respect with the only reservation that Poland cannot surrender her sovereignty over a zone of territory through which transit roads would pass.

Finally, the Polish Government stated that its attitude in the matter of communication facilities through Pomorze is dependent on the attitude of the Reich with regard to the question of the Free City of Danzig.

Formulating these proposals the Polish Government was acting in the spirit of the Polish-German Declaration of 1934, which provided for a direct exchange of views in the problems concerning both countries, entitling each of them to state its point of view in the course of negotiation.

The Polish Government received for a month no formal reply to its counter-proposal until on April 28 it learned from the Chancellor's speech and from the memorandum of the German Government that the very fact of formulating counter-proposals instead of accepting without change or reservation the verbal German suggestions, had been treated by the Reich as a refusal of negotiations. Of course negotiations in which one country formulates demands while the other is under obligation to accept them without any change, are not negotiations in the spirit of the

Declaration of 1934 nor are they compatible with the vital interests and the dignity of the Polish State.

It is to be noted that the Polish Government could not at the time state its view regarding the Polish-German-Hungarian guarantee of Slovakia, mentioned vaguely in the German memorandum and defined in the Chancellor's speech of April 28, because such a proposal in that form had never been presented to it before. Besides, it is difficult to imagine how such a guarantee could be conciliated with the political and military protectorate of the Reich over Slovakia, proclaimed a few days before the German Reich formulated its proposals to Poland.

III.

The Polish Government cannot accept an interpretation of the Declaration of 1934 which would amount to renunciation of the right to conclude political agreements with third parties, almost equivalent to renouncing independence of foreign policy. The policy of the German Reich in recent years points clearly to the fact that the German Government did not draw from the Declaration any such conclusions concerning itself.

The obligations undertaken publicly by the Reich toward Italy and the German-Slovak agreement of March, 1939, are clear indications of exactly such an interpretation by the German Government of the Declaration of 1934.

The Polish Government has to recall at this point that in its relations with other Powers it always extends to them and expects from them complete reciprocity, which is the only possible foundation for normal relations between countries.

The Polish Government rejects as completely groundless all objections as to the alleged incompatibility of the mutual Polish-British guarantee of April, 1939, with the Polish-German Declaration of 1934. The guarantee has a purely defensive character and does not threaten the German Reich in any way, not any more than does the Polish-French Alliance, the compatibility of which with the Declaration of 1934 has been recognised by the German Reich.

The Declaration of 1934 stated clearly in its opening paragraph that "the two governments are determined to base their mutual relations on principles contained in the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928." The Pact of Paris, which was a general renunciation of war as an instrument of State policy, just as the Declaration of 1934 constituted such renunciation in bilateral Polish-German relations, clearly made the reservation that "every signatory Power which would henceforth seek to promote its State interests through war will have to be deprived of the benefits of the present treaty."

Germany accepted that principle by signing the Pact of Paris and confirmed it in the Declaration of 1934 along with other principles of the Pact of Paris. It follows, therefore, that Poland would no longer be bound by the Declaration of 1934 if Germany had recourse to war in contradiction with the Pact of Paris.

The obligations of Poland derived from the Polish-British understanding would be applicable in the event of an action of Germany menacing the independence of Great Britain. That is precisely when Poland would no longer be bound in respect to Germany by the Declaration of 1934 and the Pact of Paris.

The German Government, in reproaching the Polish Government for its pledge to guarantee the independence of Great Britain and in considering it as a breach by Poland of the Declaration of 1934, overlooks its own obligations toward Italy, to which the Chancellor referred on January 30, 1939, and particularly to its obligation toward Slovakia contained in the agreement of March 18 and 23, 1939. The German guarantees for Slovakia did not exclude Poland, and even, as is apparent from the clauses of the agreement concerning the disposition of garrisons and military establishments in Western Slovakia, were directed mainly against Poland.

IV.

As follows from the foregoing, the Reich Government had no ground for one-sidedly declaring as null the Declaration of 1934, which was concluded for ten years, without the option of denunciation before the lapse of that period of time. It is to be noted that the declaring null of the Declaration of 1934 took place after the German side had refrained from explanations as to the compatibility of a Polish-German guarantee with the Declaration of 1934 which the Polish Government intended to offer to the representative of the Reich in Warsaw.

V.

Although the Polish Government does not share the view of the German Government that the agreement of 1934 has been broken by Poland, it would, nevertheless, be prepared, if the German Government attached importance to a new contractual settlement of the Polish-German relations on the basis of good neighbourhood, to accept the suggestion with a reservation on the basis of observations made in the present memorandum.

OBITUARY

or

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1939.

JANUARY.

1. Sidney Herbert Ray, an authority on Oceanic languages, was born on May 28, 1858, and educated at the British School, Abbey Street, Bethnal Green, to which he returned as a pupil teacher in 1874, after spending two years in a City office. In 1880 he entered St. Mark's Training College, Chelsea, and in 1882 was appointed assistant master in the Olga Street School, Bethnal Green, where he remained until his retirement in 1923. Always interested in languages, his studies were somewhat desultory until the secretary of the London Missionary Society gave him some books on Polynesian and Melanesian, on which he soon became an acknowledged authority. Friendship with another authority, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Codrington, led to Ray's reading his first linguistic paper at the International Congress of Orientalists in London in 1886. In 1898 he accompanied the Cambridge anthropological expedition to Torres Straits, New Guinea, and Sarawak, after which he resumed his elementary teaching. As a result of his travels he published in 1907 a monumental study of the languages of Torres Straits, with a valuable survey of the Papuan and Melanesian languages of British New Guinea. He had also planned a comprehensive monograph on the grammar of the languages of Melanesia, but finished only one volume, "A Comparative Study of the Melanesian Island Languages," which was published in 1926 through the co-operation of the Universities of Melbourne and Cambridge. In addition to his purely linguistic studies, he supervised translations for various missionary organisations, including the British and Foreign Bible Society, which acknowledged the value of his work by electing him an Honorary Life Governor. In 1907 he was made an honorary M.A. of Cambridge, and in 1927 was granted a Civil list pension, "in recognition of his services to literature and the study of ethnology." He was twice married, but had no children.

5. Dr. George Barger, F.R.S., Regius Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow since 1937, was born in 1878, and educated in Holland, at University College, London, and at King's College, Cambridge, of which he was a Fellow from 1904 to 1910. After taking a high degree in the Natural Sciences Tripos, he was appointed demonstrator in the University of Brussels (1901-3), and then he went as chemist to the Wellcome Physiological Research Laboratories. Six years later he became head of the chemical department at Goldsmiths' College. In 1914 he was made Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Holloway College, but left soon afterwards to be chemist in the Department of Biochemistry and Pharmacology of the Medical Research Committee (National Insurance Act). There he stayed until 1919, when he accepted the Professorship of Chemistry in relation to medicine in the University of Edinburgh, a position he held for eighteen years, going thence to Glasgow in 1937 as Regius Professor

of Chemistry. His outstanding work was his research on alkaloids and other natural products, in recognition of which he was awarded a Royal Society medal in November, 1938. He was also Hanbury medallist of the Pharmaceutical Society, 1934, and Longstaff medallist of the Chemical Society, 1936. In 1928 he was Baker Lecturer, Cornell University, and Dohme Lecturer, Johns Hopkins University. A year later he went to South Africa as president of the Chemical Section of the British Association. Among his publications were "The Simpler Natural Bases" (1914), "Some Applications of Organic Chemistry to Biology and Medicine" (1930), "Ergot and Ergotism" (1931), and "Organic Chemistry for Medical Students" (second edition, 1936). He was the recipient of numerous honorary degrees, including D.Sc. (Liverpool), M.D. (Heidelberg), LL.D. (Michigan), Dr.Pharm. (Lausanne), and a doctorate of Padua, and in 1919 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was also an honorary or corresponding member of several European chemical societies. Professor Barger, who married and had two sons and a daughter, died suddenly in Switzerland, where he had gone to deliver lectures at Basle University.

8. Sir William Brandford Griffith, Colonial administrator, was born into a well-known West Indian family on February 9, 1858, being a son of the Governor of the Gold Coast, 1885-95, and was educated at Oxford House, Jersey; at Harrison College, Barbados; and at University College, London. He graduated B.A. (London) in 1880 and was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1881. In 1884 he was appointed a District Commissioner of the Gold Coast Colony, and acted as judge and Queen's advocate on various occasions between that year and 1888, when he was promoted to be a resident magistrate in Jamaica. He was made Chief Justice of the Gold Coast Colony in 1895, Governor of Lagos in 1896, and Deputy Governor of the Gold Coast in 1897. In 1900, when the question arose as to whether Ashanti should be annexed or made a protectorate, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, favoured the latter course, but Griffith put forward arguments for annexation so convincingly that they were eventually accepted. He retired from the Colonial service in 1911, but returned to West Africa a year later to be president of a Special Commission Court which tried members of a cannibal organisation known as the Human Leopard Society. In 1918 he was appointed legal adviser to the Ministry of Pensions. His publications included "Ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony" (1887, 1898, and 1903), "Index to Jamaica Laws" (1892), "Digest of Gold Coast Law Reports" (1934), and "Note on the History of the Courts and the Constitution of the Gold Coast Colony." He was knighted in 1898 and created C.B.E. in 1920. In 1884 he married Eveline Florence Elizabeth, daughter of Penrose Nevins, of Settle, and had one son and one daughter.

10. Major-General Sir Charles Edward Gorkran was born on August 20, 1872, son of Colonel C. S. Corkran, and educated at Eton and Sandhurst. Receiving a commission in the Grenadier Guards in 1893, he was promoted lieutenant in 1897, and a year later saw active service at the Battle of Khartoum. As adjutant of the 2nd Grenadier Guards he served throughout the South African War, was mentioned in despatches, and received the Queen's medal (three clasps) and the King's medal (two clasps). He was promoted captain in 1899 and brevet-major in 1902. Between the latter year and 1904 he acted as A.D.C. to General Hildyard in South Africa, and held administrative staff appointments in the Pretoria and Transvaal districts, after which he returned to regimental duty. He was promoted major in 1907, and after graduating from the Staff College, was appointed D.A.A. and Q.M.G. on the staff of the 2nd London Division (Territorial Force), 1911. Later in the year he was made brigade-major of the 1st (Guards) Brigade in the 1st Division at Aldershot. In 1914 he went with the British Expeditionary Force to France, where he remained on active service until 1917, when he headed a military mission to the Serbian

Army on the Macedonian front, for which he was awarded the third class of the Serbian Order of Karageorge and the Serbian gold medal for valour. On his return he was given command of the 173rd Brigade in the 58th Division, which he held until March, 1919. From September of that year until his promotion to major-general in August, 1921, he was Commandant of the Senior Officers' School, and from 1923 to 1927 Commandant of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. He commanded the London Division from 1928 until he retired from the Service in 1932, the year in which he was knighted. He was a Deputy-Lieutenant of Berkshire, and had been Serjeant-at-Arms, House of Lords, since 1936. As chairman of the Royal Tournament he collected in four years 100,000l. for the Services. Sir Charles, who married, in 1904, Winifred, daughter of Colonel Horace Ricardo, and had two sons and one daughter, accidentally shot himself in the grounds of his home at Abingdon.

14. Sir Harold Baxter Kittermaster, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Nyassaland Protectorate, 1934-38, was born on May 14, 1879, son of the Rev. P. W. Kittermaster, of Coventry, and educated at Shrewsbury and Christ Church, Oxford. In 1903 he entered the Transvaal Education Department, and in 1908 was appointed Assistant District Commissioner in the East Africa Protectorate (Kenya Colony). He became a District Commissioner in 1915 and in the following year was placed in charge of the Northern Frontier District, where he came into close contact with the Somalis. This led to his being appointed secretary to the Administration of the Somaliland Protectorate in 1921, and Governor in 1926. Five years later he was transferred to the Governorship of British Honduras. Since 1934 he had been Governor of the Nyassaland Protectorate. He received the O.B.E. in 1918, and was made K.B.E. in 1928, C.M.G. in 1931, and K.C.M.G. in 1936. Sir Harold, who married, in 1923, Winifred Elsie Rotherham, of Coventry, and had one son and one daughter, died in the European Hospital, Zomba, Nyassaland. On January 8 he had been operated on by Mr. Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who had flown from Salisbury for the purpose.

21. Sir Reginald Thomas Tower, who had a distinguished career in the Diplomatic Service, was born on September 1, 1860, son of a barrister, and educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. Entering the Diplomatic Service in 1885, he was sent to Constantinople, where he remained for seven years. After being promoted to the rank of Second Secretary in 1892 he was transferred first to Madrid and then to Copenhagen, Berlin, and Washington (1896), being placed in charge of the Embassy there a year later. In 1898 he was attached to the first Lord Herschell, the British High Commissioner for the settlement of disputes between Canada and the United States, and in 1899 he negotiated and signed Reciprocity Treaties with the Government of the United States on behalf of Barbados and other of the West Indian islands. From Washington he went to Peking as Counsellor in 1900. In the spring and summer of 1901 he made a tour of inspection of the British Consular offices in all the Treaty Ports, with the object of reforming and co-ordinating British official practice. When that task was finished he was sent as Minister to Bangkok, where he stayed for two years, returning to Europe in 1903. He was next appointed Minister at Munich and Stuttgart, remaining in Germany until 1906, when he was transferred to Mexico, which he left in 1911 for Buenos Ayres, where, owing to the war, he was stationed until 1919. During the same period, 1911-19, he was also Minister to Paraguay. Back in Europe in 1919, he was sent almost at once to Danzig, which had been set up as a Free City by the Peace Treaty. On November 16, 1920, the day after the City of Danzig had been formally proclaimed an independent political State, he retired from the Diplomatic Service. He was made C.V.O. in 1906 and was created K.C.M.G. in 1911. He was also F.S.A.

23. Edward Grubb, Quaker theologian, was born at Sudbury, Suffolk, in 1854, son of a Quaker "minister," and educated at Sidcot and at Bootham School, York. Trained as a teacher at the Flounders Institute, Ackworth, he joined the staff of Bootham in 1872 and remained there until 1875. Then followed three years as tutor to the family of Thomas Pease at Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol, after which he became a visiting master at the Mount School, York. Meanwhile, in 1880, he took his M.A. in Philosophy at London University, being third on the list. Work in adult schools at a time when he suffered loneliness in the Society owing to his dissatisfaction with the Evangelical Quakerism in which he had been brought up, aroused his interest in social problems. He became a student of the Labour movement, and, to gain insight into trade unionism, joined at Scarborough a labourers' union which made him its chairman. At the end of the 'eighties he began to take an active part in the central work of the Society of Friends, becoming its leading writer and lecturer after he had regained full acceptance of Christianity through association with J. W. Rowntree. He became secretary of the "summer school" movement for promoting Biblical study in the Society, out of which grew the Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham. After a lecture tour in America, he was appointed editor of the *British Friend* in 1901, retaining the post until the paper ceased publication in 1913. At the same time he was made secretary of the Howard Association, afterwards the Howard League for Penal Reform, but resigned in 1905 to devote his whole time to the Society of Friends. During the war his pacifist convictions deepened and he enthusiastically supported the Conscientious Objectors to conscription. In 1919 he paid his fourth visit to America in preparation for the All Friends Conference, held in London in 1920. His publications included "First Lessons on the Hebrew Prophets," "Authority and the Light Within" (rewritten as "Authority in Religion"), "The True Way of Life," "The Religion of Experience," "The Word Made Flesh," "What is Quakerism?" "The Bible, Its Nature and Inspiration," "The Meaning of the Cross," "Quaker Thought and History," "The Nature of Christianity," and a pamphlet on penal reform. For many years he had been recognised as the leading Quaker theologian. He married, in 1877, Emma Maria Horsnail, of Bulford Mill, Braintree, and had two sons and three daughters.

24. Dr. Max Bircher-Benner, advocate of raw food for health, was born in 1868, and after taking his M.D. at Zurich went into general practice in the city. Impressed by the cure of an apparently hopeless case of disease of the stomach by a diet of raw vegetables, suggested by a quack, he tried the same treatment on himself, and on some chosen patients, always with good results. This led to his opening, in 1902, a clinic with seven beds. By the end of his life the number of beds had risen to 65, and with a gift of 1,000,000 fr. from a cured patient was hoping to add a section for poorer patients. Dr. Bircher-Benner, who lectured on the Continent and in England in 1933 and 1937, wrote a number of books which were translated into several languages, the last into English being "The Prevention of Incurable Disease." In 1893 he married Elisabeth Benner, of Alsace, and had four sons and three daughters.

— **Frederick Hyde**, distinguished banker, who was born at Manchester in 1870, son of the Rev. John Hyde, began his career in 1885 as a junior clerk in the Derby Commercial Bank, which amalgamated with the Birmingham and Midland Bank in 1890 and ultimately became part of the Midland Bank. When the Midland entered the London banking field in 1891 through the absorption of the Central Bank of London, Hyde was transferred to the new head office, where he now came into daily contact with Sir Edward Holden, who had previously recognised his abilities. From 1891 to 1907 Hyde occupied in turn nearly all the more important positions at the head office, and he played an important part in carrying through the many amalgamations effected during that period. More especially, he was responsible for co-ordinating the accounting methods employed by the various banks and for instituting a system of

branch control and accounting which was used as a model by many other large **banks**. In 1907 he was appointed joint manager of the Threadneedle Street office, two years later being made one of the general managers. On the death of Holden in 1919 he was appointed joint managing director, becoming sole managing director in 1929, a position which he held until 1938, when he retired owing to ill-health. He was also managing director of the Midland Bank Executor and Trustee Company, and a director of the Clydesdale Bank and the North of Scotland Bank. He was president of the Institute of Bankers, 1927-29, and had been president of the Manchester and District Bankers' Institute. Regarded as one of the foremost authorities on banking, he gave valuable evidence before the Macmillan Committee on Finance and Industry in 1930. He married Maud, daughter of R. M. Deeley, of Derby, and had one son and two daughters.

24. **Sir Arthur Underbill**, the leading exponent of the Law of Real Property, was born on October 10, 1850, son of a Wolverhampton solicitor, and educated at Chudleigh and Trinity College, Dublin, graduating in 1870 and proceeding to M.A. and LL.D. in 1881. He was articled to his father, but finding office work uncongenial, studied for the Bar, to which he was called by Lincoln's Inn in 1872. In 1916 he was made a Bencher. For a time he practised at the Common Law Bar, but abandoned it for conveyancing, in which branch of the law he acquired a very large practice. For many years he was the Senior Conveyancing Counsel to the High Court, often appearing in Court himself, and his services were frequently engaged before the House of Lords and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He was best remembered for his part in shaping the legislation which revolutionised the Law of Real Property in 1926. As far back as 1881 he had published a pamphlet, "Should Entails be Abolished?" which was circulated among the peers and members of Parliament as propaganda at the passing of the Settled Land Act, 1882. He was deputy chairman of the Departmental Committee which reported in 1919, and he was publicly acknowledged as the author of the idea of the assimilation of the Law of Realty and Personality which was effected when the Acts were brought into force on January 1, 1926. The actual drafting, however, was done by Sir Benjamin Cherry. Underhill had been Reader in the Law of Property to the Council of Legal Education to the old Victoria University, and to Liverpool University, as well as being a member of the Council of Legal Education and of the Bar Council. His legal publications, most of which became standard works, included his LL.D. thesis, "Law of Private Trusts," "Law of Torts," and "The New Conveyancing." He was also revising conveyancing editor of Halsbury's "Laws of England," one of the editors of the "Encyclopaedia of Forms and Precedents," and wrote the chapter on law in "Shakespeare's England." Outside his profession he was a keen yachtsman, holding a master mariner's certificate. He founded in 1881 the Royal Cruising Club and for many years was its Commodore. An authority on this subject also, he published "Our Silver Streak, or The Yachtsman's Guide to the English Channel," "Simple Navigation for Home Waters," and "Courses and Distances Round the British Isles." He was knighted in 1922. In 1874 he married Alice Lucy, daughter of M. Ironmonger, J.P., of Wolverhampton, and had one daughter, Evelyn Underhill, the writer.

25. **Sir Robert William Philip, M.D.**, a pioneer in the modern treatment of tuberculosis, was born on December 27, 1857, son of the Rev. George Philip, D.D., and educated at Edinburgh High School and at the University of Edinburgh, where he was awarded the Gold Medal in Medicine and the Gregory Prize in 1887. Soon after bacteriology had recognised the microbe of tuberculosis, it occurred to Philip that many patients thought to be affected hereditarily were in fact affected by contagion. In 1887 he established in Edinburgh a small dispensary for the treatment of diseases of the chest. By 1894 the dispensary had become the Royal Victoria Hospital, and by 1910 a farm colony

had been added, the whole system being taken over by the Corporation of Edinburgh as "The Tuberculosis Trust." When the Chair of Tuberculosis was founded in the University of Edinburgh, Philip, as was fitting, became its first occupant. He was extra physician to the King in Scotland; physician to the Royal Edinburgh Infirmary; president of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh; of the British Medical Association; of the Association of Physicians of Great Britain and Ireland; of the Tuberculosis Society of Great Britain; and of the Tuberculosis Society of Scotland. Besides his knighthood (1913), he received honours from Canada, the United States, France, Italy, and Egypt. He was twice married; first, in 1888, to Elizabeth Motherwell, of Co. Sligo, who died in 1937; and secondly, in 1938, to Edith McGaw, of Kooba, New South Wales.

28. Sir Egbert Laurie Lucas Hammond, Governor of Assam, 1927-32, was born on January 12, 1873, son of a Canon of Truro Cathedral, and educated at Newton Abbot College and Keble College, Oxford. Passing the Indian Civil Service examination in 1895 he went to Bengal and for some years was superintendent of the Cooch Behar State. In 1912, when the partition of Bengal was modified, Hammond was allotted to the new joint Province of Bihar and Orissa. After serving for a year as Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies he became secretary to the Patna Government in the financial and municipal departments. In the middle of the war he was selected to be the secretary of the recruiting board for the Province, and later on combined that duty with the controllership of munitions for the Bihar and Orissa Circle. Although he did not personally favour the introduction of democracy into India, when he realised that it was inevitable he gave the proposal full support and acted first as chief secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, and then from the spring of 1935 as a member of the Governor's Executive Council. From 1927 to 1932 he was Governor of Assam. Before going to Assam he had prepared a valuable study of Indian election petitions in three volumes, and also had written on "The Indian Candidate and Returning Officer." On retiring from Assam he gave active assistance to the scheme of Indian reforms, and when the Act had been passed was selected chairman of the Zetland Committee to delimit the new constituencies of the Provincial and Federal Legislatures. In 1936 he became member of the Peel Royal Commission on Palestine. Made C.B.E. for his services in Bengal, he was made a C.S.I. in 1925, and advanced to K.C.S.I. in 1927. In 1897 he married Effie Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Townsend Warner, vicar of Alfold, Surrey. They had no children.

— William Butler Yeats, Irish poet and dramatist, was born into a Protestant Anglo-Irish family on June 13, 1865, being a son of J. B. Yeats, the painter. Although born near Dublin, his earliest impressions were formed in Sligo in the company of his maternal grandfather, and an uncle, George Pollexfen, a student of astrology, whose servant, Mary Battle, saw in vision the fairies and the giant dead of Ireland. At the age of 8 he was sent to London to Godolphin School, Hammersmith, returning to Dublin in 1880, when he attended first the Erasmus Smith School and then the Metropolitan School of Art. By 1887, however, he had decided that his vocation was not painting but literature, and when the family settled at Bedford Park, London, he came under the influence of Henley, Morris, and the Pre-Raphaelites. He was also influenced, through his passion for occult studies, by the writings of Mme. Blavatsky, and the esoteric Buddhism of the Theosophists. His first publication, *Momda*, 1886, a play on a Spanish subject, was followed in 1891 by "John Sherman," an autobiographical novel. But, beginning in 1889 with "The Wanderings of Oisín," a mythological narrative poem, he produced a series of ballads and poems, including "The Secret Rose," "The Wind Among the Reeds," and, probably the best known of all, "The Lake Isle of Innisfree," which definitely established him as a great lyric poet. He also published, with

his friend, E. J. Ellis, a large edition of Blake, 1893, whose mystic symbolism he intimately appreciated; "The Celtic Twilight," a volume of peasant lore and fairy magic; and a collection of essays embodying his philosophical beliefs under the title "Ideas of Good and Evil." Meanwhile he had come to feel that the true starting-point for a revival of Irish and Celtic culture such as he desired was the theatre, and in 1892 and 1894 he published *The Countess Cathleen* and *The Land of Heart's Desire*, the first of which was produced by the Irish Literary Theatre in 1899. Three years later, in 1902, came his greatest play, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*. For the Irish Literary Theatre (which became the Abbey Theatre in 1904) he also wrote *The Shadowy Waters*, *The King's Threshold*, *The Deirdre*, and *The Golden Helmet*, besides assisting in the management of the theatre and founding and contributing to *Samhain*, the organ of the work. In his later years, besides an occult treatise, "Vision," he wrote "Four Plays for Dancers," "Wheels and Butterflies," *The Resurrection*, a religious drama, collections of poems entitled "The Tower," "The Winding Stair," and "A Full Moon in March," and finally, in 1938, two more plays, *The Heme's Egg* and *Purgatory*. His autobiography appeared in two volumes, "The Trembling of the Veil" (1922) and "Dramatis Personæ" (1936). Mr. Yeats, who became a Senator of the Irish Free State in 1922 and was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1923, received the degree of D.Litt. at Oxford in 1931, and the Goethe plaque of the city of Frankfurt in 1934. In 1917 he married Georgie, daughter of W. G. Hyde Lees, of Wrexham, and had one son and one daughter.

FEBRUARY.

3. **General Sir James Frederick Noel Birch**, of the Royal Horse Artillery, was born on December 29, 1865, son of Major R. F. Birch, of St. Asaph, and educated at Giggleswick School and Marlborough. Having passed through the Royal Military Academy he was gazetted to the Royal Regiment in 1885 and, already an accomplished horseman, was sent to the Riding Establishment at Woolwich. In 1894 he became A.D.C. to Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, G.O.C. Woolwich District. He was promoted captain in April, 1895, and at the end of the year went to Ashanti with the expedition which dethroned King Prempeh. On returning to England he joined an R.H.A. battery, with which he went to South Africa, where, except for twelve months at home, he was stationed until 1902. For these services he received the Queen's medal with six clasps. In 1905 he returned to Woolwich to take charge of the Riding Establishment, remaining there two years. Having received his lieutenant-colonelcy in 1912, he eventually obtained the command of the 7th Brigade, R.H.A., with which he went to France in August, 1914. In October of that year he was appointed G.S.O.L Cavalry Corps, and in January, 1915, Brigadier-General, General Staff, Cavalry Corps. When the Fourth Army was formed at the beginning of March, 1916, he was given the chief artillery command, but was called to G.H.Q. as Artillery Adviser in May, in which capacity he remained until the end of the war. He was promoted major-general in 1917 and lieutenant-general in 1919. In February, 1920, he was appointed Director of Remounts at the War Office but left after a year to become Director-General of the Territorial Army. His next appointment, in 1923, was that of Master-General of the Ordnance and Fourth Military Member of the Army Council. He was promoted general in 1926 and retired from the Army a year later. At the time of his death he was a director of Vickers, Limited, Vickers-Armstrongs, Limited, and the English Steel Corporation. He was created C.B. in 1916, K.C.M.G. in 1918, K.C.B. in 1922, and G.B.E. in 1927. He also had a number of foreign honours. An acknowledged authority on equitation, he wrote "Modern Riding" and "Modern Riding and Horse Education." In 1908 he married Florence Hyacinthe, daughter of Sir George Chetwode.

4. **Sir Henri Deterding**, oil magnate, was born in Amsterdam in 1866, son of a master mariner who died when Henri was 6. Owing to financial difficulties his education was limited to the Higher Citizens' School, which he attended until he was 16. He then entered the service of the Twentsche Bank, where he soon developed a remarkable aptitude for handling figures, but promotion being slow, he sat at an examination of candidates for posts in the Dutch East Indies and, obtaining first place, was shortly afterwards appointed to the Eastern staff of the Netherlands Trading Society. On May 15, 1896, he accepted a position with the Royal Dutch Oil Company, of which, four years later, he became general manager, in fulfilment of the dying wish of the managing director, J. B. A. Kessler. A believer in amalgamation and conciliation rather than price-cutting, his first step as head of the concern was to reach an understanding with his four local Dutch competitors. That was followed three years later by the formation, in conjunction with Sir Marcus Samuel (afterwards the first Lord Bearsted, founder of the Shell Transport and Trading Company), of a large-scale distributing concern under the name of Asiatic Petroleum Limited. Still ambitious, he now worked towards the establishment of a single selling organisation embracing all the leading oil producers, and had the satisfaction of seeing his own enterprises welded with the British Shell group and certain French interests into a series of companies with a combined capital of nearly 21,000,000J. Complete success, however, eluded him, as the American Standard Oil group would not come to any agreement to regulate selling prices. In 1936 he resigned his position as general manager of Royal Dutch Shell but remained a member of the board of directors. Towards the end of his life he spent much time in Germany, with whose Government he sympathised in its attitude to Communism, and he attracted attention with a scheme for marketing the entire surplus of Dutch agricultural production in Germany and giving the proceeds to the Winter Help Organisation. Although his first donation to the latter was believed to have been more than 1,000,000/., the scheme was not enthusiastically received by the German authorities and little more was heard of it. An art collector, he presented many valuable paintings to various Dutch museums. Sir Henri—who was created an honorary K.B.E. in 1920 and was one of the few foreign holders of British knighthoods to use the title—published in 1934 a volume of autobiography under the title "An International Oilman."

6. **The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, Sayaji Rao I I I**, was born on March 11, 1863, son of a humble cultivator at Kaviana, a village in the Nasik district of Bombay. He was descended, however, from a branch of the Mahratta family which founded the Baroda State in the eighteenth century, and when Malhar Rao Gaekwar was deposed for gross mismanagement by Lord Northbrook in 1875, Gopal Rao was adopted in his place, beginning his maharajaship on May 27, 1875. Being unable to read or write his mother tongue, and knowing no English, he was placed under the tuition of F. A. H. Elliot and afterwards of Sir T. Madhavrao, and although intensive study may have impaired his health, he developed habits of strenuous application which remained through life. In 1881 he was invested with full governing powers. Although he took a keen interest in the welfare of his province, introducing compulsory elementary education, travelling libraries, and modern sanitation, he spent much of his time abroad, and it was chiefly to him that Lord Curzon in 1900 directed a circular denouncing absenteeism on the part of Indian Rulers. In 1911 he came into unwelcome prominence through his failure to observe the exact procedure laid down for the Princes at the Delhi Coronation Durbar. If it was true that the incident was much exaggerated, it was also true that there had been friction with the authorities, due largely to the fact that he had supported political aspirations which were alien to the orthodox official view that British administration was a kind of second providence for India. Later, a better feeling was restored, and when the war came the Maharaja placed his troops freely at the disposal of the British Government. He was a delegate to the first and second

Indian Bound-Table Conferences and to the Imperial Conference **after the** Coronation. At the end of the war he was made G.C.S.I., **after having been** G.C.I.E. for thirty-two years. Under the title "Speeches and Addresses," edited by his private secretary, Charles Newham, he published four volumes of his public utterances on a wide variety of subjects. He was twice married; first, on January 6, 1880, to Laxmibai, niece to the husband of the Maharani of Tanjore, who died on May 7, 1885; and secondly, on December 28 of the same year, to a daughter of Bijarao Amritrao Ghatge. He had three children by the first marriage, and four by the second, three sons and one daughter—the Maharani of Cooch Behar, author of "The Position of Women in Indian Life."

8. **Professor Arthur Smithells**, director of the Sal tors' Institute of Industrial Chemistry, 1923-37, was born at Bury, Lancashire, on May 24, 1860, son of a railway manager, and educated at Owens College, Manchester, taking supplementary courses at Munich and Heidelberg. After a short period as assistant lecturer at Owens College, he was appointed in 1885 Professor of Chemistry in the Yorkshire College, Leeds, where he remained until 1923. When each of the three colleges of Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds, which had formed the Victoria University, was raised to the rank of a separate University, Smithells, Pro-Vice-Chancellor for many years, played a great part in shaping the policy and the constitution of the University of Leeds. A strong advocate of a closer relationship between science and industry, he became honorary Education Adviser on Home Science and Household Economics to King's College, London, in 1907, and president of the Society of British Gas Industries in 1911. When the war began he acted as a visiting lecturer to the camps of the Northern Command but later was brought to London as Chief Chemical Adviser for Anti-Gas Training of the Home Forces, in which position he attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel and was made a C.M.G. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1901, was president of the Chemical Section of the British Association in 1907, and occupied the presidential chair of the Institute of Chemistry, 1927-30. He was an honorary D.Sc. of both Leeds and Manchester. His only publication was a volume of collected addresses, "From a Modern University." He was twice married; first, in 1886, to Constance Marie, daughter of F. Mawe; and secondly, in 1908, to Katharine, daughter of Arthur Booth. He had two sons and one daughter by his first marriage, and one son by his second.

10. **Pope Pius XI** (Achille Amhrogio Damiano Ratti) was born at Desio in Lombardy on May 31, 1857, son of the manager of a silk weaving factory, and received his first education at an elementary school. In his tenth year he was sent to the archiepiscopal seminary at Seveso, later going to the more advanced seminary of Monza, and then to the College of San Carlo in Milan. In 1879 he entered the Lombard College in Rome and attended lectures at the Gregorian University, studying philosophy, theology, and canon law, taking his degree as doctor in all three faculties. He was ordained priest in the Lateran on December 20, 1879, and in 1882 returned to Milan to become Professor of Theology at the College of San Carlo, remaining there for seven years. In 1888 he was admitted to the College of Doctors of the Ambrosian Library, where he found a vocation exactly suited to his gifts and tastes. He was appointed Prefect in 1907, and in August, 1914, he succeeded to the prefecture of the Vaticana. While at the Ambrosian he published over 100 historical monographs and pamphlets. The next great step in his life came in April, 1918, when Benedict XV, who was much impressed by Mgr. Ratti's work in compiling a *precis* of documents bearing on Poland, dispatched him to that country as Apostolic Visitor. There he showed so much tact and discretion in the difficult period after the peace of Brest-Litovsk that his jurisdiction was extended to cover the whole of Russia. On June 6, 1919, he was appointed Nuncio to Poland and a month later created titular Archbishop of Lepanto. Further promotion came in February, 1921,

when he was appointed Archbishop of Milan, and in June of the same year when he was created Cardinal. Less than a year later—on February 22, 1922—he was elected Pope, taking Pius XI as his title and "Pax Christi in Regno Christi" as his motto. In his first public act he broke the precedent set by his predecessors since 1870, going to the outside balcony of St. Peter's to give the blessing, *Urbi et Orbi*, which hitherto had been restricted to the crowd in the Basilica. That gesture, which had a profound effect on public opinion, was interpreted as an overture to the Quirinal. Another indication of the policy which he was to pursue occurred when he caused the disbanding of the Partito Popolare, a Catholic party in opposition to the then growing Fascist organisation. Unquestionably the outstanding note of the pontificate was the method of conciliation which the Pope used in dealing with the changed world which confronted him, and these considerations governed the protracted negotiations which culminated in the Lateran Treaty and Concordat which were signed on February 11, 1929. Direct negotiations had begun as early as 1926, but at one stage they were discontinued for a year over the question of the supersession of the Catholic Boy Scouts by the Young Fascists. By the treaty the Pope was obliged to renounce all claims to the Papal States, to recognise the House of Savoy, and to promise complete abstention from politics; in exchange he received the recognition by Italian law of the Pope's independent sovereignty, the provision of religious education in State schools, and a sum of money to be spent on the equipment of the Vatican as an independent city-State. Although the settlement was greeted with great enthusiasm by the Italian populace it was followed by an acrimonious interchange of speeches between the Pope and Signor Mussolini, which resulted in a series of attacks upon the "Azione Cattolica" organisation, the Fascists alleging that various anti-Fascist politicians were using the organisation to cloak their political activities. Early in his pontificate Pius XI promoted relief work in Russia and, largely with the aid of American agents, many thousands of priests and their families were fed during the famine. After Russia the Pope's concern was the welfare of Mexico, where the Calles regime threatened the extermination of the Church. An Encyclical denouncing the regime, published in 1932, had the effect of arousing the Roman Catholics of the United States to action, and there was an abatement of persecution. He also denounced the paganism and ultra-nationalist tendencies of the National Socialists in Germany, where he had been Nuncio at Munich and Berlin, but in general his attitude was marked by restraint and prudence. With the British Empire his relations were always most cordial; he was one of the very few Popes who had ever set foot in England, having studied at the British Museum and at the Bodleian. In the course of his pontificate he published a remarkable series of Encyclicals on such subjects as education, marriage, and the rights of labour. In another sphere he published "Climbs on Alpine Peaks," evidence of the great interest he took in mountaineering when a young man.

15. **Henri Jaspar**, Belgian statesman, was born at Schaerbeek, Brussels, on July 28, 1870. Little known to the general public either at home or abroad until after the war, he was made Minister of Economic Affairs in 1918, and being charged with the task of reorganising industry and commerce, fulfilled it with striking success. In 1919 he became Deputy for Liege, as a member of the Catholic Party, whose long domination of Belgian political life had just been interrupted by the victory of the Socialists, in the following year he became Minister for the Interior and later Minister for Foreign Affairs. Called upon to form a Ministry of National Unity in May, 1926, he resigned in November, 1927, but soon afterwards consented to form another Coalition Ministry of Catholics and Liberals. As Prime Minister he presided in 1929 over the Hague Reparations Conference. In 1931 he went out of office, but returned in 1932 as Finance Minister in Count de Broqueville's Cabinet. Later he became Foreign Minister again, but when the Government fell he was unsuccessful in his efforts to form a new one. In 1936 he retired from politics and returned to the Bar. Five days before his death the King summoned him to form a Cabinet, but he was unable to do so owing to the refusal of the Socialists to collaborate.

18. **Thomas Gilbert White**, American artist, was born at Grand Haven, Michigan, on July 18, 1877, and educated at the High School, Grand Rapids, and Columbia University. At the same time he was working with the Art Students' League of New York. In 1898 he went to Paris, where he subsequently made his home, studying first under Jean Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant at the Academic Julian and then at the iScole des Beaux-Arts, besides receiving instruction from Whistler and MacMonnier. Launched on his career, he specialised in portraiture and mural painting. His portrait sitters included Governor McCreary and the railway president, Hine, while of his murals the most notable were in the State capitol of Kentucky, Utah, and Oklahoma, the court house of New Haven County, Connecticut, the Federal Building at Gadsden, Alabama, the McAlpin Hotel, New York City, and the Department of Agriculture, Washington. His paintings at the latter were the subject of a brisk controversy, Professor Rexwell G. Tugwell, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, denouncing them as being too classical. Examples of his work were purchased by the Luxembourg, the Museum of the City of Paris, the St. Quentin Museum, the Brooklyn Museum, the Corcoran Museum, Washington, the Grand Rapids Museum, and the Universities of Utah and Oklahoma. From 1917 to 1919 he served in France with the American infantry, winning the Verdun medal, and in the latter year was made a member of the American Mission to negotiate peace. After the war he became an active member of the American Legion, and was also a founder member of the European commandery of the Military Order of Foreign Wars, acting as vice-commander in 1928, and a member of the council, 1928-30. He was an honorary citizen of St. Quentin, Officier de l'Academie (1914), Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur (1919, promoted Officier, 1928, and Commandeur, 1935). In 1937 he was co-opted a member of the fine arts jury for the Paris International Exhibition. He was successively vice-president and president of the American Artists' Professional League, acted as United States delegate to the Eighth International Art Congress, Paris, and was medallist for drawing of the Academie Julian and the Art Students' League of New York. In 1928 he married Hertha Stenger.

20. **Sir Edmund Davis**, distinguished both as a leader of the South African mining industry and as an art collector, was born at Tuorak, near Melbourne, Australia, on August 3, 1862, and educated in Paris as an art student. At the age of 17 he was sent to South Africa for his health, and entered the mercantile business of Bensusan & Company, of which his uncle was the head. By the time he was 20 he had struck out for himself and had leased a guano island off the Cape coast. He also took an active part in opening up German South-West Africa. One of his early ventures was the acquisition of the Tsumeb copper mine, which was practically inaccessible until, as a result of negotiations between the South-West Africa Company and the Otavi Company, with which he was associated, he secured the cession of a strip of territory from Swakopmund to the mine and arranged for the building of a railway between the two. He was also among the first speculators to reach the newly discovered goldfield at Johannesburg, and about the same time floated his first company, the Bechuanaland Exploration Company, an enterprise concerned with vast landholdings. In the middle 'nineties he went with his lifelong friend, Cecil Rhodes, to Berlin, where they were successful in inducing the Kaiser to allow the Cape to Cairo telegraph to pass through German territory. Davis's mining interests included lead, copper, tin, zinc, and asbestos, manganese, and chrome ore, of which latter, valuable as a hardening agent of high-grade steels, he controlled the world's supply in its principal sources—Rhodesia, Baluchistan, and New Caledonia. He was also interested in Chinese railways, electric tramways in Singapore, and was chairman of the Wankie Colliery, Rhodesia's only coal-mine. At the height of his activity he was the driving force behind some fifty companies, of which his personal business firm was Picard & Company, of Old Jewry, London. Outside his professional interests he was a noted connoisseur and collector. In

1915 he presented a number of modern English pictures to the Luxembourg and gave a valuable collection to the South African Art Gallery, 1935-36. Sir Edmund, who was knighted in 1927, married his cousin, Mary Bensusan. They had no children.

20. **Alfred Henry Robinson Thornton**, artist, was born at Delhi on August 25, 1863, son of T. H. Thornton, C.S.L, and after being educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, entered the Foreign Office, where he served from 1888 to 1890. Meanwhile, his chief interest being painting, he studied at the Slade School, and on leaving the Foreign Office went to Brittany, where he met Paul Gauguin. Later he returned to London to study under Fred Brown, and in due course he became the friend of most of the prominent personalities in London art circles. With Sickert he conducted an art school for a short time in 1893-94. In 1893 he began his long association with the New English Art Club, then considered a revolutionary body, and since 1928 he had been its honorary secretary. He also joined the London Group on its formation in 1914. Although never a popular painter, he was highly esteemed by connoisseurs, and examples of his work were acquired by the Tate Gallery (Chantrey purchase, 1929), the British Museum, the Contemporary Art Society, and the public collections of Bath, Bradford, Leeds, and Manchester. A subtle observer of tone values, his own work was purely naturalistic, in spite of his theoretical interest in movements such as Surrealism. His writings included a series of articles in the *Burlington Magazine*, May, 1921, on Freud's psychological theories in relation to aesthetics, in which he had become interested ten years earlier, as well as contributions to *Art Work* and to the *Artist*. In the latter journal he published, between 1935 and 1937, a "Diary of an Art Student of the 'Nineties," which was afterwards re-issued in book form. He was Moderator and University Examiner in Drawing to the Training Colleges Delegacy of the University of London in 1932, and Moderator in Drawing from 1933 to 1935. He married Hilda, daughter of Thomas Walker, of Seaton Carew, Co. Durham, but had no children.

23. **Lord Brabourne** (the Right Hon. Sir Michael Herbert Rudolf Knatchbull, fifth Baron Brabourne in the Peerage of the United Kingdom) was born on May 8, 1895, into a family which had been settled in Kent since the reign of Henry II. After being educated at Wellington and Woolwich he received a commission in the Royal Artillery in 1914 and served throughout the war, being three times mentioned in despatches, and gaining the M.C. after the landing in Gallipoli in April, 1915. He became Brigade Major, R.A.F., in 1918 and retired from the Army in 1920 with the rank of captain. In the same year he went into business as a director of various mining companies with which his father was connected. At the General Election of 1931 he was returned as Conservative member for Ashford in a part of Kent represented in Parliament by his ancestors for centuries. In 1932 he was appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to Sir Samuel Hoare, then Secretary of State for India, but relinquished the post little more than a year later when he succeeded to the barony on the death of his father, February 15, 1933. In the following year he was appointed Governor of Bombay, and being then in his thirty-eighth year, was thus the youngest Presidency Governor since the Crown took over the administration of India. Although the appointment was criticised on the ground of his youth and inexperience, he proved more than equal to the task and much regret was expressed when, in 1937, he was transferred to the Governorship of Bengal in the place of Sir John Anderson. For four months in 1938 he acted as viceroy during the absence on holiday of Lord Linlithgow. Lord Brabourne, who married, in 1919, Lady Doreen Browne, daughter of the sixth Marquis of Sligo, and had two sons, died at Government House, Calcutta, after an operation for pericolic inflammation.

MARCH.

2. **Howard Garter**, Egyptologist, discoverer of the tomb of Tutankhamen, was born at Swaffham, Norfolk, in 1873, son of S. J. Carter, a painter of animals. Owing to delicate health he was educated privately, but as a youth showed so much keenness and aptitude for archaeological work that at the age of 17 he went to Egypt on the staff of the Egyptian Exploration Fund's Archaeological Survey. In 1892 he assisted Professor Flinders Petrie in the excavation of Tel-el-Amarna, and from 1893 to 1899 was draughtsman to the E.E.F. staff, Deir-el-Bahari campaign. In the course of the next twenty years he served as Inspector-General of the Antiquities Department of the Egyptian Government; he reorganised the antiquity administration for Upper Egypt under Sir William Garstin and Sir Gaston Maspero; and he was responsible for the electric installation in the Tombs of the Kings and Abu Simbol. He also discovered several tombs, including those of Mentuhetep, Hatshepsit, Thothmes IV, and Amenhetep I, before making his greatest discovery—the sepulchre of Tutankhamen in the Valley of the Tombs of the Bangs. Although it was thought that all the mysteries of the Valley had been disclosed, Lord Carnarvon, after the war, obtained a concession to work there, having a theory that good results might be obtained if excavations down to actual bedrock were made. Under the supervision of Howard Carter nearly 200,000 tons of rubbish had been removed before, on November 5, 1922, a step cut in the rock beneath the entrance of the tomb of Rameses VI was found to be the beginning of a stairway that led down to the tomb of Tutankhamen. Hardly daring to believe that success had at last come, Carter awaited the arrival from England of Lord Carnarvon before proceeding to open the tomb, which, to their amazement, was found to be intact, revealing "strange animals, statues, and gold—everywhere the glint of gold." After spending several years at the tomb, while its treasures were being removed to the Cairo Museum, he made a number of lecture tours in different parts of the world, speaking in the United States to audiences of over 3,000. Yale University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Sc.D. Besides "The Tomb of Tutankhamen," three volumes, 1923-33, he published "The Tomb of Thothmes IV," "The Tomb of Hatshepsit," and (with A. C. Mace) "Five Years' Exploration in Thebes." Carter was unmarried.

3. **Lord Allen of Hurtwood** (the Right Hon. Reginald Clifford Allen), internationalist and pacifist, was born at Newport, Mon., on May 9, 1889, son of a draper, and educated at Berkhamsted School; University College, Bristol; and Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he became chairman of the University Fabian Society. From 1912 to 1915 he was chairman of the University Socialist Federation. In 1911 he was appointed secretary and manager of the first Labour daily newspaper, the *Daily Citizen*, holding the post until 1915. At the end of 1914, in association with Mr. Fenner Brockway, he founded the No-Conscription Fellowship, and acted as its chairman until 1918. During the same period he served three terms of imprisonment as a Conscientious Objector. From 1922 to 1926 he was chairman and treasurer of the Independent Labour Party, as well as chairman of the *New Leader*. Forced by ill-health to relinquish those posts, he retained his connexion with journalism as a director of the *Daily Herald*, 1925-30. In the political upheaval of 1931 he approved of the collaboration of the National Labour group in the formation of a National Government, and a year later issued a pamphlet, "Labour's Future at Stake," in which he denounced the Labour Party for its inability to recognise the facts of the financial crisis. He was always a staunch supporter of the League of Nations, and it was his dissatisfaction with the Government's conduct of international relations which led to his resignation from the National Labour Group in May, 1936. In February of that year he had become chairman of the executive of an organisation known as the Next Five Years' Group, and at the

International Peace Congress a few months later put forward an eleven-point programme for the foundation of "a workman-like system of collective security." In addition to politics he was keenly interested in education, being chairman of the executive of the Home and School Council, and chairman of the New Schools Association. For some years he ran a school of his own. His only publication, apart from pamphlets and articles, was "Britain's Political Future," 1934. Lord Allen, who was raised to the peerage in 1932, married, in 1921, Marjory Gill, and had one daughter. The peerage, therefore, became extinct.

18. **Sir Henry Simpson Lunn**, founder of the travel agency which bore his name, was born on July 30, 1859, and educated at Horncastle Grammar School. In 1881 he entered the Headingley College, Leeds, to prepare for the Methodist ministry, leaving two years later to complete his course at Trinity College, Dublin, where he read for his M.D. degree in the hope of becoming a medical missionary in India. In 1887 he married and sailed for India, but owing to bad health returned in the following year to London, where he worked with the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and wrote for W. T. Stead. Throughout his life a strong advocate of religious reunion, he founded to that end the *Review of the Churches*, out of which arose in 1892 the first Grindelwald Conference of religious leaders. As organiser of the conference, which became an annual event, he obtained insight into travel and hotel work which led to the establishment of his travel agency. A keen Liberal, standing unsuccessfully for Parliament in 1910 and 1923, he took part in many activities outside his business. He convened the Welsh Disestablishment Conciliation Committee in 1912; formed the Stratford-on-Avon Preservation Committee in 1920; became a member of the Passport and Postal Reform Committee of 1921; and convened the Miirren conferences between bishops, clergy and leading Nonconformists to consider clause 13 of the Lambeth Report, 1923. In 1925 he was instrumental in raising 22,000Z. for the Assyrians of Iraq. In the following year he made a world tour, primarily to deliver the Sulgrave Manor Institution Lecture on the birthday of George Washington, and secondarily to promote the union of the Churches and harness them to the League of Nations. Besides his autobiography, "Nearing Harbour," which appeared in 1934, he published a record of his world tour in 1927, as well as three religious books, "The Love of Jesus," "Retreats for the Soul," and "The Secret of the Saints." On successive days, in 1910, he was knighted and confirmed by the Bishop of London. Early in the war he returned the Order of the Red Eagle which he had received from the German Emperor in recognition of his "goodwill tours" in Germany. His wife, by whom he had three sons, was a daughter of Canon Moore.

19. **Sir Robert Wallace, K.C.**, chairman of the County of London Sessions, 1907-31, was born in County Antrim in 1850, son of the Rev. Robert Wallace, and was educated at Queen's University, Ireland, of which he was afterwards made an Honorary LL.D. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1874, and was made a Bencher in 1901 and Treasurer in 1924. In 1894 he took silk. With his interests in his earlier years more in politics than in the law, he made several attempts to enter Parliament as a Liberal before he was elected in 1895 for Perth city, retaining the seat until he was appointed chairman of the County of London Sessions in 1907. He retired in 1931. Within twelve months of his taking up the appointment the Probation of Offenders Act was passed and from the first opportunity he took full advantage of its provisions, becoming known as the "merciful Judge." In some quarters his extreme leniency in dealing with hardened offenders was the subject of criticism. As a memorial to his work "The Robert Wallace Probation Trust" was founded to enable probation officers to help deserving offenders. He was knighted in 1916. Sir Robert was unmarried.

20. Lieutenant-Commander Percy Thompson Dean, who was awarded the V.C. for gallantry at Zeebrugge, April 22-23, 1918, was born in 1877. When the war began he joined the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve and carried out normal duties until he was selected to be one of those who were to be trained in secret for the raid on the Mole at Zeebrugge. His part was to be in command of Motor Launch 282, which was detailed to rescue the crews of the blockships after those ships had been sunk. That task he accomplished with conspicuous success, after first having to turn back for an officer who had been missed, and, later, having to navigate his boat by the engines when the steering gear broke down. Meanwhile the launch was under constant machine-gun fire from almost point-blank range. Three men were shot down at Dean's side and he escaped complete destruction only by manoeuvring his vessel so close under the Mole that the guns in the batteries could not be depressed sufficiently to enable their fire to hit the boat. When, on July 22, 1918, he was awarded the V.C. it was officially stated that "it was solely due to this officer's courage and daring that M.L. 282 succeeded in saving so many lives." After the war, Lieutenant-Commander Dean returned to the slate trade, being managing director in Blackburn of John Dean, Limited, and Forrest & Crabtree, Limited, as well as chairman of the Moelferna and Deeside Slate and Slab Quarries. From 1919 to 1922 he sat as Coalition Unionist Member of Parliament for Blackburn. In 1927 he married Mrs. M. R. Hardicker, widow of Lieutenant-Colonel J. O. Hardicker.

21. The Right Hon. James Brown, M.P., Lord High Commissioner to the Church of Scotland in 1924, 1930, and 1931, was born in 1862, son of a weaver, and began work in a pit at the age of 12. In 1878 he became a member of the local miners' committee and after two years was made its secretary. At the age of 32 he was elected president of the Ayrshire Miners' Union. Ten years later he became a permanent official in the Annbank district, an appointment which led to the office of county secretary and agent. In 1917 he was chosen to be secretary of the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers, and in the following year entered Parliament as Labour Member for South Ayrshire, retaining the seat at each General Election except that of 1931. In 1924 he was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the first Commoner to hold that office for nearly 300 years. Although some anxiety as to his suitability was expressed at the time, he performed his duties so well that he was re-appointed in 1930 and in 1931. A lifelong teetotaler, he excluded intoxicants from the entertainment at Holyrood Palace during his terms of office. During Parliamentary sessions he made a practice of returning each week-end to his home—a cottage in a miners' row at Annbank—and for many years continued his Sunday school work. In 1917 he was created O.B.E. and in 1930 was sworn a member of the Privy Council. He was also LL.D., D.L., J.P., and a freeman of the burghs of Ayr and Girvan. He married Catherine MacGregor Steel, a millworker, and had three sons.

— **Dr. John Edward King**, a famous headmaster, was born at Ash, Somerset, on July 10, 1858, and educated at Clifton College and Lincoln College, Oxford, to which he went with a classical scholarship in 1877. In 1882 he was elected to a Fellowship at the College and years later was made an honorary Fellow. In 1884 he went to St. Paul's School to be joint classical master with his old college friend, Christopher Cookson. Three years later he returned to Oxford as tutor at Lincoln College, remaining there until 1890, when he was appointed headmaster of Manchester Grammar School. After being there for twelve years he accepted a similar post at Bedford Grammar School. His next and last move was to Clifton, where he was headmaster from 1909 until his retirement in 1923. While at St. Paul's he and Cookson wrote "Principles of Sound and Inflection, as illustrated in the Greek and Latin languages" (1888), and "A Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin" (1890). In 1892 he married Mary, daughter of H. J. Roby, and had three sons.

25. **Lord Sanderson** (the Right Hon. Henry Sanderson Furniss), Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, 1916-25, was born on October 1, 1868. Being from birth almost blind, he was accepted at Hertford College, Oxford, in 1889, only on condition that he passed Responsions a year later. In 1893, with two fellow-students to write his answers, he took a Second Class in History. For the next eight years he lived at Clifton, working at the Bristol branch of the Charity Organisation Society, of which his father had been a founder. In 1902 he married Averil Dorothy, daughter of H. F. Nicholl, of Twyford, and settled at Chelsea, but moved to Oxford in 1905, in the following year obtaining a Diploma in Economics. In 1907, at the invitation of Mr. H. B. Lees Smith, then vice-president, he became tutor and lecturer in Economics at Ruskin College, Oxford, of which, in 1916, he was appointed Principal, without salary, resigning in 1925. Meanwhile he and his wife, who both belonged to Conservative families, had joined the Labour Party, and at the General Election of 1918 he stood, unsuccessfully, as Labour candidate for Oxford. He was created a Labour Peer in 1931, but in 1936 resigned from the Executive of National Labour owing to disagreement with its policy on the question of sanctions, leaving the party altogether in 1938. At the Oxford by-election in that year he supported the National Conservative candidate. In 1931 he published a humorous volume of reminiscences, "Memories of Sixty Years." Lord and Lady Sanderson having no children, the peerage became extinct.

26. Miss Sara Bur stall, headmistress of Manchester High School for Girls, 1898-1924, was born at Aberdeen in 1860, and educated at the Frances Mary Buss Schools, London; at Girton College, Cambridge; and at University College, London, rounding off a brilliant scholastic career by visiting the United States with a travelling studentship. In 1882 she returned to her old school (Frances Mary Buss) as assistant mistress, remaining there until 1898, when she was appointed headmistress of the Manchester High School for Girls. During the twenty-six years she was in charge she introduced into the school curriculum such subjects as housewifery and secretarial training, and established a biological laboratory, while for the staff she instituted a pension fund as well as a term's holiday after ten years' service. From 1903 to 1922 she was a member of the Manchester Education Committee, and from 1923 to 1927 was a J.P. She was president of the Association of Headmistresses, 1909-11. After her retirement she became a member of the Advisory Committee on Education at the Colonial Office, and of the Institute of Education Delegacy, University of London. Her publications included "English High Schools for Girls" (1907), "Impressions of American Education" (1909), "The Story of Manchester High School" (1911), "The Old Testament: Its Growth and Message" (1923), "Retrospect and Prospect," her autobiography (1933), and "Frances Mary Buss, a Pioneer" (1938). She was M.A. (Dublin) and Hon. LL.D. (Manchester).

— Sir **Basil Home** Thomson, Assistant Commissioner, Metropolitan Police, 1913-19, and Director of Intelligence, Scotland Yard, 1919-21, was born on April 21, 1861, son of William Thomson, Archbishop of York, and his Greek wife. After being educated at Eton and New College, Oxford, he entered the Colonial service and for ten years held posts in Fiji, Tonga (where he acted as Prime Minister), and British New Guinea. During that period he was awarded the silver medal of the Royal Humane Society for saving life at sea. In 1896 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple and in the same year became Deputy Governor of Liverpool Prison. Later he held a similar post at Dartmoor, afterwards becoming successively Governor of Northampton, Cardiff, Dartmoor, and Wormwood Scrubbs Prisons. While at Northampton, in 1900, he was sent to the Pacific by the Colonial Office as Special Commissioner to negotiate treaties with two of the native Governments. In 1908 he became Inspector of Prisons and Secretary to the Prison Commissioners. A year later he was selected by Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brose to assist him in organising the

Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts, which had been founded by Mr. Churchill. On the retirement of Sir Melville Macnaghton he was appointed Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police and was put in charge of the Criminal Investigation Department and the Special Branch. When the Special Branch became a separate organisation in 1919 Thomson was made Director of Intelligence, and although he continued as Assistant Commissioner he was responsible only to the Home Secretary. He resigned in November, 1921, on learning that a scheme of reorganisation would have placed him under the immediate control of General Horwood. Of his numerous publications, which began with "Diversions of a Prime Minister," based on his experiences at Tonga, the most notable were "South Sea Yarns," "A Court Intrigue," "The Indiscretions of Lady Asenath," "Discovery of the Solomon Islands," "Savage Island," "The Fijians," "The Skene Papers," and "The Story of Dartmoor Prison," which were written between 1894 and 1909; after his retirement he wrote: "Queer People" (1922), "Mr. Pepper, Investigator" (1925), "The Criminal" (1925), "Carfax Abbey" (1928), "The Prince from Overseas" (1930), "The Allied Secret Service in Greece" (1931), and "The Story of Scotland Yard" (1935). Created K.C.B. in 1919, he was also a Commander of the Order of Leopold, of the Crown of Italy, and of the Rising Sun. He married, in 1889, Grace, daughter of Felix Webber, and had two sons and one daughter.

APRIL.

3. Tenney Frank, Professor of Latin at Johns Hopkins University, 1919-39, was born at Kansas in 1877 and was educated at the University there, as well as at the Universities of Chicago and Berlin. From 1901-19 he taught at the University of Chicago and at Bryn Mawr College. He was then appointed to the professorship of Latin at Johns Hopkins, holding the post until his death. For the two years 1922-23 and 1924-25 he was in charge of the American Classical School at Rome; in 1930 he was Sather Professor at the University of California, and in 1930 Martin Lecturer at Oberlin. He was president of the American Philological Association in 1929, and for a time was editor of the *American Journal of Philology*. Frank's life work was the study of ancient Rome, and in his many writings on varied aspects of Roman civilisation he developed a technique in scholarship which was largely his own. His first large book, "Roman Imperialism" (1914), though original in detail was conventional in design, but later his attitude to the Roman Republic changed, and henceforth his interest lay not in its imperial problems but with its economic development from simple agrarian beginnings. In 1920 he published "An Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic" (second edition, continued to the third century A.D., 1927). Six years later came the first volume of "An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome," a work upon which he was engaged, with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, when he died. His own volume dealt with "Rome and Italy of the Republic." He also published books on Virgil (1922) and Catullus and Horace (1928). He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the Royal Society of Letters, Lund; a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy; and a Member of the American Philosophical Society. In July, 1938, he came to England as Eastman Visiting Professor at Oxford. He married Grace Mayer, of New Haven, Connecticut, but had no children.

7. **The Right Hon. Joseph Aloysius Lyons**, Prime Minister of Australia, 1932-39, was born at Stanley, Tasmania, of Irish parentage, on September 15, 1879. After being educated at State and Roman Catholic schools he became a teacher, entering the Teachers' Training College, Hobart, in 1906. Interested in politics, he became a speaker for the Labour Party and in 1909 was elected to the Tasmanian Parliament as a member for Wilmot. When the second Labour Government took office in 1914, he was appointed Treasurer, Minister of Education,

and Minister of Railways, holding those portfolios until the party went into Opposition two years later. In 1923 he returned to office as Premier of Tasmania, being also Treasurer and Minister of Railways, which latter office he exchanged for that of Minister of Mines. His Government was defeated in 1928, but when at the election to the Federal Parliament a year later Labour won a sweeping victory, he was returned again for his old constituency of Wilmot, and in the Scullin Government became Postmaster-General and Minister for Works and Railways. During Mr. Scullin's absence at the Imperial Conference in London he also acted as Treasurer. In that capacity he opposed the repudiation of the 28,000,000J. loan then about to fall due, and when on the return of Mr. Scullin the Federal Treasurership went again to Mr. Theodore, Mr. Lyons resigned from the Commonwealth Cabinet, after consulting his constituents, on January 30, 1931. He immediately began a campaign against financial drift, particularly against Mr. Theodore's inflation proposals, and in May became leader of the United Australia Party. A month later he drew up the terms of a conversion loan which, largely owing to his personal influence, was over-subscribed. When the Labour Government was defeated in November, 1931, Mr. Lyons became Prime Minister. He continued in that office after the United Australia Party had gained a great victory at the General Election in December, and being re-elected in 1934 and 1937 thus held the Premiership longer than it had ever been held by any one man before. Mr. Lyons, who was sworn a member of the Privy Council in 1932 and created a Companion of Honour in 1936, was an honorary LL.D. of Cambridge and received the freedom of the City of London, of Aberdeen, and of Edinburgh. Shortly after entering the Training College at Hobart in 1906, he married Enid Burnell, a student there, paying a 2002. forfeit to release her from a five-year teaching bond. Mrs. Lyons, mother of five sons and six daughters, was invested by King George V in 1937 with the insignia of a Dame Grand Cross of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.

18. Lieutenant-Colonel the Right Hon. Sir Matthew Nathan, soldier, governor, and politician, was born, of Jewish parentage, on January 3, 1862, son of Jonah Nathan, and entered the Royal Engineers in 1880, being promoted to captain in 1889, and major in 1898. He saw active service with the Sudan Expedition in 1884-85, and with the Lushai Expedition in 1889. In 1895 he was appointed secretary to the Colonial Defence Committee, and came to the notice of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who formed a high opinion of his abilities. While still secretary, he was sent to Sierra Leone in 1898 to administer the Government of that Colony. Two years later he was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast, and stayed there until 1903, when he was transferred to Hong-Kong. From 1907 to 1909 he was Governor of Natal, being the last Governor before the federation of the four South African Colonies in the Union of South Africa. In the latter year his career took another turn: he became secretary to the General Post Office, and in 1911 was promoted to chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue. In 1914 he was made Permanent Under-Secretary to the Government of Ireland, and was in sole charge at Dublin Castle—the Chief Secretary (Mr. Birrell) being in England—when the Irish Rebellion broke out at Easter, 1916. For its failure to appreciate the seriousness of the danger the Irish Executive was severely criticised. The Lord-lieutenant and Chief Secretary resigned and Nathan was transferred to the Ministry of Pensions, holding that post until 1919. In 1920 he returned to the Colonial service as Governor of Queensland, where he remained for five years. From 1922 to 1926 he was Chancellor of the University there. He was keenly interested in the survey of the Great Barrier Reef, and on his initiative the Government set up a Sub-Committee of the Civil Research Committee, whose recommendations led to the Barrier Reef Expedition in 1928-29. He was, in addition, chairman of several other Sub-Committees of the CXvii Research Committee, and later of the Economio Advisory Council; he was chairman of the Sub-Committee on Geophysical Surveying in 1927 and of the Sub-Committee on Irrigation Research in 1928-30. He was also a member

of the Special Commission on the Constitution of Ceylon, 1927-28, and was chairman of the Colonial Secretary's Advisory Committee on Rubber in 1926*28. **He** had been an alderman of the Somerset County Council since 1927, and was president of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1930-31. Since its inception, he was associated with Lord Hanworth in the work of the British Records Society. Sir Matthew, who was unmarried, was created C.M.G. in 1899, and promoted K.C.M.G. in 1902, and G.C.M.G. in 1908.

18. The Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair (Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks) was born on March 14, 1867, daughter of a Liberal M.P. for Berwick, who became Baron Tweedmouth in 1881. Her mother was a sister of the first Lord Maghera-morne, and of Quintin Hogg, the philanthropist. In 1877 she married the seventh Earl of Aberdeen, who was created a marquess in 1916, and who was twice Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1886-93, and 1905-16, and Governor-General of Canada, 1893-1905. A woman of great social activity, she founded the Women's National Health Association of Ireland in 1907, headed the anti-tuberculosis campaign, for which she wrote, in 1908, three volumes urging the advantages of open windows, pure milk, and sanatoria, and took a leading part in the establishment of the Irish Industries Association. With her main interest in the "Woman Movement," she was for many years president of the International Council of Women; was president of the Haddo Women's Liberal Federation; and founded the Onward and Upward Association for lonely women, as well as the Victorian Order of Nurses in Canada, the first training houses of which were opened in Montreal and Toronto in 1898. She was also president of the Lyceum Club; chairman of the Scottish Committee for Women's Training and Employment; and for over thirty years was president of the Women's Council of the Scottish Liberal Federation. Besides her writings during the anti-tuberculosis campaign she published "Through Canada with a Kodak," and collaborated with Lord Aberdeen in "We Twa" (1925), and "More Cracks With We Twa" (1929). In 1936 her memoirs appeared under the title, "The Musings of a Scottish Granny." She had three sons and one daughter.

19. Henry Stephens Salt, author, reformer, self-confessed "faddist," secretary of the Humanitarian League, 1891-1920, was born in India in 1851, son of Colonel T. H. Salt, and educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, where he won the Sir William Browne medal for a Greek epigram. In 1875 he returned to Eton as a master, remaining there until 1884. -During that period unorthodox ideas developed in his mind and, coming to the conclusion that Eton masters "were but cannibals in cap and gown," he resigned his mastership rather than live, as he felt, in *partibus infidelium*. He then settled in Surrey, pursuing a simple, servantless life, writing, translating, reading a good deal of current revolutionary literature, and entertaining friends, particularly Mr. Bernard Shaw. When the Humanitarian League was founded in 1891, Salt became its honorary secretary, working in that capacity until the League was dissolved in 1920. From his office in Chancery Lane he conducted—always in good temper—campaigns against flesh-eating, blood sports, picking wild flowers, cruelty to animals, and corporal punishment. His chief publications included "Seventy Years Among Savages" (1921), "Memories of Bygone Eton" (1928), a translation of the "iEneid" into English decasyllabic verse, and "The Creed of Kinship" (1935). He was twice married; first, in 1879, to Catherine Leigh Joynes, daughter of an Eton master, who died in 1919; and secondly, in 1927, to Catherine, daughter of Frederick Mandeville, of Brighton.

20. Sir William Mitchell Ramsay, Professor-Emeritus of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, was born at Glasgow on March 15, 1851, and educated at Aberdeen University and St. John's College, Oxford. Having developed a strong taste for research in the field of classical archaeology, he went to Athens, after his marriage in 1878, and studied first Greek art and epigraphy, and then Ionian

antiquities, and the problem of Asiatic influence on Hellenic civilisation. In 1879 he went to Smyrna, where he concerned himself with geographical identification, which soon took him into a later world than the classical Greek. About that period he had the good fortune to meet Sir Charles Wilson, Consul-General for Anatolia, himself a keen archaeologist, who invited Ramsay to accompany him on visits to Lycarnia, Cappadocia; and Galatia. When Wilson was recalled in 1882 he continued the exploration of Asia Minor, on which his fame rests. In 1885, on the foundation of the Lincoln and Merton Chair of Archaeology at Oxford, he was elected the first Professor, but a year later returned to Aberdeen University as Professor of Humanity, a post which he held for the next twenty-five years. In 1890 he published the "Historical Geography of Asia Minor," which became a standard work, and for which in 1906 he received the Victoria medal of the Royal Geographical Society and, a year later, the medal of the Royal Scottish Society. In 1893 he was awarded the gold medal of Pope Leo XIII. In 1895 came the first volume of "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," the second volume appearing in 1897. His writing also included "The Church in the Roman Empire" and other books on the subject which gave great stimulus to the study of early Christian history. Sir William—he was knighted in 1906—was twice married; first, in 1878, to Miss A. D. Marshall, granddaughter of Dr. A. Marshall, of Kirkintilloch, who died in 1927, leaving two sons and four daughters; and secondly, in 1928, to Phyllis Eileen Thorowgood.

24. Canon Henry Leighton Goudge, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, was born on December 21, 1866, and educated at Blackheath School, University College, Oxford, and at Wycliffe Hall, where he read for Holy Orders. He was ordained deacon in 1890 and priest in the following year, and from 1890 to 1894 was curate of St. Mark's, Leicester. During that period he moved away from the Evangelicalism in which he had been educated and became known first as a High Churchman of the "Lux Mundi" school, and later as an "Anglo-Catholic." He became successively assistant-tutor and vice-principal of the Theological College at Salisbury (1894-95); vice-principal (1895-1903) and later principal of the Theological College at Wells, with a prebendal stall in the cathedral (1903-11); and canon residentiary and principal of the Theological College at Ely (1911-21). He succeeded Dr. White as Professor of New Testament Exegesis at King's College, London, retaining his canonry at Ely, and after holding that post for two years returned to Oxford as Regius Professor of Divinity. His writings included a widely used commentary on the First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians (1903 and 1911), a book on the Holy Eucharist (1911), a volume of Cathedral Sermons (1911), "The Church and the Bible," and "Reunion." He also published pamphlets during the Prayer-book controversy (1927-28), and acted as editor of the one-volume "Anglo-Catholic Commentary on the Bible" (1928). He married while at Wells, Ida de Beauchamp, daughter of Adolphus CoUenette, of Guernsey, who became almost a permanent invalid after the birth of their only child, Elizabeth Goudge, novelist and writer.

29. The Right Rev. Timothy Rees, Bishop of Llandaff, 1931-39, was born at Llanon, Cardiganshire, on August 15, 1874, and educated at St. David's College, Lampeter, and St. Michael's College, Aberdare. He held his first, and only, curacy at Mountain Ash, in the diocese of Llandaff, from 1897 to 1901, after which he returned to St. Michael's College, Aberdare, as chaplain, holding the post until 1906. In that year he joined the Community of the Resurrection, and henceforward became increasingly famous as a mission preacher. In 1910 he sailed for New Zealand on a "Mission of Help," paying a second visit there in 1913. Three years later he went on a similar visit to Canada, and in 1929 he conducted a series of missions in Ceylon. From 1915 to the end of the war he was Chaplain to the Forces, receiving the M.C. and being twice mentioned in despatches. From 1922 to 1928 he was Principal of Mirfield Theological College.

In 1931 he succeeded Dr. Hughes as Bishop of Llandaff. Besides his ardent zeal for Church work he threw himself whole-heartedly into the amelioration of social conditions resulting from industrial depression, and was president of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Council of Social Service from its inception. He also founded St. Teilo's Hall of Residence at Roath, Cardiff, for the students of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. Bishop Rees, who was unmarried, was an exceptionally gifted preacher, as eloquent in English, which he learned as a foreign language, as in his native Welsh.

MAY.

16. **Professor Sidney Luxton Loney**, chairman of Convocation of the University of London, and Professor of Mathematics at the Royal Holloway College, 1888-1920, was born at Tiverton on March 16, 1860, and educated at Maidstone Grammar School, Tonbridge School, and Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, of which he was a Fellow from 1885 to 1891. His long association with the University of London began in 1905 when he became a senator; in 1920 he was appointed a trustee and governor of the Royal Holloway College; in 1923 chairman of Convocation; and in 1929 deputy chairman of the Court. He was the leader of a small group of senators who fought for the preservation of the External system until it was secured by the Act of 1926. He also took a leading part in local government work as a member of the Surrey County Education Committee, 1909-37; as Mayor of Richmond, 1920-21; as a J.P. for the Borough of Richmond; and as chairman of the Kingston and Elmbridge Division of Income Tax Commissioners. His publications included several textbooks on mathematics. In 1885 he married Frances Elizabeth, daughter of H. P. O. Hamlin, of Exeter, and had two daughters.

17. **The Rev. John Wood Oman**, Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge, 1922-35, was born at Stenness, Orkney, in 1860, and educated at Edinburgh University, where he graduated M.A. and D.Phil., at the United Presbyterian Theological College, Edinburgh, and at the Universities of Erlangen and Heidelberg. In 1889 he was ordained at Clayport Street Church, Alnwick, where he remained until 1907, when he was appointed Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics at Westminster College, Cambridge, succeeding Dr. Skinner as Principal in 1922. He was also University Lecturer on the Philosophy of Religion, and an honorary Fellow of Jesus College. During 1931-32 he was Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of England. His publications, beginning in 1902 with a translation of Schleiermacher's "Speeches on Religion," and followed a few years later by his most popular volume, "Vision and Authority," included "The Problem of Faith and Freedom in the Last Two Centuries" (1907), "The Church and Divine Order" (1911), "Grace and Personality" (1918), "The Paradox of the World" (1921), and "The Book of Revelation" (1923). His last, and perhaps greatest work, a philosophy of religion, appeared in 1931 under the title, "The Natural and the Supernatural." He married Mary, daughter of Hunter Blair, of Gosforth, and had four daughters.

19. **Charles Herbert Fagge**, consulting surgeon to Guy's Hospital, was born in 1873, son of Dr. H. W. Fagge, general practitioner, of Lutterworth, and educated at Oundle School and Guy's Hospital, as well as at Berlin and Vienna. At the University of London he gained gold medals and Exhibitions in Anatomy, in Medicine, and in Surgery. Appointed assistant surgeon to Guy's Hospital, he might have made his name as an aural surgeon had he not elected to enter the wider field of general surgery. In due course he became full surgeon and on his resignation under the age limit was appointed consulting surgeon. On February 17, 1932, he attended at the University of Melbourne the inaugural

meeting of the Royal Australian College of Surgery in order to present the Great Mace which had been sent as a token of friendship by the English College. In return, he was awarded an honorary Fellowship of the Australian College, and the honorary degree of M.D. by Melbourne University. On the same occasion he delivered the first Syme Oration in the presence of a large audience. Elected to the council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England in 1921, he was vice-president in 1929, Bradshaw Lecturer in 1928, and Hunterian Orator in 1936. He was an Examiner in Anatomy in 1909, and was a member of the Court of Examiners in Surgery for ten years from 1920. He also filled the offices of president of the Association of Surgeons of Great Britain and Ireland, and of president of the surgical section of the Royal Society of Medicine. Dr. Fagge, who resigned all his posts in 1938 on account of ill-health, married Beatrice Dora, daughter of Michael Metcalfe, of Sydney, New South Wales, and had three daughters and a son.

20. Lord Merrivale (the Right Hon. Sir Henry Edward Duke, Kt.), Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1916-18, President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, 1919-33, was born in 1855, son of a South Devon granite merchant. He did not attend either a public school or a university, beginning his career as a journalist on the staff of the *Western Morning News*, for which, from 1880 to 1885, he was engaged in the Press Gallery at the House of Commons. In the latter year he was called to the Bar by Gray's Inn (of which he was treasurer in 1908 and 1927), and joined the Western Circuit, where he soon obtained a substantial practice. He also built up a large junior practice in London before taking silk in 1889. By many competent to judge he was regarded as one of the finest *nisi prius* advocates of his time. He was Recorder of Devonport and Plymouth, 1897-1900, retaining the former office after his election as Unionist member of Parliament for Plymouth in 1900. Defeated in 1906, he returned to Parliament as member for Exeter at the January election of 1910. In December, however, his opponent was elected by four votes, but after a scrutiny Duke was awarded the seat by one vote. During the war he was chairman of the Royal Commissions on the Defence of the Realm Losses (the Duke Commission) and on Liquor Trade Control Losses. In 1935 he was Wreck Commissioner. In 1915 he was appointed Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales, an office which he vacated on July 31, 1916, when he succeeded Mr. Birrell as Chief Secretary for Ireland. The appointment of a Unionist gave great offence to the Irish Nationalists, and there was constant friction throughout his tenure of office, which ended with his resignation in May, 1918, soon after the decision to impose conscription on Ireland. With his political career finished he found new scope for his abilities as Lord Justice of Appeal, to which post he was appointed in succession to Lord Justice Swinfen Eady, receiving at the same time the customary knighthood. After sitting in the Court of Appeal for eighteen months he followed Lord Sterndale as President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, holding that office until he retired in 1933. Lord Merrivale—created a baron in 1925—married, in 1876, Sarah, daughter of John Shorland, of Shrewsbury, and had one son and one daughter.

22. Ernst Toller, German revolutionary and playwright, was born of Jewish parentage at Samotschin on December 1, 1893. When the war began he left his studies at Lyons, returned to Bavaria, enlisted as a volunteer, and saw active service on the Western Front until he was severely wounded. After being discharged from the Army he resumed his studies at Heidelberg, but having become an ardent anti-militarist he was imprisoned for revolutionary propaganda among his fellow-students. In prison he wrote the first draft of *Die Wandlung* (The Transformation), and on his release in November, 1918, threw himself wholeheartedly into the "expressionist" movement, then at its height, which combined with the rhetorical style of expressionism the most

radical and revolutionary political philosophy. Although without political experience, early in 1919 he was elected leader of the Independent Social Democratic Party in Munich, later becoming president of the Bavarian Soldiers' and Workers' Central Council. The Social Democratic Party in Berlin, however, was determined to suppress the German Soviet movement. Kurt Eisner, its leader, was assassinated, and Toller, arrested in May, 1919, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for high treason. While serving his sentence in the fortress of Nieder-Schonfeld he wrote a volume of poems, "Das Schwalbenbuch," as well as *Die Maschinenstürmer* and *Masse-Mensch*, plays which quickly established his reputation as a dramatist. The former, produced by Max Bernhardt at the Grosses Schauspielhaus, Berlin, in 1922, was translated into English by Mr. Ashley Dukes, and under the title *The Machine-Wreckers* was presented by the London Stage Society in 1923. Dealing with the Luddite revolt at Nottingham in 1812, it interpreted the age-long struggle between the instinct for human brotherhood and ignorant tyranny, and although Toller denied that it was mere propaganda he became the chief exponent of "proletarian art" in Europe. *Maße-Mensch*, in which the author expressed his passionate belief in the human element in society, was translated by Miss Vera Mendel as *Masses and Men*. The volume of poems, "Das Schwalbenbuch," also translated by Mr. Dukes, was inspired by two swallows which built their nest near Toller's cell. In prison he also wrote two more collections of poetry, "Vormorgen" and "Tag des Proletariats," together with the plays, *Der entfesselte Wotan* and *Hinheimann*, the latter, a terrible picture of a man's mutilation by war, causing riotous scenes when first produced in Dresden. After his release in 1924 he published the plays, *Hoppla*, *Wir leben* and *Feuer aus den Kesseln*, the second being a frank attempt to justify the revolt of the German sailors on board the German battle-cruisers in October, 1918, and expose the trickery which, Toller alleged, characterised the proceedings of the official Commission of Investigation. By 1930 when the play was produced in Berlin the popularity of the expressionist school had declined and it made nothing like the impression produced by his earlier works. Toller, who left Germany when the Nazis assumed control and settled in England, was found hanging in his room at an hotel in New York, where he had gone to supervise the production of a new play. In 1935 he married a daughter of Dr. Otto Grautoff, former president of the Franco-German Society in Berlin.

25. Lord Duveen (the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Duveen, Bart., first Baron Duveen, of Millbank, in the City of Westminster), art dealer and benefactor, was born on October 14, 1869, at Hull, where his father, Sir Joseph Joel Duveen, had settled after leaving Holland. Young Joseph began his career as a "scout" or "runner" in his father's antique business and thus laid the foundation of his own success as a dealer. He made his debut in the sale-room on June 26, 1901, when he bought for the then highest price of 14,050 guineas Hoppner's portrait of Lady Louisa Manners. Later, in 1927, he gave at auction 77,700/. for Lawrence's portrait "Pinkie," while in a private deal for the Niccolini Madonna by Raphael he gave 175,000/. His benefactions began when he added to his father's gift of additional space for the Turner Collection at the Tate Gallery a staircase to connect the two floors. Then, in 1916, he provided the money for a gallery of modern foreign art at the Tate, following this with another gallery for exhibiting the works of Sargent. He also contributed to the cost of Boris Anrep's mosaic pavement in the Blake Gallery, and in 1937 completed his gifts to the Tate building with the provision of the spacious new Sculpture Galleries. Since 1922 he had given 200/. a year for buying water-colours and etchings by younger artists for the Tate, and at the same gallery, with the idea of creating a British School of Mural Painters, he paid for Rex Whistler's pictorial decoration of the refreshment room. To the National Gallery he gave a new room for the earlier Venetian pictures, 1930, and to the National Portrait Gallery a much-needed new wing, which was opened by the

King and Queen in 1933. In conjunction with Mr. Samuel Courtauld he made possible the establishment of the Courtauld Institute. The benefaction which, he said, gave him the greatest pleasure was the new gallery at the British Museum (completed in 1939) for the better housing of the Elgin Marbles. For the systematic encouragement of young British artists he planned a series of exhibitions, the whole cost of which he himself defrayed, besides giving a prize for the best poster advertising the scheme. The first exhibition was held at Leeds in 1927, and of 300 paintings, none marked at more than 50/., over 25 per cent, were sold. He also provided 1,000l. a year for the purchase of works by the younger artists, which were to be available on loan all over the whole country, and ultimately to be offered to the Tate and other galleries. At the London University he endowed a Chair for the History of Art. Among the many pictures with which he enriched public galleries were, at the Tate: Augustus John's portrait of Mme. Suggia; Gauguin's "Faa Iheihe"; Degas's portrait of Carlo Pellegrini; Sargent's "Mme. Gautreau"; and Stanley Spencer's "The Resurrection"; at the National Gallery: Perronneau's pastel "A Girl with a Cat"; Hogarth's portrait of the Graham Children; and a painting by Correggio of Christ taking leave of his Mother before the Passion. He was a trustee of the National Gallery, the Wallace Collection, the National Portrait Gallery, and the Imperial Gallery of Art; director of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archeology; and a member of the Council of the British School at Rome. He was knighted in 1919, made a baronet in 1926, and a baron in 1933. He also possessed several foreign orders, and in 1929 received the freedom of his native city, Hull. He married, in 1899, Elsie, daughter of Gustav Salaman, of New York. Having one daughter but no son, the barony became extinct. Lord Duveen was buried in the Jewish cemetery at Willesden.

25. **Sir Frank Watson Dyson**, F.R.S., Astronomer Royal, 1910-33, was born on January 8, 1868, son of a Baptist minister, and educated at Bradford Grammar School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was second wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos in 1889. In the following year he was placed in Class I, Division 2, in Part II of the Tripos, awarded a Smith's prize, and elected to a Fellowship of his College. In 1892 he was appointed Isaac Newton student in astronomy and physical optics. Two years later he was made chief assistant at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the selection being made on his mathematical attainments, as he then had no practical experience of astronomy. His first great work, in collaboration with W. G. Thackeray, was the re-reduction of 27,000 observations of more than 4,000 stars which had been made between 1806 and 1816 by Stephen Groombridge. In 1905 he was appointed Astronomer Royal for Scotland, and remained in Edinburgh until 1910 when he succeeded Christie as Astronomer Royal at Greenwich, holding the post until he retired in 1933, an occasion which was marked by Mr. W. Johnson Yapp's presentation to the Observatory of a 36-inch reflector, with building, dome, and spectroscopic equipment. Dyson was much interested in solar eclipses, taking part in several expeditions, and his work on the wave-lengths of the coronal lines became the standard work on that subject. In 1937 he published (with Dr. R. Woolley) "Eclipses of the Sun and Moon," which was considered to be the best work of its kind. After the war he played a prominent part in the reconstruction of international scientific co-operation under the International Research Council, which fittingly elected him president for the period 1928-32. He was also president of the Royal Astronomical Society, 1911-13; president of the British Astronomical Association, 1916-18; and vice-president of the Royal Society, 1913-14. He was awarded the Royal medal of the Royal Society in 1921, the Bruce gold medal of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific in 1922, and the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1925. Keenly interested in the problems of time-keeping, he was a member of the Court of the Clock-makers' Company, of which he was a past president, and in 1928 he was the first recipient of the gold medal of the British Horological Institute, awarded for

the greatest advance in the science of horology during the year. He was responsible for the introduction to broadcasting of the series of time signals known as " pips." In 1938 he was appointed by the University of London to serve on the Governing Board of Queen Mary College. He received the honorary degrees of D.Sc, Oxford; ScD., Cambridge; and LL.D., Edinburgh. In 1915 he was created a Knight Bachelor and in 1926, K.B.E. Sir Frank, who died at sea while on a voyage from Australia to South Africa, married Caroline, daughter of Palemon Best, M.B., and had two sons and six daughters.

26. **Dr. Charles Horace Mayo**, distinguished American surgeon, was born at Rochester, Minnesota, on July 19, 1865, and educated locally ; at Michigan ; and finally at the North-Western University in Chicago, where he took the degree of M.A. and M.D. Returning to Rochester he worked as a general practitioner until he and his elder brother, William, established the Mayo Foundation, a medical and surgical clinic which became world famous. Dr. Mayo was Medical Officer of Health of his native town from 1912, and for ten years acted as vice-president of the Board of Education. He was Professor of Surgery in the medical school of the University of Minnesota, and when he and his brother founded a graduate school there he was given the same position, holding both appointments from 1915 to 1936. During the war the Mayo brothers, with the rank of colonel and as joint chief consultants, were placed in charge of all the surgical services of the United States Army. Afterwards they served with the Army Reserve. They received honorary degrees from Universities in all parts of the world, and Dr. Charles was Regent of the American College of Surgeons from 1913 to 1936, as well as being a trustee of the North-Western University, a patron of the Eccles General Hospital in England, a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and of the Royal Society of Medicine. He married, in 1893, Edith Graham, of Rochester, and had two sons and four daughters.

29. **Lieutenant-General Sir William Raine Marshall**, Commander-in-Chief in Mesopotamia, 1917, was born on October 29, 1865, and was educated at Repton and Sandhurst, being gazetted to The Sherwood Foresters (Notts and Derby Regiment) on January 30, 1885. Transferred to the 2nd Battalion in India on promotion to captain in January, 1893, he was attached in 1897 to the 1st Battalion, The Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment, and with it took part in the Tirah Expedition. He also served throughout the South African War, in the course of which he received promotions to a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy. Further promotion came in 1904 when he got his regimental majority, and in 1908 when he automatically received the brevet of colonel. For eight months in 1911 he was Assistant Commander of the Mounted Infantry School at Longmoor, after which he returned to India as commander of the 1st Battalion, remaining there until the outbreak of the Great War. He went to France in November, 1914, and in January, 1915, was selected to command the 87th Infantry Brigade of the 29th Division, then assembling near Rugby. With that division he sailed for Gallipoli, landing on " X " Beach on April 25. Later he went to Salonika, with the 27th Division, and after serving on the Macedonian front from January to September, 1916, was appointed to command the 3rd (Indian) Corps in Mesopotamia. On the death of General Sir Stanley Maude in November, 1917, Marshall, in virtue of his seniority, assumed command of the Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force. He was promoted lieutenant-general in January, 1919, and left his command in the following August. Three months later he returned to India as Commander-in-Chief, Southern Command, holding the post until he retired from the Army four years later. From 1930 to 1935 he was Colonel of The Sherwood Foresters. In 1929 he published an outspoken volume of reminiscences, " Memories of Four Fronts." He was created C.B., 1916; K.C.B., 1917; K.C.S.I., 1918; and G.C.M.G., 1919. He was also a Commander of the Legion of Honour. In 1902 he married Emmie, daughter of John Hett, and widow of John Stephen-Stephen.

JUNE.

3. **Sir Philip Albert Gustave David Sassoon, Bart.**, politician, aviator, and patron of the arts, was born on December 4, 1888, of Jewish parentage, his father being Sir Edward Sassoon and his mother a daughter of Baron Gustave de Rothschild. After being educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, he joined the Royal East Kent Yeomanry, subsequently retiring with the rank of major. In 1912 he succeeded his father in the baronetcy and as Conservative Member of Parliament for the Hythe division of Kent, which he continued to represent until his death. During the war he acted as secretary to Sir Douglas (afterwards Lord) Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the British Armies in France. Resuming his political career after the war, he was appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Transport in 1919, a year later going to Mr. Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, in the same capacity. About that period Sassoon's home at Lympe became the meeting-place of statesmen, soldiers, and writers, and it was there that he developed an interest in aviation, which led to his becoming Under-Secretary of State for Air during Mr. Baldwin's Administration, 1924-29, as well as in the first and second National Governments, 1931-37. He made long journeys by air to various parts of the world, and was one of the first to use an aeroplane for keeping private engagements. Since 1932 he had been Honorary Air Commodore of No. 601 (County of London) (Fighter) Squadron, A.A.F. At the time of his death he was First Commissioner of Works, having been appointed in 1937. In 1921 he was made a member of the National Gallery Board of Trustees, becoming its chairman in 1932. He was also a Trustee of the Tate Gallery, the Wallace Collection, and the British School at Rome. For the benefit of the Royal Northern Hospital, of which he was chairman, art exhibitions and concerts were frequently staged at his house in Park Lane. In 1922 he received the G.B.E. After cremation, his ashes were taken up in an aeroplane and scattered over the grounds of his residence at Trent Park, Barnet. Sir Philip was unmarried.

4. **Sir Henry Norman**, who took a leading part in the development of wireless telegraphy, was born at Leicester on September 19, 1858, and educated privately in France, and at Harvard University. Soon after graduating, his first experience of public affairs came when he took a prominent part in the agitation which ultimately led to the purchase of Niagara Falls by the State of New York. After further study at the University of Leipzig he settled in London and joined the staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, later going to the *Daily Chronicle*, of which he became assistant editor in 1895. In 1899 he retired from journalism to devote himself to literature and politics, in the following year being elected to Parliament as Liberal member for South Wolverhampton. In 1909 he was appointed honorary secretary of the newly founded Budget League, and a year later became the first Assistant Postmaster-General, an appointment which ended almost immediately, as he was defeated at the first General Election of 1910; at the second, however, he was returned for Blackburn, retaining the seat until 1923. He was one of the first to foresee the scope of wireless telegraphy, and served on committees to explore its use and development in 1913-14. About the same period he was chairman of the Select Committee on Patent Medicines, which presented a long report on the day the Great War was declared. Previously, in 1906, he had served as chairman of the Select Committee on Cabs and Omnibuses (Metropolis) Bill. In 1916 he was made liaison officer between the Ministry of Munitions and the Ministry of Inventions, Paris. He was also a member of the Inventions Panel of the Ministry of Munitions. During 1918 he served on the Aircraft Development Committee and the Second Chamber Conference. Other committees of which he was chairman were those on Imperial Wireless Telegraphy (1920), the Rent Restriction Act (1922), the Select Committee on Betting Duty (1923), and the Departmental Committee on Industrial Paints (1923). He was

also chairman of a number of industrial concerns. His outstanding achievement was his technical and administrative work in the early days of wireless telegraphy, which led to his becoming a vice-president of the Radio Society of Great Britain, a Fellow of the Physical Society and of the American Institute of Radio Engineers, and at one time an Associate of the Institution of Electrical Engineers. Knighted in 1906, he was made a baronet in 1915, and a Privy Councillor in 1918. He was also an officer of the Legion of Honour and of the Italian order of St. Maurice and St. Lazare, as well as a Commander of the Order of the Saviour. In addition to travel books—"The Real Japan" (1892), "The Peoples and Politics of the Far East" (1895), and "All the Russias" (1902)—he wrote one of the earliest books on motoring, "Motors and Men" (1908). He was twice married; first, to Menie Muriel Dowie; and secondly, in 1907, to the Hon. Florence Priscilla McLaren, daughter of the first Baron Aberconway. He had three sons and one daughter.

14. **Viscount Wimborne** (the Right Hon. Sir Ivor Churchill Guest, first Viscount and second Baron) was born at Wimborne House, London, on January 16, 1873, eldest son of the first Lord Wimborne and of Lady Cornelia Spencer-Churchill, daughter of the seventh Duke of Marlborough. After being educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, his interests soon began to centre in politics, and in 1898 he contested Plymouth as a Conservative at a by-election, but was defeated. In 1900, however, he was returned unopposed, on the resignation of Sir Edward Clarke, Q.C. At the General Election later in the year he was again successful and continued to represent Plymouth until 1906. It was in this parliament that he crossed the floor of the House with his cousin, Mr. Winston Churchill, and others, over Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's Tariff Reform proposals, and, as a result, accepted an invitation by the Cardiff Liberals to be their candidate at the General Election, at which he was returned by the then unprecedented majority of 3,005. His next advancement came when Mr. Lloyd George, President of the Board of Trade, appointed him chairman of the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion, which afterwards tackled the problem of afforestation, finally reporting in 1909. At the dissolution in 1910 he did not seek re-election, having accepted a peerage, and in March of that year entered the House of Lords as Lord Ashby St. Ledgers, thus gaining the rare distinction of being created a peer during his father's lifetime. (He became Lord Wimborne on the death of his father in 1914.) At the same time he was sworn of the Privy Council, and joined the Government as Paymaster-General. In 1913 he was appointed Lord-in-Waiting to King George V. On the outbreak of the Great War he joined the staff of Lieutenant-General Sir Brian Mahon at Curragh, but towards the end of the year Mr. Asquith asked him to succeed Lord Aberdeen as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. After the Easter Rebellion of 1916 had been suppressed Lord Wimborne and the Chief Secretary, Mr. Augustine Birrell, resigned, but when the public inquiry completely exonerated Wimborne he was reappointed. During his second term of office he was instrumental in arranging the ill-fated Irish Convention, the failure of which caused him intense disappointment. He resigned in 1918 after reporting against the Government's proposal to enforce conscription in Ireland. That his contention was right was proved by the fact that conscription there was never applied. Refusing further political employment, he turned his attention to business activities, and was appointed a director of Barclays Bank, holding that office for seventeen years. When the crisis came in 1931 he supported the National Government and became the first president of the Liberal National Party. Outside politics and business he was a keen sportsman, achieving some distinction as a polo player. In 1902 he married the Hon. Alice Grosvenor, daughter of the second Baron Ebury, and had one son and two daughters.

15. **Sir George Washington Browne**, an architect who specialised in the planning and construction of libraries, was born on September 21, 1853, in

Glasgow, where he received his early training. Later he attended the architectural classes of the Royal Academy, and won, in 1878, the Pugin Travelling Scholarship of the Royal Institute of British Architects, being the first Scotsman to secure that honour. Returning to Scotland he entered into partnership with Dr. Rowland Anderson, afterwards joined by J. M. Dick Peddie, a firm which erected many banks and insurance buildings. Browne, who won the competition for the Edinburgh Public Library, completed in 1889, was also responsible for the extension to the Advocates Library, and for many other libraries throughout the country, mostly in Scotland. In addition, he designed the Sick Children's Hospital, Edinburgh, and the Scottish National Memorial to King Edward VII at Holyrood Palace. In 1892 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy, becoming a member ten years later. He was an Honorary Member *ex officio* of the Royal Academy, and a member of the Royal Hibernian Academy, an F.S.A. of Scotland, and for two successive years, 1884-86, president of the Edinburgh Architectural Association. From 1914 to 1922 he was head of the Architectural Section, Edinburgh College of Art, and was president of the Royal Scottish Academy, 1924-33. Sir George (he was knighted in 1926) was twice married; first, in 1881, to Jessie, daughter of Robert Brownlie, who died in 1900, leaving three sons and two daughters; and secondly, in 1905, to Louise Emma, daughter of the Rev. Dr. D. L. Adams.

15. Canon Harold Athelstane Parry Sawyer, distinguished headmaster, was born in 1865, son of the Bishop of Grafton and Armidale, New South Wales, who was drowned while making a tour of his diocese. When the family returned to England Sawyer gained a place in the Magdalen College Choir and School at the age of eight, and although the choir took up much of his time, he won a Classical Scholarship at Queen's College, where he was senior Scholar and Taberdar, and where he took seconds in Classical Moderations and *Lit. Hum.* In 1888 he became an assistant master at St. Dunstan's College, Catford, three years later going to Highgate School as assistant master and house tutor. He was appointed headmaster of St. Bees in 1903, and remained there until 1916, when he went in a similar capacity to Shrewsbury School. On resigning in 1932 he was elected to an honorary Fellowship at Queen's College, and to the chaplaincy of Wadham. A year later he migrated to Corpus Christi College, of which he was Chaplain and Lecturer in Divinity until his retirement in March, 1939. He had been Select Preacher at Oxford and at Cambridge, and was Canon-Emeritus of Carlisle Cathedral. In 1919 he married Gladys Vere, daughter of John Richmond-Smith, of Flaxton, Yorkshire.

17. The Rev. Dr. James Pounder Whitney, Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge, 1919-39, was born on November 30, 1857, son of the vicar of Marsden, Huddersfield, and educated at Owens College, Manchester, and King's College, Cambridge, where he took his degree as 24th Wrangler and was bracketed senior in the first class in the Historical Tripos of 1881. The following year he won the Lightfoot Scholarship in Ecclesiastical History and the Whewell Scholarship in International Law. In 1883 he was ordained curate of St. James's, Birch-in-Rusholme, Lancashire, combining that with an Assistant Lectureship in History at Owens College. Subsequently he became curate at All Saints, Battersea Park, 1887; Scarborough, 1888; and Rector of Hempstead with Lessingham, Norfolk, in 1890, where he remained for five years. In 1895 Bang's College appointed him to the living of Milton, near Cambridge. From 1900 to 1905 he was Principal of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Canada, during which period he was also Canon of Quebec Cathedral. In 1906 he returned to Cambridge as Hulsean Lecturer and Chaplain of St. Edward's Church. He became Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London, in 1908, staying there until 1918, when for a few months he was rector of Wicken Bonhunt. Finally, in 1919, he succeeded to the Dixie Chair of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge, holding that post up to the time of his death. His

chief literary work consisted of * short book on the Reformation (1907), an article on Erasmus (of whom he possessed wide knowledge) in the *English Historical Review*, and contributions to the "Cambridge Medieval History," "Modern History," and "History of English Literature." In addition, he wrote an introduction to the third volume of the *Medieval History*, the first three of which he edited. He married Roberta F. A. Champley.

21. Dr. William McBride Childs, Principal of Reading University, was born on January 3, 1869, son of a clergyman. After spending his childhood in Lincolnshire, he was educated at Portsmouth Grammar School and Keble College, Oxford. He then became a private tutor, served a term as temporary Professor of History at the University College of Wales, and in 1892 was appointed assistant private secretary to A. H. Dyke Acland, then vice-president of the Committee of Council on Education in Gladstone's last Cabinet. Coming under the influence of Canon Barnett at Toynbee Hall, he took up University Extension lecturing, which led to his engagement, in 1893, at Reading University Extension College, founded as an experiment by Christ Church, Oxford. Ten years later he succeeded Halford Mackinder as Principal. By 1906 he was convinced that the College ought to develop into an independent University and to that end worked slowly but steadily, greatly helped, among others, by Lady Wantage and Alfred Palmer, who liked his idea of making the College residential. Recovering from the set-back due to the Great War, the College obtained the necessary endowment, the prescribed number of students from outside Reading, and after two unsuccessful efforts, its Charter (1926). Childs acted as Vice-Chancellor for three years, retiring in 1929, when he was appointed honorary Professor of History. In 1904 he planned for Reading a Branch Constitution of the Workers' Educational Association, which afterwards served as a general model. His publications included a history of Reading for children, a "History of Camping," and "The Making of a University." He was an honorary doctor of the Universities of Oxford, Liverpool, and Reading. Essentially a builder, it was characteristic that when not building his University he built for himself caravans, sailing boats, and houses. In 1897 he married Catharine Pollard, B.Sc, and had four sons.

24. Professor Sir Frederick T. G. Hobday, Principal and Dean of the Royal Veterinary College, was born in 1870. When quite young he revealed a special gift for understanding animals, and in 1892 was admitted a Member, and soon afterwards a Fellow, of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, where he was subsequently a member of Council, a vice-president, and Examiner in Surgery. In addition to teaching at the College he became editor and a frequent contributor to the *Veterinary Journal*. He also performed numerous and varied operations, including one on the larynx of a successful race-horse which otherwise could never have been a racer at all. During the Great War he served abroad and was mainly responsible for the elimination of the disease of glanders from British Army horses. On his return to England he sought to bring about a closer relationship between the medical and the veterinary professions. When it was suggested that a Society of Comparative Pathology should be established at Cambridge no one could be found to undertake the task, so Hobday took the matter in hand himself, and finally got the Council of the Royal Society of Medicine to allow the formation of a section of Comparative Medicine, with Sir Clifford Allbutt as its first president. The section proved very successful, and Hobday was unanimously chosen the second president. From 1927 onwards he was president of, and an active worker for, the Universities Federation for Animal Welfare. In 1928 he was elected Principal of the Royal Veterinary College, Camden Town. Largely due to him the College was rebuilt and made into one of the most scientifically equipped institutions of its kind in the world. He was made C.M.G. in 1918. From the King of Italy he received the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazare, while the French Government made him an Officier du Mérite

Agricole. In 1916 the Central Veterinary Society awarded him the Victory gold medal; previously he had won the John Henry Steel medal. He was Honorary Veterinary Surgeon to Queen Alexandra, King George V, and King George VI, Honorary Lecturer in Comparative Medicine at St. George's Hospital Medical School, honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine, and honorary Fellow of the Hunterian and Harveian Societies. In 1937 he was Hunterian Orator.

26. Ford Madox Ford, author and critic, was born in 1873, his father being Dr. Francis Hueffer, music critic, and his mother a daughter of Ford Madox Brown, the artist. (He changed his surname soon after the Great War, in which he had served with a Welsh regiment.) His early works included a volume of poems, published before he was 20, a life of Ford Madox Brown, and a series of historical novels. Later he was closely associated with Joseph Conrad, collaborating with him in the writing of "Romance" and "The Inheritors." He also gained distinction as a biographer. Of his prolific output, special mention should be made of a critical monograph on Rossetti, a critical study of Henry James; "Vive Le Roy," an unusual thriller; "Great Trade Route," a voyage of fact and fantasy; as well as his novels, "The Rash Act" and "The Marsden Case." In 1938 he published "Provence," and a volume of memories and criticisms, "Mightier than the Sword." "It was the Nightingale" (1934) described his feelings on returning to London after the war. He was the founder and first editor of the *English Review*. He lived for many years in Paris and died at Deauville.

28. Sir George McLaren Brown, European General Manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway, was born on January 29, 1865, at Hamilton, Ontario, of which his father was postmaster, and was educated there at the Grammar School, at Upper Canada College, Toronto, and at Shrewsbury. Undecided what profession to follow, he took a vacation post on the Northern and North-Western Railway, afterwards entering the service of the Canadian Pacific Railway at Vancouver, some time before the trans-continental railway was completed. Later he served the company in many parts of the Dominion, returning to British Columbia in 1892 as General Traffic Manager and Executive Representative in the Far West. When the company organised a string of hotels across the continent he was placed in charge of them, and of the dining and sleeping cars on the system. He then went to Montreal as General Passenger Agent, the post he held before coming to England. In 1917 he was lent by the company to the War Office, given the rank of colonel, and appointed Assistant Director-General of Movements and Railways, for which service he was created K.B.E. in 1919. In later years he was occupied with the building of new ships for the C.P.R. ocean and coastal services. In 1925 he became director of Canadian Pacific Steamships, and was also chairman of the Mersey Towing Company, Liverpool, as well as a member of the board of Milton Proprietary Limited. He was the first president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain, and Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire. Besides being a member of the General Committee of Management and of the Technical Committee of Lloyd's Register, in 1936 he was made Master of the Glovers' Company. Sir George, who, in 1890, married Eleanor Graham Crear, of Hamilton, and returned to that city on his retirement in October, 1936, died after an operation in Toronto General Hospital.

29. Sir Henry Stuart Jones, scholar and lexicographer, was born at Hunslet, Leeds, on May 15, 1867, son of a vicar, and educated at Rossall School and Balliol College, Oxford, where he took first classes in both the Classical Honours Schools and won the Hertford, Ireland and Craven Scholarships, as well as the Gaisford prize for Greek Prose with a Platonic dialogue on Music. In 1890 he was elected by examination to a non-official Fellowship at Trinity College, and in the same year gained the Craven and Derby Fellowships, which enabled him

to pursue his classical studies in Italy and Greece. He then settled down to tutorial work in Oxford, taking pupils in Classics at Trinity and in Ancient History at Exeter College, as assistant to Henry Pelham. In 1903, after a breakdown through overwork, he accepted the Directorship of the British School at Rome, holding that post, with the aid of a Research Fellowship from Trinity, until May, 1905, when he returned to Oxford. In the following December, however, he retired definitely and went to live near Tenby, although he continued to examine in *Lit Hum.* in 1909-10-11 and again in 1916-17 and 1919. In 1911 he was invited to undertake the revision of Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, a task which he accepted after his college had provided him with a second Research Fellowship, and which he had almost completed when he died. During the Great War he was employed by the Foreign Office in London and in Geneva on confidential work, in which his extensive knowledge of European languages was of great value. In 1919, on the death of F. J. Haverfield, he was appointed Camden Professor of Ancient History, with a Fellowship at Brasenose. He also accepted a seat on the Hebdomadal Council, and served on several committees. Again he overworked, and that probably led to his coming forward in 1927 as a candidate for the Principalship of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, an appointment which he held until 1934 when, on doctors' orders, he resigned at short notice. In addition to his work on the Lexicon, he published "The Roman Empire" (1908), "Classical Rome" (1910), "Companion to Roman History" (1912), and "Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy" (1920). From 1912-26 he was general editor of the two volumes of the "Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in Roman Municipal Collections." An Honorary Fellow of Trinity, Brasenose, and Balliol, he had been a member of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute from 1904, and a Fellow of the British Academy since 1915. On his seventieth birthday, in 1937, the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, of which he had been president, presented him with a special volume of its *Journal*, containing his portrait and a full bibliography of his publications. He married, in 1894, Heen Vaughan, daughter of the Rev. Edwyn H. Vaughan, and had one son.

JULY.

8. Henry Havelock Ellis, essayist and critic, and a pioneer worker on the psychology of sex, was born at Croydon on February 2, 1859, son of a sea captain. Much of his childhood was spent at sea, and at the age of 16 he went in his father's ship to Australia for his health, and from 1875 to 1879 was engaged in teaching in various parts of New South Wales. There, a pious, orthodox young man, he passed through many an unhappy period of spiritual storm and stress and at length decided that a major part of his life-work should be to make clear to himself and others the obscure problems of sex. With that end in view he returned to London in 1879 and entered St. Thomas's Hospital to qualify as a doctor, but after practising for a few months he devoted himself to literary and scientific work. About that time he helped to found the Progressive Association which was the forerunner of the Fabian Society. He also founded, and from 1887 to 1889 edited, with Arthur Symons as his chief collaborator, the "Mermaid Series" of old dramatists. Subsequently, he edited the "Contemporary Scientific Series," in which some important works appeared in England for the first time. His first book on the subject of sex, "The New Spirit," which appeared in 1890, emphasised the importance of sex in human affairs, while "Man and Woman" (1894), a study of the human secondary sexual characters, served as an introduction to his more elaborate investigations, "Studies in the Psychology of Sex," the first volume of which came in 1897 and the last in 1910, with a supplementary volume in 1928. In October, 1898, almost a year after the first volume had appeared, Bedborough, the publisher, was put on trial for "obscene libel," and when he pleaded "Guilty" the treatise was suppressed without the author

having an opportunity to say a word in its defence, and in spite of vigorous protests from the orthodox medical journals. Ellis then transferred the publication of the whole series to F. A. Davies & Company, of Philadelphia. Although he was best known for his pioneer work on the subject of sex, he was no less distinguished as an essayist and critic. His numerous publications included "The Soul of Spain," "The World of Dreams," "The Philosophy of Conflict," "Study of British Genius," "The Criminal," "The Nationalisation of Health," "The Task of Social Hygiene," and "The Problem of Race-Regeneration." He also wrote poems in sonnet form and made some beautiful translations of Spanish folk songs. His outstanding achievements as an essayist were included in "Impressions and Comments," 1914, 1921, and 1924, "Essays of Love and Virtue," and "Affirmations." In "The Dance of Life" he embodied his underlying faith in the unity of science and art. "Kanga Creek: An Australian Idyll," his one work of fiction, contained elements of autobiography. Ellis, who worked for an ideal rather than for money, and whose tastes were very simple, married, in 1891, Edith Lees, novelist and essayist.

11. Admiral Francis William Kennedy, was born on December 15, 1862, son of H.M. Lieutenant of Co. Kildare, and entered the Navy in 1876. Two years later he went to sea, and in 1882 was in the *Sultan* during the bombardment of Alexandria. He was mentioned in despatches and gained the Egyptian medal and the Khedive's bronze star. Promoted lieutenant in 1886, he joined, in 1895, the light cruiser *Phoebe* on the Cape and West African stations, and was wounded in the expedition against the Arab chief M'buruk, for which he received the General Africa medal. He was promoted commander in January, 1898, and eleven months later was made Drafting Commander at Devonport. After three years there he went to sea again in command of H.M.S. *Cruiser*, one of the last sailing sloops employed for the training of ordinary seamen. In 1904 he was made captain and held various commands before being appointed, in 1912, to the battle cruiser *Indomitable*, in which, just before and after the Great War was declared, he gave chase to the German ship *Qoeben*. Later the *Indomitable* took part in the first bombardment of the Dardanelles, but returned to the North Sea in time to be present at Admiral Beatty's action off the Dogger Bank. At the Battle of Jutland, Kennedy, still in the *Indomitable*, commanded the Third Battle Cruiser Squadron after the death of Rear-Admiral Hood. For his services then he was made a C.B., and on June 1, 1916, was promoted rear-admiral. He was advanced to vice-admiral on March 24, 1920, and to admiral (retired) on May 8, 1925. In addition to his Egyptian and African medals, he received the Russian Order of St. Anne, 2nd class, with swords. He married, in 1898, Amy, daughter of Colonel H. H. Goodeve, and had one son and two daughters.

— Professor Harold William Vazeille Temperley, historian, Master of Peterhouse, and Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, 1930-39, was born on April 20, 1879, son of Ernest Temperley, mathematical lecturer, and a descendant of the Mrs. Vazeille whose second husband was John Wesley. He was educated at Sherborne and at King's College, Cambridge, where in 1901 he won the Gladstone Memorial prize for his performance in Part II of the Historical Tripos. After a short period as lecturer in history in the University of Leeds he was appointed history lecturer and Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1904. During the mastership of Sir A. W. Ward he brought the historical school at Peterhouse to distinction in the University, and acquired a reputation as a teacher that was rarely equalled among his contemporaries. In 1905 he paid the first of seventeen visits to the Balkans, in the course of which he was present at the original Young Turk revolution in 1908; also when Abdul Hamid fell a year later; while in 1910 he was in Albania during its revolution against Turkey and was fired upon by Albanian *komitajis*. When the Great War began he became a captain in the Fife and Forfar Yeomanry and went to

the Dardanelles, but illness compelled him to return and he took up work in the Intelligence Branch of the War Office. In 1918 he was on the staff during the Salonika offensive and claimed to have slept in fifty-nine different beds within seventy-six days. After the armistice was signed he travelled through Yugoslavia and Hungary to stop the fighting (October, 1918, to March, 1919) and found himself under fire on several occasions. In December, 1918, he had more adventures when negotiating between the rebels and the Government in Montenegro ; while, in 1919, he was attacked in a blockhouse at Pec, in Old Serbia, and had to defend himself with an axe. In 1920 he went to the rescue of a British subject imprisoned in Scutari. He was British representative on the Albanian Frontiers Commission in Paris in 1921, in which year he was present at the last meeting of the Supreme Council. Since 1930 he had been Professor of Modern History, and since 1938 Master of Peterhouse. From 1933 to 1938 he was president of the International Historical Conference. Temperley, who produced a brief biography of Canning in 1905, placed himself in the forefront of modern historians by his work on the " Foreign Policy of Canning," which appeared in 1925. His other publications included " Frederick the Great and Kaiser Joseph " (1915) and " The Crimea " (1936), being the first volume of an unfinished large-scale study of " England and the Near East." In collaboration with Dr. G. P. Gooch he edited the " British Documents on the Origins of the War," 11 volumes, 1926-38. He also collaborated in the production of the Cambridge Modern History, and with Lawrence Gilliam, of the B.B.C., in radio dramas on such subjects as the outbreak of the Great War (1934), the Jubilee of King George V (1935), and the Russian Revolution (1937). These latter were characteristic of the importance which he attached to imagination and insight in the study of history. He regarded history as a branch of humanism, contending that its subject-matter was man, not documents, and that historical writing should be addressed to the general reader instead of to other historians. From 1923 to 1937 he was first Editor of the *Cambridge Historical Journal*. He was twice married ; first, in 1913, to Gladys Bradford, who died in 1923, leaving one son; and secondly, in 1929, to Dorothy Vazeille, daughter of Canon Arthur Temperley.

12. Brigadier-General the Hon. Charles Granville Bruce, soldier and mountaineer, was born on April 7, 1866, son of a Welsh Member of Parliament who later became the first Baron Aberdare. After being educated for the Army he went to India and joined the 1/5th Gurkhas, with which regiment he remained for twenty years. In 1891, on the way back from leave, he studied at Turin the equipment of Italian mountain troops and subsequently obtained permission to start a course in hill scouting for picked men of his own regiment. The value of that training was put to the test in the Tirah Expedition of 1897-98, and when it was found that the tight-fitting breeches of the Gurkhas hindered their quick movement over the steep ground, Bruce ordered the breeches to be cut away above the knees, an improvement out of which developed the regulation " shorts." A keen but modest mountaineer since boyhood, in 1892 he joined Sir Martin Conway's expedition to the Karakoram Himalayas, the first purely climbing expedition in that region which was fitted out on scientific principles. This led to his undertaking other climbs, and by 1915, when he received the Gill Memorial Prize of the Royal Geographical Society, he had had experience in almost every main section of the Himalayas. When the Great War began he was in command of the 1/6th Gurkhas with which he served in Egypt and Gallipoli, where he was wounded in both legs, spending ten months in hospital. Returning to India, he was appointed in August, 1916, to the command of the Bannu Brigade. During 1917-18 he was G.O.C. of the North Waziristan Field Force, and in 1919 served in the Afghan War. In the following year he came home to be secretary to the Glamorganshire Territorial Association, but soon afterwards, when Sir Francis Younghusband obtained the long-sought consent of the Tibetans to an expedition to Mount Everest, was given command of the party which set out in 1922 and advanced to 27,235 feet, or within 1,800 feet of the summit. Having resigned

his Territorial appointment he also led the 1924 expedition, but an attack of malaria obliged him to hand over the command to Colonel Norton, who reached 28,000 feet. Bruce, as president of the Alpine Club, welcomed the party on its return at a great meeting in the Albert Hall (October, 1924). His publications included "Twenty Years in the Himalayas" (1910), "Kulu and Lahoul" (1914), "The Assault on Mount Everest" (1922-23), and "Himalayan Wanderer" (1934). He was made M.V.O. in 1903 and C.B. in 1918. In 1894 he married a daughter of Colonel Sir E. F. Campbell.

15. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Roger Roland Charles Backhouse was born on November 24, 1878, a twin son of Sir Jonathan Backhouse, first baronet, and in 1892 entered the training ship *Britannia* as a naval cadet. After a year in the *Repulse* he joined H.M.S. *Comus*, a barque-rigged corvette, and served in her until his promotion to sub-lieutenant in March, 1898. Within twelve months, having taken first class certificates in all examinations and gained the Commander Egerton Prize for gunnery, he was promoted lieutenant. Then followed a period in the Mediterranean, after which he came home to qualify as a gunnery officer. In 1905 he returned to the gunnery school at Whale Island as Senior Staff Officer, an unusual appointment, as he was then a lieutenant of only six years' seniority. Two years later he went as gunnery officer of H.M.S. *Dreadnought*, in which he served until his promotion to commander in 1909. In 1911 he became flag commander to Admiral Sir Francis Bridgeman, Commander-in-Chief of the Home Fleet, remaining as such with both Sir George Callaghan and Sir John Jellicoe. On September 1, 1914, he was specially promoted to captain and reappointed to the staff of the Commander-in-Chief for gunnery duties, serving on it until appointed to command the light cruiser *Conquest* in the Harwich Force in November, 1915. A year later he was given the command of the battle cruiser *Lion* as flag captain to Vice-Admiral Sir William Packenham, commanding the battle cruiser *Force*. After a breakdown in health in 1918 he was on the sick list until just before the Armistice, when he was appointed to the Admiralty for special service. He was president of the Admiralty "Post-War Questions Committee" for a year, and in September, 1920, became Director of Naval Ordnance. During 1923-24 he commanded the battleship *Malaya* in the Atlantic Fleet. He was promoted rear-admiral in April 1925, and in February, 1926, became rear-admiral commanding the 3rd Battle Squadron in the Atlantic Fleet, consisting of four ships of the Iron Duke class, then employed as sea-going training ships for boys. In November, 1928, he became Third Sea Lord and Controller of the Navy. Promoted to vice-admiral on October 10, 1929, at the end of February, 1932, he joined the Mediterranean Fleet as second in command, with his flag in the *Revenge*. On February 11, 1934, he was promoted to admiral and in the following June became Commander-in-Chief, Home Fleet, hoisting his flag in H.M.S. *Nelson*. In September, 1938, he was made First Sea Lord and Chief of the Naval Staff, the highest professional post in the Navy. When ill-health caused him to retire in June, 1939, King George VI approved the grant to him, as an exceptional measure, of the rank of Admiral of the Fleet on the retired list. He had been First and Principal Naval Aide-de-Camp to the King from July, 1938, to April, 1939. His honours included C.B. (Civil), 1914; C.M.G., 1917; C.B. (Military), 1928; K.C.B., 1933; G.C.B., 1938. On the occasion of the Coronation he was created G.C.V.O. He married, in 1907, Dora Louisa, daughter of J. R. Findlay of Aberdour, and had two sons and four daughters.

20. Sir Daniel Eyers Godfrey, Musical Director to the Corporation of Bournemouth, 1893-1934, was born in 1868, the son, grandson, and nephew of famous bandmasters. After leaving King's College School, and giving up the idea of a commercial career, he went to the Royal College of Music in 1884. By the time he was 21 he was conductor of two bands—that of the Corps of C^onunissionaires and the London Military Band. During 1891-92 he toured

South Africa with a light opera company. On returning to England he found among his father's papers an invitation from the Bournemouth Corporation to supply a band. Daniel, junior, answered the letter and soon established a permanent municipal orchestra, the first of its kind in England, which had to play both in the Winter Gardens and on the pier. From the first he made a point of encouraging young British composers, and his reminiscences, "Music and Memories" (1924), contained the names of more than 600 native composers to whom he had given an opportunity. The list was further increased in the ten years which followed. Realising the necessity of putting the entertainment of a holiday resort on a business basis, he was able to adhere to his own ideals out of the profits made from programmes suited to the less musical public, a policy which was successfully imitated in many other resorts. He relinquished management in 1929 when the Pavilion took the place of the old Winter Gardens, but retained the direction of the orchestra, finally retiring in 1934, when he was succeeded by Richard Austin. In 1936 he was presented with his portrait, painted by Henry Lamb. He was knighted in 1922, and made an honorary Fellow of the R.C.M. a year later. He was twice married; first, in 1892, to Jessie Stuart, who died in 1925, leaving two sons and three daughters; and secondly, in 1929, to Annie Yeoman, widow of Henry Farlam.

20. Dr. **Edwin Robert Anderson Seligman**, McVickar Professor of Political Economy and Finance in Columbia University, New York, 1904-31, was born in that city on April 25, 1861. After graduating and taking degrees in Arts, Law, and Philosophy at Columbia he continued his studies at the Universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Geneva, and Paris. Appointed lecturer in Economics at Columbia in 1885 he became assistant professor in 1888, and Professor in 1891. From 1904 to 1931 he was McVickar Professor of Political Science and Finance, and since then Professor-Emeritus in residence. As financial adviser to the League of Nations, he prepared, in concert with Sir Josiah (afterwards Lord) Stamp, a report upon "Double Taxation." Of his exceptionally numerous publications, many of which were translated into the chief languages of Europe and Asia, the most important were "Principles of Economics"; "The Income Tax"; "Progressive Taxation in Theory and Practice"; "The Shifting and Incidence of Taxation"; "Essays in Economics"; "The Economic Interpretation of History"; "Currency Inflation and Public Debt"; and "The Economics of Instalment Selling,"* the latter being a reply to the criticisms of some banking and economic authorities upon the development of the hire-purchase system in the United States. Seligman formed the opinion that there was no need for anxiety about instalment selling from an economic, financial, or social point of view. His *magnum opus* on financial science, to be published in three volumes, was sent to the printer shortly before his death. In addition to his books, he edited the *Political Science Quarterly*, as well as the Columbia series of publications in History, Economics, and Politics, and in 1927 undertook the general editorship of the American "Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences." He was unanimously acknowledged the leading authority on the academic aspect of public finance, and to mark the estimation of his fellow countrymen a medal was struck, in 1910, with his portrait and an inscription to commemorate his "twenty-five years of signal devotion to the common good as Scholar, Teacher, and Citizen." An accomplished linguist, he was able to keep pace with the output of economic and financial publications in all countries. As a zealous buyer of old books on economics and finance, he acquired one of the finest collections in private hands, and, under the heading "Economic Libraries," contributed an account of it to the "Dictionary of Political Economy." In 1888 he married Caroline Beer, of New York, and had one son and three daughters.

28. Dr. **Alfred Harker**, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Emeritus-Reader in Petrology, and doyen of British Geology, was born at Kingston-upon-Hull on February 19, 1859, and was admitted a sizar at St. John's College,

Cambridge, in 1878. He graduated 8th Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos of 1882 and was placed in the first class in both parts of the Natural Science Tripos. His youthful taste for Geology soon brought him into contact with Professor McKenney Hughes, under whom he was eventually appointed Demonstrator in Geology. He became a Fellow of St. John's College in 1885 and University Lecturer in 1904. Thirteen years later he was appointed to a special Readership in Petrology in recognition of his distinguished services to Geology. His earliest work was done in North Wales, first on the cleavage structure of slates and then on the Ordovician volcanic rocks, the results of the latter study being embodied in the Sedgwick Prize Essay for 1888. During the years 1889-93 he was engaged in the Lake District, where, in collaboration with J. E. Marr, he traced the various types of lavas, ashes, and sediments into the aureole of the Shap Fell granite. Those papers marked a great advance in knowledge of the nature and origin of metamorphic rocks. In 1895 Sir Archibald Geikie, then director of the Geological Survey, initiated a new departure from survey practice by inducing Harker to join the service for field work during the summer vacations, and for the next ten years he was engaged on a detailed geological survey of Skye, Rum, and the neighbouring islands, while he continued his teaching activities during the winter terms. After his retirement in 1931 he continued to act as honorary curator of the Penological Museum. His publications, which served as models for all subsequent survey work, included monumental memoirs on "The Tertiary Igneous Rocks of Skye" (1904), "The Geology of the Small Isles of Inverness-shire" (1908), "Natural History of Igneous Rocks" (1909), and "Metamorphism" (1932). He was elected F.R.S. in 1902 and awarded a Royal medal in 1935. The Geological Society of London, of which he was president (1916-18), awarded to him its Murchison medal in 1907, followed by the Wollaston medal in 1922. Honorary doctorates were conferred upon him by the Universities of Edinburgh and McGill, and he was honorary or corresponding member of many scientific societies at home and abroad.

31. Scoresby Routledge, anthropologist and explorer, was born at Melbourne, Australia, in 1859, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and University College Hospital, London, where he was Erichsen prizeman for Operative Surgery. He was, however, first and foremost an anthropologist, and he lived for many years among primitive tribes in order to study them. For a considerable period he shared the life of the Micmacs in central Newfoundland to learn hunting and woodcraft, later living with the Akikuyu of British East Africa. He was best known for the expedition which he and his wife, using a schooner-rigged yacht with auxiliary power of 91 gross tonnage, made to Easter Island in the South Pacific in 1912. Later they visited Pitcairn Island and Tahiti. On returning to England in 1916 they were received by King George V and Queen Mary, to whom they presented two of the Pitcairn Islanders whose ancestor, Midshipman Young, had been the sole mutineer officer of H.M.S. *Bounty*. In 1920 Routledge successfully traversed the John Crow range of mountains in Jamaica. In addition to the satisfaction of doing what had never been done before, he made the discovery that for commercial and agricultural purposes the range was of no practical value, there being no timber and no land on which bananas could be cultivated. With his wife he published a number of books, including "With a Prehistoric People, the Akikuyu of British East Africa" (1910) and "The Mystery of Easter Island" (1916). Routledge, who was a F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.Anthrop.Inst., and F.R.G.S., died suddenly in London. His wife, whom he married in 1906, and who died in 1935 was a daughter of Gurney Pease.

AUGUST.

1. Lord (Esme William) Howard of Penrith, distinguished diplomatist, great-nephew of the twelfth Duke of Norfolk, was born on September 15, 1863, and educated at Harrow and abroad. Although he entered the Diplomatic Service in April, 1885, his first post was on the staff of his brother-in-law, Lord Carnarvon, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Carnarvon, however, resigned a year later when Gladstone introduced the Home Rule Bill, and Howard returned to the Foreign Office for a few weeks before being sent to the Embassy in Rome. There he remained until 1888, when he was transferred to Berlin, leaving there in 1890. After some months *en disponibilité* he retired from the Service when still under 30 years of age. For the next few years he led an adventurous life, which included journeys to North and South America and a period of rubber-planting in Tobago. He was Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Lord Rosebery's Government of 1894-95. When the Boer War began he joined the Yeomanry in a corps known as the Duke of Cambridge's Own, whose members waived their pay. He saw some fighting, was captured, and escaped, and at the end of the war received a medal and four clasps. In 1903 he re-entered the Diplomatic Service, being attached again to the Embassy in Rome, with the rank of Second Secretary. Four months later he was given the important post of Consul-General for Crete and there ably performed a difficult task during the Venizelist revolt in favour of union with Greece. He was sent to Washington in November, 1906, and during the next two years frequently took charge of the Embassy. After a short time in Vienna he was appointed Consul-General in Budapest in January, 1909. On February 1, 1911, he was promoted to Minister at Berne, from whence, in 1913, he went to Stockholm, serving there until after the Armistice. During his stay in Sweden he handled with conspicuous success the many delicate problems which arose out of the Blockade. In 1919 he was attached to the British Delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris, and later spent six weeks in Poland as British Civil Commissioner on the Inter-Allied Special Commission. Later in the year he was made Ambassador in Madrid, where he saw the *coup d'état* of 1923 and the establishment of the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera. Early in 1924 he succeeded Sir Auckland Geddes as Ambassador at Washington, remaining there six years, during which he won the trust and affection of all shades of American opinion. He was made C.V.O. and C.M.G. at the completion of his service in Crete; G.C.M.G. in 1923, and G.C.B. in 1928. In 1930 he was raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Howard of Penrith. In 1898, the year in which he was received into the Roman Catholic Church, he married Lady Isabella Giustiniani-Bandini, fifth daughter of Prince Giustiniani-Bandini, eighth Earl of Newburgh. He was succeeded by the eldest of his four sons, the Hon. Francis Philip Howard, born in 1905.

13. Frank Sidgwick, publisher and writer of verse, was born on July 7, 1879, son of Arthur Sidgwick, Reader in Greek to the University of Oxford, and nephew of Henry Sidgwick, the philosopher. He was educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he won the Chancellor's medal for English Verse in 1900. On leaving the University he served a five years' apprenticeship to publishing as junior partner to A. H. Bullen, after which, in 1907, he set up the firm of Sidgwick & Jackson. In 1925 they founded *The Review of English Studies*, with Dr. McKerrow as editor. Sidgwick himself wrote two novels, "Love and Battles" (1909) and "Treasure of Thule," the latter under the pseudonym "B. D. Steward." He also compiled a selection of carols and ballads, one of which was made in collaboration with Sir Edmund K. Chambers. Sidgwick's light verse was collected in "Some Verse" and "More Verse." His last book was "The Making of Verse," which explained in simple language, with exhilarating illustrations, the anapaest and spondee, the rules of rhythm and

scansion, the structure of a sonnet, and much else that the nascent poet ought to know. It was the result of an almost accidental collaboration with Robert Swann, English master at Cheltenham College. Sidgwick married, in 1911, Mary Christina, daughter of A. C. Coxhead, and had two sons and four daughters.

17. Canon William Emery Barnes, Emeritus-Professor of Divinity and Emeritus-Fellow of Peterhouse, in the University of Cambridge, was born on May 26, 1859, and educated at Islington Proprietary School and Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he was Jeremie prizeman in 1879, Crosse Divinity Scholar in 1881, and Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar in 1882. After being ordained he served for two years as curate in St. John's Parish, Lambeth, returning to Cambridge in 1885 to become Lecturer in Hebrew at Clare College, a post which he held until 1894. From 1885 to 1908 he was sole Chaplain of Peterhouse, of which he became a Fellow in 1889. In 1901 he was appointed Hulsean Professor of Divinity, retaining that Chair, as well as his Peterhouse Fellowship, until he retired in 1934. In 1927 he was made Honorary Canon and in 1932 Canon Theologian of Leicester Cathedral. His work lay mainly in the Old Testament and Aramaic subjects, but he had wide interests which extended to Rabbinical studies. He wrote commentaries on a number of Old Testament books and made important contributions on the Syriac versions of the Bible. He was editor of the "Cambridge Companion to Biblical Studies" (1916) and joint-editor of the *Journal of Theological Studies* in the first five years of its existence, 1899-1904. In 1936 he published "Gospel Criticism and Form Criticism." He was also an enthusiastic advocate of spelling reform. He married, in 1890, Georgina, daughter of Alexander Bevington.

20. General Sir Edward Stanislaus Bulfin was born on November 6, 1862, and educated at Stonyhurst and Trinity College, Dublin. After taking a commission in the 3rd Battalion, The Royal Irish Fusiliers, he was gazetted to The Yorkshire Regiment (The Green Howards) in November, 1884. With the 2nd Battalion he went to India and saw active service in Upper Burma in 1893. Promoted captain in 1895 he was appointed in November, 1898, Assistant Military Secretary and A.D.C. to Lieutenant-General Sir William Butler, commanding in South Africa. When Butler was recalled in the summer of 1899, Bulfin remained, and accompanied Lord Methuen in the advance on Kimberley. After the fall of Pretoria he took part in the operations in the Western Transvaal, as well as in the Orange River Colony. He left his brigade in 1900 on appointment as Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, with the brevet of major, and from December, 1901, until the end of the war commanded a mobile column in the Transvaal and on the Zulu border. He was mentioned three times in despatches and received the brevet of lieutenant-colonel in June, 1902. In October of that year he was appointed D.A.A.G. on the staff of the 2nd Division. He was promoted major in The Manchester Regiment in November, 1903, and when he left Aldershot in October, 1904, was transferred to the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. In November, 1906, he was appointed A.A. and Q.M.G. to the troops in Cape Colony with the brevet of colonel (made substantive in 1908) and so returned to South Africa, where he stayed until the end of 1910. In July, 1911, he was given command of the Essex Infantry Brigade of the East Anglian Division (Territorial Force) and got the 2nd Brigade in the 1st Division at Aldershot two years later. When the Great War began he took his Division to France, was in action at the battle of the Aisne, and during the first battle of Ypres was promoted major-general. In December, after having been wounded, he assumed command of the newly-formed 28th Division, returning to France in January, 1915. He was in the thick of the fighting from the beginning of the second battle of Ypres, and later in the year took part in the concluding stages of the Battle of Loos. He came home in October and was appointed to command the 60th Division (the Second Line of the 2nd London Division, Territorial Force) at the end of the year. With that Division he crossed to France again

in June, 1916, but was despatched to Salonika in December. In June, 1917, however, when General Allenby assumed command of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force the 60th Division was sent on from Salonika, and in August Bulfin was given the 21st Corps, which played an important part in the conquest of Palestine and Syria. His services during the war were mentioned eight times in despatches and he was created K.C.B. in 1918 and promoted lieutenant-general at the beginning of 1919. From December, 1921, to August, 1923, he was Commissioner for the Disposal of Surplus Stores in India and Iraq. He was promoted general in May, 1925, and retired early in the following year. He had been colonel of The Green Howards since 1914, and was Hon. L.L.D. of Trinity College, Dublin. He married, in 1898, Frances Mary, daughter of F. W. Loneragan, and had one son and one daughter.

20. Commander John Robert Francis (Frank) Wild, Antarctic explorer, was born at Skelton, Yorkshire, in 1874. On his mother's side he was a direct descendant of the famous navigator, Captain James Cook. After being educated at Bedford he went to sea at the age of 16 and saw much of the world before joining the Navy as an able-bodied seaman in 1900. A year later he was selected to serve in the National Antarctic Expedition in the *Discovery*, under Commander (afterwards Captain) Robert Scott. On that expedition his merits were recognised by Shackleton, who subsequently placed him in charge of the provisions during the Antarctic Expedition of 1907-09 and selected him as a companion in the unsuccessful attempt to reach the South Pole. On that journey Wild found an outcrop of coal on the Upper Beardmore Glacier, at an elevation of about 6,000 ft., in lat. 85 deg. S. In 1911, when Mr. (afterwards Sir) Douglas Mawson, who had been with Shackleton, set out on his Australasian Antarctic Expedition he took Wild as leader of the Western Party which wintered on the edge of the Antarctic Continent in about 95 deg. E. Wild next rejoined Sir Ernest Shackleton as second in command of the British Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, sailing in August, 1914, for the Weddell Sea, which was to be the base of an attempt to cross the Antarctic Continent to the Ross Sea via the South Pole. When Shackleton went in search of relief Wild took charge of the shipwrecked explorers on Elephant Island. Returning to Europe in 1916 he joined the Navy, and in 1917, with the rank of temporary lieutenant, R.N.V.R., was sent to the North Russian Front but was released by the Admiralty in 1918 to take part in an expedition to Spitsbergen, being in charge of a winter camp established on Lowe Sound by the British company which had staked out extensive claims there. For a change, after twenty years of Polar exploration, he next joined Mr. McIlroy (surgeon of the Weddell Sea Expedition) on a voyage to Nyassaland, where he tried his fortune as a planter, but in 1921 once more sailed south with Shackleton in the *Quest*. On the sudden death of Sir Ernest in January, 1922, Wild assumed the command, continued the voyage to the Enderby Quadrant of the Antarctic regions, and then brought the ship back to England. In 1923 he published "Shackleton's Last Voyage," and he also contributed a narrative to Sir Douglas Mawson's "Home of the Blizzard." Made C.B.E. in 1920, he was awarded the Patron's medal of the Royal Geographical Society in 1924, and received a Civil List pension of 170/. a year in May, 1939. Wild, who had taken part in more Antarctic expeditions than any other explorer, died in South Africa, where he had lived since 1922, the year in which he married Mrs. Granville Altman, widow of a Borneo tea planter.

21. **The Right Hon. Sir John Meir Astbury**, Judge of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice, 1913-29, was born at Manchester on June 14, 1860, and educated at Trinity College, Oxford, where he graduated in Law. On leaving Oxford he entered as a student at the Middle Temple, won a scholarship, and was called to the Bar in 1884, becoming a Bencher in 1903. Starting first at Manchester as a "local" he soon acquired a practice in the Palatine Chancery Court and at the Assizes, and took silk within eleven years of his call (1895).

Attaching himself to the Equity Court, he became one of the small group of experts in the lucrative field of Patent cases. He also made his mark as a company lawyer. In 1905 he took the bold step of joining the Chancery "specials," and thereafter his services could only be secured by paying an extra fee of 50 guineas. In 1906 he was elected Liberal Member of Parliament for Southport, defeating Edward Marshall Hall, K.C., and held the seat until 1910, but was too busy at the Bar to take politics seriously and made no impression on the House. His ambition to be a judge was realised in 1913 when Lord Haldane appointed him to succeed Swinfen Eady in the Chancery Division, where he sat until 1929, when he resigned and was made a Privy Councillor. Illustrating the oft-revealed truth that great advocates do not always make distinguished judges, he was, however, remembered for the judgment delivered on May 11, 1926, when, in the case of the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland v. McVey and others, he declared that the general strike was illegal and that those who incited persons to it were not protected by the Trade Disputes Act of 1906. The judgment, which contributed to the collapse of the strike, was made the text of a remarkable speech by Sir John Simon in the House of Commons. Astbury was twice married; first, in 1888, to Evelyn, daughter of Paul Susman; and secondly, in 1923, to Harriet, daughter of G. W. Holmes and widow of Captain M. A. Girdlestone. By his first marriage he had one daughter.

SEPTEMBER.

5. **Edward Alexander Westermarck**, a sociologist of international repute, was born in 1862 and educated at the Swedish Normal School, Helsinki, and the University of Finland. For many years he was Professor of Philosophy in the Universities of Helsinki and Abo, and from 1907 to 1930 he held the Chair of Sociology in the University of London. He was a prolific writer, most of his books being written in English. They included "The History of Human Marriage" (1891 and 1921); "The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas" (1908); "A Short History of Marriage" (1926); "Ritual and Belief in Morocco" (1926); "Memories of My Life" (1927); "Early Beliefs and their Social Influence" (1932); "Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization" (1933); "Three Essays on Sex and Marriage" (1934); and "The Future of Marriage in Western Civilization" (1936). Westermarck regarded England as his "second spiritual home," and he had a profound knowledge of English life and thought.

6. **Arthur Rackham**, book illustrator, was born on September 9, 1867, son of A. T. Rackham, Admiralty Marshal, and educated at the City of London School, studying art at the Lambeth School of Art. His work, which was bought by many public galleries at home and abroad, gained gold medals at Milan, in 1906, and Barcelona, in 1911, and after his exhibition of collected works at the Salon of the Society Nationale des Beaux Arts in Paris he was awarded the medal and elected associate (1912). In 1919 he was Master of the Art Workers' Guild. One of the most eminent book illustrators of his day, he was particularly successful with children's stories, in which he gave full play to his unmistakable personal idiosyncrasies. Nevertheless, he believed in the sacrosanct quality of the text and would never assert his personality at the author's expense. Among the very great number of books which he illustrated were "The Night Before Christmas" (1931), "Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales" and "The King of the Golden River" (1932), "The Arthur Rackham Fairy Book" and "Goblin Market" (1933), "The Pied Piper of Hamelin" (1934), "Poe's Tales of Mystery" (1935), and "Peer Gynt" (1936). He married, in 1903, Edyth, daughter of W. R. Starkie, of Rosscarbery, Ireland, and had one daughter.

9. **The Rev. Dr. George Albert** Cooke, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, 1914-36, was born on November 26, 1866, son of a barrister-at-law, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School and Wadham College, Oxford, graduating, after a second class in Theology, in 1888. A year later he was appointed a Senior Scholar and Hebrew Lecturer at St. John's College, and was ordained by Bishop Stubbs to the curacy of Headington. In 1890 he became a chaplain and in 1892 a Fellow of Magdalen; he also served for a time as curate to Dr. Lang, then vicar of St. Mary's. In 1896 Magdalen presented him to the rectory of Beaconsfield, which he resigned in 1899 to become private chaplain to the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith, with whom he remained until he returned to Oxford. Meanwhile he had become Warden of the Community of St. Andrew of Scotland, and in 1907 canon of St. Mary's, Edinburgh. In 1908 he was elected to the Oriel Professorship of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, which carried with it a canonry in Rochester Cathedral; in 1909 was appointed an honorary canon of St. George's, Edinburgh; in 1912 became Vice-Dean of Rochester Cathedral; and in 1914 he succeeded the Rev. Dr. S. R. Driver as Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, retiring in 1936, when he accepted the living of Bettiscombe near Bridport, Dorset. Outstanding among his numerous publications were his "Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions," dedicated to Dr. Driver, and a valuable commentary on Ezekiel. In 1897 he married Frances Helen, daughter of Patrick Anderson, of Dundee.

16. Georges Pitoeff, distinguished theatrical producer, was born in Tiflis on September 4, 1884. After serving an apprenticeship with the Russian actor Stanislavsky, and touring in many parts of his native land, he appeared in Geneva in 1916, where he opened the Theatre Communal, which became famous for a new theatre technique, and in which Russian and French plays were performed in a striking fashion by a picked company, including Pitoeff's wife, Ludmilla. So striking was the impression left in Geneva that after these theatrical enthusiasts had settled in Paris, the "Pitoeff period" was long spoken of in Geneva. The Pitoeffs migrated to Paris in 1922, where they produced plays by Wilde, Shaw, Tolstoi, and Schnitzler in the Comedie des Champs Elysees, which quickly became a landmark of note in the theatrical life of Paris. Pitoeff's next venture was the Theatre des Arts, which, under his direction, enjoyed an international reputation for its original productions, which included "St. Joan," Gide's "Edipus," and "Hamlet."

18. Otto Wels, leader of the German Social Democrats and the last Socialist to speak in the Reichstag, was born in 1873. A house decorator by trade, he came under the influence of Bebel early in life, and in 1912 he was a member of the Reichstag. During the Great War he belonged to the group of majority Socialists; in November and December, 1918, as governor of Berlin, he resisted the revolutionary movements which broke out in the capital in support of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In February, 1919, Wels joined Hermann Müller in the presidency of the Socialist Party, and it was due to his initiative that the general strike was organised which was the means of breaking the attempt at military dictatorship which then threatened. With the rise of the Nazis his position naturally became dangerous, and in 1932 he, with the Police President, was assaulted in a Cologne restaurant after attending a Republican meeting, and had to be taken to hospital. Following the Reichstag elections in 1933 he resigned from the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International in order to protect his party from attack and to obviate any excuse for a *coup de force* by Hitler and his followers. Soon afterwards, however, he withdrew his resignation, but later in the year, in company with thirty-three well-known writers, professors, and politicians, he left Germany in order to avoid the terrors of the concentration camps. He died in Paris.

20. **Dr. Andrew Claude De La Cherois Crommelin**, astronomer on the staff of the Royal Observatory, 1891-1927, was born on February 6, 1865, a descendant of Louis Crommelin, founder of the linen trade in Ulster, and educated at Marlborough College and Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating as 27th Wrangler in 1886. His interest in astronomy began while still in Cambridge; in 1891, when the Admiralty authorised the appointment of an additional assistant at the Royal Observatory, Crommelin sat for the examination, headed the list, and joined the staff on May 11, being placed in charge of the altazimuth, the instrument used for observing the moon. In 1906, when the time approached for the return of Halley's Comet, he saw the necessity of making a close investigation of the circumstances of its path since the last return in 1835, in order to predict its precise position. The work was undertaken in collaboration with a colleague, Mr. Cowell, and proved so successful that they both received the honorary degree of D.Sc. from Oxford and the Lindemann Prize of the *Astronomische Gesellschaft*. That was Crommelin's major achievement, but hardly less important was the record of minor planets which he prepared annually for forty years. He was president of the British Astronomical Association, 1904-06, and of the Royal Astronomical Society, 1929-31. In 1919 he was a member of the official party that went to Brazil to endeavour to verify the Einstein theory of the bending of light rays at the time of the eclipse. He married, in 1897, Letitia, daughter of the Rev. Robert Noble, and had two sons and two daughters. Mrs. Masefield, wife of the Poet Laureate, was his sister, and May Crommelin, novelist, his cousin.

21. **Dr. George Redmayne Murray**, Emeritus-Professor of Medicine in the Victoria University, Manchester, was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, son of William Murray, M.D., and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating with first-class honours in the Natural Science Tripos in 1886. From Cambridge he went to University College Hospital, London, where he had a brilliant career. Having decided to devote himself to experimental medicine, he returned, in 1891, to Newcastle, as Pathologist to the Hospital for Sick Children and Lecturer on Bacteriology in the Durham University College of Medicine. Quickly making a great reputation as a teacher, he was appointed, in 1893, the first Heath Professor of Comparative Pathology in the University of Durham, occupying the Chair until 1908, when he migrated to Manchester as Professor of Medicine in the Victoria University. That post, as well as that of Physician to the Royal Infirmary, he held until 1925. During the Great War he was Consulting Physician to the British Forces in Italy. He was a member of the Medical Research Committee and of several investigations connected with the diseases of cardroom workers. An account of the treatment of goitre by thyroid extract, with which his name is inseparably linked, appeared in the *British Medical Journal* in 1920 under the title, "The life History of the First Case of Myxoedema Treated by Thyroid Extract." He was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1898; gave the Goulstonian lectures in 1899, the Bradshaw lecture in 1905, and was a member of the council, 1914-17. He also served as president of the Association of Physicians of Great Britain during the year 1936-37. He married Annie, daughter of E. R. Bickersteth, F.R.C.S., and had one son and one daughter.

— **Bernhard Harms**, German economist, was born in 1876 and educated at the Universities of Leipzig and Tübingen. In 1908 he was called to the Chair of Political Economy at Kiel, where he remained for the rest of his professional life. His interests inclined to problems of world economics, and it was due to his influence that at the University of Kiel there was set up an Institute for World Economics and Ocean Shipping, of which he became the first Director. In connexion with the Institute a Quarterly was published under the editorship of Harms, *Weltwirtschaftliche Archiv*. Among his publications were "Die Zukunft der deutschen Handelspolitik" (1925), "Volk und Reich der Deutschen"

(1930), and "Kapital und Kapitalismus" (1931). At his own request Harms was relieved of his Chair in September, 1933.

23. Professor Sigmund Freud, originator of the science of psycho-analysis, was born of Jewish parentage at Freiberg, Moravia, on May 6, 1856, and studied in Vienna and at the Salpêtrière in Paris, graduating M.D. in 1881. In 1886 he returned to Vienna where he met Dr. Breuer, who told him of a remarkable cure he had performed on an hysterical patient. He had discovered that she could be relieved of her symptoms each time they appeared if she could be brought, under hypnosis, to express in words the fantasy that was dominating her. For years Freud worked on those lines and amply confirmed the findings of Breuer. Together they published "Studies on Hysteria." Later, when Breuer gave up his researches, Freud went ahead and found, contrary to his expectations, that it was not any kind of emotional cause which lay behind neurosis but habitually a sexual one. In the years that he worked alone he abandoned hypnotism as a cure and perfected the technique of psycho-analysis, which consisted of evoking, by means of "free association," memories which had been rejected by the patient's conscious mind and replaced by symptoms such as stammering, paralysis, perversion, and impotence. When the original situation had been relived, the patient could be freed permanently from his illness. After being misunderstood and reviled as a preacher of libertinism Freud's doctrine of psycho-analysis found general acceptance, but later it was challenged by Jung, who laid far less stress on the sexual character of emotional impulse. In 1903 he was made an honorary Professor at the University of Vienna, and in 1909 he delivered a course of lectures at Clark University in the United States. Besides being the author of numerous books, most of which were translated into English and other languages, he was the editor of *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psycho-analyse* and of *Imago*, and director of the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*. In 1938 he was elected a Foreign Member of the Royal Society. For many years he had been an honorary LL.D. of Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts. On the occasion of his 70th birthday (1926) he was made a Freeman of the City of Vienna, and in 1930 the city of Frankfurt awarded him the Goethe Prize. On his 80th birthday he was presented with an address by two hundred leading writers of the world. Professor Freud, who married in 1886, and had three sons and three daughters, died in London, where he had lived since the German occupation of Austria in 1938.

24. Carl Laemmle, senior, pioneer film producer, was born at Laupheim, Württemberg, Germany, on January 17, 1867, and after being educated there, migrated to the United States in 1884. Beginning as a newsboy, he later became a salesman in New York and Chicago, and then a bookkeeper for the Continental Clothing Store at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, in which firm he finally rose to be manager. At first his ambition was to be the owner of 5 and 10 cent stores, but he eventually went into the theatrical business, opening the White-front Theatre in Chicago in 1906. Seeing the possibilities of films at a time when they were little more than a peep-show, he opened a "nickelodeon" (from the coin charged for admission) in a vacant store. When this prospered he got the idea of sub-letting films, a project which led to the establishment of a film exchange, a business which he developed on a large scale. Defying the general film company known as "The Trust," which practically controlled film production in the United States, he made his own films, and when, in 1909, the Motion Picture Patents Company was exacting various taxes from all exhibitors, he vigorously fought that policy through the Courts, winning eventually in the Supreme Court. He again made film history by sending his Independent Moving Picture Company to England to "shoot" *Ivanhoe* in its original setting, as also when he paid his leading actress, Florence Lawrence, the hitherto unheard of salary of 200Z. a week, thus originating the star system. In 1912 he amalgamated the independent companies in an organisation known as the Universal Company.

Two years later he began work in a disused brewery in Hollywood, but before long had purchased 230 acres outside the town to house the Universal City Studio. Outstanding among his many successful films were *Traffic in Souls*, which cost 4,000J. and earned more than 20,000/., *Foolish Wives*, the first million-dollar picture, and *All Quiet on the Western Front*. "Uncle Carl," as he was affectionately called, married, in 1898, Recha, daughter of Loeb Stern, of Flieden, Germany, and had two children. A biography of Mr. Laemmle was written by John Drinkwater under the title "The Life and Adventures of Carl Laemmle."

26. William Basil Worsfold, author of books on South Africa, was born on December 5, 1858, son of the rector of Haddesley, Yorkshire, and educated at St. Peter's School, York, and University College, Oxford, where he obtained a first class in Classical Moderations and a second in *Lit. Hum.* In 1887 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple and joined the Oxford Circuit four years later. From 1891 to 1900 he lectured on Economics and Literature for the Oxford Extension Delegates and the London Joint Board. His writings covered a large field, but he was best known for those on Africa. Among them were "The Story of South Africa" (1898), "A History of South Africa" (1900), "Lord Milner's Work in South Africa, 1897-1902," "The Union of South Africa," and "The Reconstruction of New Colonies under Lord Milner." From 1904 to 1905 he was editor of the *Johannesburg Star*. On North Africa he published "France in Tunis and Algeria" (1930), a remarkable combination of guide-book and useful study of French colonial administration. He also wrote a book on Portuguese Nyassaland, as well as "An Abridgment of New Zealand Statute Law," and "A Visit to Java." After a visit to Palestine in 1925 he published "Palestine and the Mandate," in which he drew a picture of certain aspects of the administrative and economic situation of the Holy Land. "The Empire on the Anvil," which appeared during the Great War, advocated a federated British Empire. Other works included "The War and Social Reform" (1919) and a study of Sir Bartle Frere (1923), while in the realm of literary criticism he produced "The Principles of Criticism" (1897) and edited "Browning's Men and Women." For eight years he occupied the birthplace of Cecil Rhodes in Bishop's Stortford, and in 1935 published "Twenty Centuries of England : being the Annals of Bishop's Stortford." In 1898 he married Jessie, daughter of R. J. E. Symons, of Wadebridge, Cornwall.

OCTOBER.

2. Cardinal George William Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, 1915-39, was born of German parentage, on the East Side of New York, on July 2, 1872, and educated at Manhattan College, graduating in 1889. He studied theology at St. Vincent Seminary, Beatty, Pennsylvania, and subsequently received the degree of D.D. from the Urban College of Propaganda in Rome, and the degree S.T.D. for propaganda. Soon after being ordained in 1895 he became secretary to Bishop McDonnell of Brooklyn, and at the same time had charge of the Lithuanian Church there. He was appointed Censor of the Liturgical Academy in 1903 ; a domestic prelate to the Pope in 1906 ; and was made Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of Brooklyn, with the title of Bishop of Loryma, in 1909. Since 1907 he had been a member of the Ancient Academy of Arcadia, and since 1915 Archbishop of Chicago. On March 24, 1924, he was made a Cardinal. He was the founder and president of the Seminary of St. Mary's at Mundelein, which was named after him. An outspoken critic of the Nazi regime in Germany, he came into prominence after a condemnatory speech which he delivered in New York in May, 1937, had been made the subject of a protest by the German Embassy in Washington. A few weeks later the Pope, addressing a group of pilgrims from Chicago, referred to "the greatness of your magnificent Cardinal, so courageous in the defence of God's Church and of the welfare of the soul."

6. **Johann Heinrich Count Bernstorff**, distinguished diplomatist of Imperial Germany, was born in London—where his father, Count Albrecht Bemstorff, was Prussian Minister and, after 1870, German Ambassador—on November 14, 1862. At the age of 27 the young man entered the German diplomatic service; three years later he was sent as Counsellor to London. After having been German Consul-General in Cairo, he proceeded to Washington as German Ambassador, a position he held from 1908 to 1917. When the Great War broke out Bemstorff realised from the first the importance of arousing American sympathy for his country, but his reports to Berlin fell on deaf ears. After the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* (May 7, 1915) Bernstorff's position in Washington became untenable, and his difficulties were increased by the clumsy activities of his subordinates, and notably of the military attache* at the Embassy, Herr von Papen, as well as by the stupid action of the Government in Berlin in announcing their policy of unrestricted submarine warfare. On Bernstorff's return to Germany when the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Germany in March, 1917, the Emperor, William II, accorded him a chilly reception. Nevertheless, he was sent as German Ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained until 1918. Bemstorff was of opinion that Germany needed a democratic policy in order to enter into accord with the English-speaking peoples. He joined the Democratic Party, in whose interest he obtained a seat in the Reichstag, where he was always respectfully listened to on foreign affairs. He became President of the German League of Nations Union, and, since 1926, head of the German delegation to the League of Nations Preparatory Commission for Disarmament. When the Nazi barbarians seized power in Germany, Bemstorff felt that his career was definitely ended. He settled in Geneva, where he died.

7. Professor Harvey Gushing, M.D., famous as a neurological surgeon, was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 8, 1869, son of the Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology in the Western Reserve Medical School, and was educated at Yale and Harvard. Proceeding to Johns Hopkins Medical School at Baltimore, he served as Resident Surgeon, Instructor in Surgery, and Associate in Surgery. Later he took post-graduate courses with Kocher and Kronecker at Berne, and with Sherrington at Liverpool, after which he returned for a time to Johns Hopkins, but in 1912 went to Boston as Moseley Professor of Surgery in the University of Harvard Medical School and as Surgeon-in-Chief of the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, positions which he resigned in 1932 when he went to Yale as Sterling Professor of Neurology and Director of Studies in the History of Medicine. During his time at the Brigham Hospital he devoted himself to delicate and exhausting operations on the brain and the spinal cord. In the Great War he was director of a United States base hospital and was attached to the British Expeditionary Force. Subsequently he became senior consultant in neurological surgery. For his war services he was created C.B. (Military) in 1919, and was made a Chevalier and, later, an Officier, Legion d'Honneur. In 1923 he received the United States distinguished service medal. He was president of the American College of Surgeons and of the American Neurological Association in 1923, and of the American Surgical Association in 1927. He held the honorary Fellowship of the three Royal Colleges of Surgeons in England, Edinburgh, and Dublin; the honorary LL.D. of Cambridge, Glasgow, and Edinburgh; and the honorary M.D. of Strasburg, Budapest, Paris, and Brussels. In 1933 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He received the Lister medal and prize from the Royal College of Surgeons of England and the Cameron prize from the University of Edinburgh. In 1922, when the University of Toronto awarded him the Charles Mickle Fellowship, he generously asked that the income should be given to an undergraduate of the University to enable him to study in Boston as one of his pupils. His publications included a "Life of Sir William Osier" (1925), his acknowledged master; "From a Surgeon's Journal" (1936), an account of his war experiences; and "Meningiomas" (1938). On the occasion

of his seventieth birthday a bibliography of his writings was prepared by the Harvey Cushing Society. He married, in 1902, Katherine Stone Crowell, of Cleveland, Ohio, and had two sons and three daughters.

17. **Sir William Jackson Pope**, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Cambridge, 1908-39, was born on March 31, 1870, and educated at Cowper Street Endowed Schools, Finsbury, and at the Finsbury Technical College, being one of the earliest students of Professor Armstrong, whom he followed in 1887 to the Central Institution, which afterwards became known as the City and Guilds' College of the Imperial College of Science and Technology. While assistant lecturer to Armstrong he collaborated with Kipping in an important series of studies in the chemistry of camphor. In 1897 Pope was appointed head of the Chemistry Department of the Goldsmiths' Institute at New Cross, but continued to act as an instructor in crystallography at the Central Technical College. At New Cross he carried out the researches on molecular dissymmetry which made his name famous. Appointed Professor of Chemistry and Head of the Chemistry Department at the Municipal School of Technology in Manchester in 1901, he remained there until 1908, working with Barlow on researches on crystal structure, which did much to prepare the way for modern developments in which mensuration by means of X-rays provided an experimental method of verifying the structures deduced from the theory of valency. In 1908 he succeeded Professor Liveing in the Chair of Chemistry at Cambridge. During the Great War he developed a process for the direct synthesis of "mustard gas," which proved much cheaper and more effective than that employed by the Germans. For that service he was made K.B.E. in 1919. He also produced, for use in aerial photography, sensitised plates of a kind which had hitherto been a German monopoly. Occasionally he intervened in public affairs, as when he protested against boric acid being scheduled as a noxious preservative, although the districts in Italy in which it is emitted with volcanic steam had a local reputation as health resorts. He also argued that lead tetraethyl—a particularly noxious lead compound in view of its solubility in fats—should not be sold as a constituent of petrol, at least until its non-toxicity had been established by adequate preliminary inquiry. He was elected president of the Chemical Society in 1917, and of the Society of Chemical Industry in 1921. In 1919 he became the first chairman of the Federal Council for Chemistry, and in 1922 received the highest possible honour by being elected president of the International Union for Pure and Applied Chemistry. He was also president of the Solvay Chemical Conferences in Brussels for ten years from 1922. His honours included the Longstaff medal of the Chemical Society, 1903; the Davy medal of the Royal Society, 1914; the Dumas medal of the Société de Chimie Industrielle, 1921; and the Messel medal of the Society of Chemical Industry, 1932.

24. Sigismund Christian Hubert Goetze, artist and benefactor, was born in London on October 24, 1866, and educated at University College School. After gaining the Trevelyan-Goodall Scholarship for the Slade School, he entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1885. From 1888 onwards he frequently exhibited at the Royal Academy and at the Paris Salon, which awarded him its gold medal. Beginning as a portrait painter he later devoted himself almost exclusively to landscapes. He first came into prominence in 1894 with his "Saint Sebastian," but was best known for "He was despised and rejected of men," painted in 1904. Other noteworthy examples of his work were "Ever Open Door" and "The Greatest of These." In 1921 he gave to the nation the frescoes he had painted for the first floor of the Foreign Office. That work was the outcome of the Royal Academy banquet speech in 1912, made by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Davidson), who criticised the "drab, uninspiring surroundings of our officials." The frescoes depict the origin, development, and expansion of the British Empire. Another service to the nation was the saving of Sir Alfred Gill's collection after his death, and the distribution of examples of that sculptor's

work to various museums and schools. To Marylebone he presented a full-sized statue of St. George, the work of C. L. Hartwell, R.A., and he made many gifts to St. John's Wood, where he lived. In 1935 he presented new gates to Regent's Park in commemoration of the Silver Jubilee, and he gave 3,600/. towards the cost of a new main south entrance with fine ornamental ironwork gates to the Inner Circle gardens. He was also a generous contributor to the Artists' General Benevolent Institution. He was made an Hon. A.R.I.B.A. in 1930; received the gold medal of the Royal Society of British Sculptors in 1938; and was elected Master of the Glaziers' Company a week before his death. Goetze, who was a brother of Violet Lady Melchett and of Mrs. Emil Mond, married, in 1907, Constance, daughter of Leopold Schweich, of Paris.

28. Dr. Reginald Lane Poole, historian and antiquary, was born on March 29, 1857, son of E. S. Lane, and nephew of the translator of the *Arabian Nights*. Early left an orphan, he was brought up by an uncle who taught him Latin on week-days and Hebrew on Sundays. In 1874 he went up to Balliol College, Oxford, where he won the Busby Theological Prize after a few weeks of residence. After having been elected to a Hody Hebrew Scholarship at Wadham, he migrated to that College but returned to Balliol in 1877. In 1880 he was appointed an assistant in the Manuscript Department in the British Museum, but winning a Hibbert Travelling Scholarship in 1881, resigned that post and went to the Continent to study medieval history, first at Leipzig, of which in 1882 he became a Ph.D., and then at Zurich. In 1886 he was appointed Lecturer in History at Jesus College, Oxford, and in 1896, University Lecturer in "Diplomatic." Two years later came his election to the historical research fellowship at Magdalen College which he held until 1933, when he was made an honorary fellow. Successful as he was as a tutor, his main bent was towards original research. Besides many books and articles on historical subjects, he produced reports on manuscripts for the Royal Commission, published a study of Wycliffe in 1889, and edited several volumes for the Wycliffe Society. He also contributed articles to Grove's "Dictionary of Music," to the "Dictionary of National Biography," and the "Dictionary of Political Economy." During his college days he translated from the Dutch Professor Land's "Principles of Hebrew Grammar," and for a time was assistant editor, under Bishop Creighton, of the *Historical Review*. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1905, Keeper of the Archives at Oxford in 1909, Ford Lecturer in 1911, and Curator of the Bodleian in 1914. In 1881 he married Rachel Emily, daughter of J. R. Malleson, and had two sons and two daughters.

30. Canon Alan England Brooke, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, 1926-33, was born of Lincolnshire Evangelical stock on September 1, 1863, and educated at Eton, of which he became captain, and King's College, Cambridge, where he had many triumphs in classics and theology. He was elected to a Fellowship in 1889, and two years later took deacon's orders, serving for nine months in a Northamptonshire village. He then returned to Cambridge to write on Heracleon and Origen; to assist his College as Dean and Lecturer in Divinity; and to work interminably for the University Press on the Greater Cambridge Septuagint, the first volume of which appeared in 1906. In 1916 he was elected to the Ely Professorship of Divinity with a Canon's stall in the Cathedral. Ten years later he followed Sir Walter Durnford as Provost of King's College, holding the post until he retired in 1933. In 1912 he published a commentary on the Johannine Epistles. Canon Brooke, who was an uncle of Rupert Brooke, the poet, married, in 1901, Frances, daughter of N. J. Dunn, of Pembrokeshire, and had one son.

NOVEMBER.

3. Father Herbert Thurston, S.J., writer and scholar, was born in 1856, son of Dr. G. H. Thurston, M.R.C.S., and educated at the Jesuit Colleges of Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst, afterwards taking a classical degree with honours at London University. He then taught classics at Beaumont College, remaining there for seven years until he was ordained priest in 1889. Two years later he began his half-century-long association with the *Month*, a religious periodical conducted by the English Province of the Society of Jesuits, which he himself had joined in 1874. Although the range of his interests was remarkably wide—including English literature, secular and Church history, biography, and the vast field of religious polemics—his chief preoccupation was ecclesiastical archaeology, liturgy, and the general subject of Christian origins. Adopting Pope Leo XIII's maxim, "The Church has nothing to fear from historical truth," Thurston represented the spirit of criticism in his writings, not only for the "Catholic Encyclopedia" but also for the non-sectarian "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics." In his seventieth year he undertook the preparation of a new edition of Butler's "Lives of the Saints" (originally completed in 1759) and personally edited half of its twelve volumes, the first of which appeared in 1926. By way of recreation, although it was not in fact very widely dissociated from his main work, he studied "psychic research," and while not a member of the Society of Psychical Research, was keenly interested in its investigations. His own views on the subject found expression in "The Church and Spiritualism."

5. The Right Rev. Arthur Chandler, Bishop of Bloemfontein, 1902-20, was born in 1860 and educated at Marlborough and University College, Oxford. After graduating in classics he was elected to an official Fellowship at Brasenose in 1883 and a year later was ordained. In 1891 he accepted the College living of Poplar. At the close of the South African War he was appointed Bishop of Bloemfontein, being consecrated at Cape Town in February, 1902. At first the diocese embraced the Orange Free State, the whole of Basutoland, and the Northern portion of Cape Colony, including Kimberley. This meant for Chandler constant travelling, but later he was given an assistant, and subsequently the diocese was divided, the new diocese of Kimberley and Kuruman being formed. In 1920 he came home to attend the Lambeth Conference but was unable to do so owing to illness, which brought about his resignation. In the following year he was appointed rector of Bentley St. Mary, near Farnham. In 1891 and again in 1922-23 he was select preacher at Oxford. From his student days he was keenly interested in social reform, and as a Fellow and tutor of Brasenose took his first step in public service by becoming an active member of the Board of Guardians. He also started the Oxford Institute in St. Aldate's for the benefit of the young employees of the Clarendon Press and elsewhere. His varied publications, which began in 1900 with "The Church and New Century Problems," a plea for better housing, included "Tom Andrews : A Story of Board School Life" ; "Jo, the Giant-Killer : A Story of Blackwall," dedicated to Will Crooks ; "Ara Cceli," and "The Cult of the Passing Moment," two of several books on mysticism ; "Christianity and the Modern Man" (1926), in which he concluded : "if we are to commend our religion to the modern man . . . we must leave off fighting among ourselves" ; "Anglo-Catholic Principles" (1927); and "The Spirit of Man." He was a member of the Aristotelian Society.

6. Adolphe Max, Burgomaster of Brussels, 1909-39, was born in that city on December 31, 1869. Early in his career he turned to journalism and for a time wrote dramatic criticism. Later he became an accountant. Drawn to municipal administration, which he had studied in Paris and in London, he served for some years as councillor and alderman before being appointed, in 1909, Burgomaster of Brussels, an office which he held for thirty years. Although the office

carried with it much greater power than that of a mayor in England, he was little known outside his native city until the Great War. When the German troops approached Brussels on August 20, 1914, Max drove boldly out to meet them and at once entered into negotiations with the commanding officers. Later, when the German commander entered his room at the Town Hall and placed his revolver on the table, the Burgomaster, it was said, promptly put his fountain pen beside it, and when beds were ordered for the German staff, Max ordered one for himself, saying he was determined to stay at his post. With his knowledge of international and administrative law he was able to oppose the German demands on purely legal grounds, and after a series of bitter discussions obtained considerable reductions in the German demands. He also seized every opportunity of counteracting hostile propaganda, and on one occasion had bills posted all over Brussels flatly contradicting a statement made by the German Governor of Liege. In September further indemnities were demanded by the Germans, and when the Burgomaster refused the German Governor announced that no more payments would be made for requisitions. Max's answer to that was to send a letter to the principal banks, including the Deutsche Bank, stating that the certificates of indebtedness which the city had given to the German authorities could no longer be paid. That brought the duel to a climax. On September 26, while presiding over a conference of the Burgomasters of Greater Brussels, Max was requested to appear before General von Luttwitz. He refused to leave before the end of the sitting, at the conclusion of which he was arrested for "unserviceable behaviour" and taken to the fortress of Namur. From time to time he was removed to other prisons, but at no time was he brought before any tribunal, or even informed of the reasons for his incarceration. In November, 1918, he returned to Belgium, where he was received with extraordinary demonstrations of affection. He was made a Minister of State, was elected as a Liberal to the Chamber of Representatives, and received many other honours. He visited England in July, 1924, when he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh and the degree of LL.D. from the University; and again in 1928, when he was entertained at dinner by the Homers' Company in London, whose Master for that year was an old friend and former resident in Brussels. Burgomaster Max expressed the wish that his funeral should be without official honours, and without speeches.

10. Mrs. Despard (*nee* Charlotte French), suffragist leader and social worker, was born on June 15, 1844, daughter of a Naval commander, and sister of the distinguished Field-Marshal who became the first Earl of Ypres, in whose upbringing she played a large part, their parents dying before he was nine. In 1870 she married a Liberal of the old school, whose political ideas she found somewhat dissatisfying, and after his death she devoted herself to social reform. She became a Poor Law Guardian at Kingston-on-Thames, and later went to live among the people at Nine Elms, London, where she opened, in Currie Street, one of the first welfare centres in England. When the work became a municipal responsibility she gave the premises to the Battersea Council and named it "Despard House." Believing that sex equality was a necessary condition of complete democracy, she joined first the Independent Labour Party, and later the Women's Social and Political Union, of which Mrs. Pankhurst was the head. Subsequently she established and became president of the Women's Freedom League which played an important part in the militant suffrage movement before the Great War. She herself received several sentences of imprisonment, and she refused to pay taxes. During the war, when women suffrage was achieved, she threw herself with no less ardour into the peace movement. After the Armistice she went to live in Dublin, where her strong support of Mr. de Valera brought her into conflict with the authorities, and at the time when her brother was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland she was openly working on the side of Sinn Féin. The divergence of their political views caused them much pain, but in 1925 they became reconciled. In 1930, after a visit to Russia, she helped to

start the Irish Workers' College in Eccles Street, Dublin, and during the Roman Catholic anti-Communist riots in 1933 was in the building when it was besieged and stoned. With her frail figure and black lace mantilla over silver hair she had been for many years a familiar sight on the plinth of Nelson's Column, Trafalgar Square, and in political demonstrations elsewhere. At the age of 91 she addressed an anti-Nazi meeting in Hyde Park. She attributed her instinct of revolt against social order to an early sympathy with Satan in "Paradise Lost," and later to the influence of Shelley.

10. Dr. Edward Jenks, Emeritus-Professor of English Law and former Dean of the Faculty of Laws in the University of London, was born at Stockwell, Surrey, on February 20, 1861, and educated at Dulwich and King's College, Cambridge, where he won the Le Bas, Yorke, and Thirwell Prizes, was Chancellor's medallist, and of which he later became a Fellow. As a law student he also gained the first senior studentship in 1886 and the Barston Law Scholarship in 1887, the year in which he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple. After two years as a lecturer at Pembroke and Jesus Colleges, Cambridge, he held appointments as tutor and Professor of English Law at the University of Melbourne, and at University College, Liverpool. At Oxford he was Reader in English Law from 1896 to 1903, during which time he was a lecturer and tutor at Balliol College. He was Examiner in Law at Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Durham, London, and Wales. In legal circles he was best remembered for the success he achieved in inaugurating a new system of legal education for the Law Society, of which he was director of legal studies, 1903-24. In the latter year he was appointed Professor of English Law in the University of London, the Chair being tenable at the London School of Economics. Of his publications, which were held in high esteem, the best known and most likely to endure were "Law and Politics in the Middle Ages," "Short History of English Law," and his two-volume Digest of English Civil Law, the latter earning for him a European reputation. He also wrote "The Book of English Law" (1928), specially for the educated laymen, and "The State and the Nation" (1935). Not the least of Professor Jenks's achievements was the foundation of the Society of Teachers of Law. He was twice married; his second wife, whom he married in 1898, was Dorothy Mary, daughter of Sir W. B. Forwood, and he had one son and one daughter.

11. Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.G., who had a distinguished academic, legal, and political career, was born at Manchester on June 28, 1851, son of a mechanical engineer who had been Mayor of Manchester, and was educated at Owens College, Manchester, and Lincoln College, Oxford, where he was awarded the Vinerian Law Scholarship. In 1873 he was elected to the Stowell Fellowship at University College, Oxford, and was also called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn. After a short experience of the Northern Circuit he attached himself to the County Palatine Courts at Manchester and Liverpool. Two years later he succeeded Christie, in whose chambers he had read, as Professor of Law at Owens College, and for the next ten years devoted himself to his Chair and to his large practice. Then, in 1885, he stood as Liberal candidate for East Manchester, but was defeated by Arthur (afterwards the Earl of) Balfour. Later, when Mr. Gladstone became an advocate of Home Rule for Ireland, Hopkinson joined the group who formed the Liberal Unionist Party. In 1892, the year in which he took silk, he resigned his Professorship and contested as a Unionist the South-West Division of Manchester, again without success. But in 1895 he was elected for the Cricklade Division of Wilts. In 1898 he relinquished his seat in Parliament on being elected to succeed his old friend and teacher, Sir Adolphus Ward, as Principal of Owens College. (He was M.P. again from 1926 to 1929, representing the Combined English Universities.) In 1900 he became Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University, which had been formed by the federation of the University Colleges of Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds.

Later, in 1903, after Manchester, following the lead of Liverpool, had claimed the right to its own charter, Hopkinson, who had drafted its charter as far back as 1879, was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester, and under his auspices was prepared the Act of Parliament by which Owens College was incorporated with and merged in the University. Resigning his post in 1913, he visited India to report on the University of Bombay. During the Great War he was chairman of the Higher Munitions Tribune for Yorkshire and the East Midlands and was a member of Lord Bryce's Committee which reported on the atrocities perpetrated by the German Army in Belgium. His publications included "Rebuilding Britain, a Survey of Problems of Reconstruction" (1918), and "Penultima" (1930). In 1903 he was elected an Honorary Fellow of Lincoln College and received at various times the honorary degree of LL.D. at Manchester, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Leeds, and Bristol. He became a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn in 1896 and Treasurer in 1921. Sir Alfred—knighted in 1910—married, in 1873, Esther, daughter of H. Wells, of Nottingham, and had four sons and three daughters.

12. **Max Sering**, distinguished German agricultural economist, was born in 1857, and educated at the Universities of Strassburg and Leipzig. After making a study of agriculture in the United States, Sering returned to Germany to enter on an academic career. From the University of Bonn (1885) he migrated to the Agricultural College in Berlin (1886-1906), and thence to the University itself (1907-39), where, with Schmoller and Wagner, he contributed his share to raise the study of Political Economy in the German capital of William II to high levels. His acquaintance with agricultural developments in the United States influenced his views on agricultural economics, especially his work as Director of the German Research Institute for Agriculture and Land Settlement. His researches exercised an enormous influence on the literature on agricultural economics in Germany, while in the political sphere he supported German Imperialism, especially in his work "Handels- und Machtpolitik" (1900). Other publications included "Deutschland unter dem Dawes-Plan" (1928); and "Deutsche Agrarpolitik auf geschichtlicher und landeskundlicher Grundlage" (1934).

25. Professor Wilfred Trotter, M.D., Professor of Surgery in University College Hospital, London, since 1935, Sergeant Surgeon to the King, 1932-39, was born in 1872 and educated at University College and University College Hospital, where he gained the gold medal and the University scholarship in surgery at the B.S. examination, and took honours in medicine at the M.B. examination. In turn he filled the junior posts of surgical registrar and assistant demonstrator of anatomy and was in due course elected assistant surgeon, surgeon, and director of the surgical unit until he became Professor of Surgery in 1935. For a few years he was assistant surgeon at the East London Hospital for Children, Shadwell. At the Royal College of Surgeons of England he served two terms as a member of the Council, as well as being Hunterian Professor in 1913 and Hunterian Orator in 1932. From 1928 to 1938 he was a member of the Medical Research Council. Before his appointment as Sergeant Surgeon to the King in 1932 he had been Honorary Surgeon since 1928. In 1934 he received the honorary D.Sc. degree from the University of Liverpool, and in 1937 the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh. In 1916 he published "Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War," a useful exposition of German political psychology. As evidence of the esteem in which he was held may be mentioned the fact that he was the only surgeon of his generation to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

26. **Lieutenant-General Sir George Tom Molesworth Bridges**, brilliant soldier and administrator, was born on August 20, 1871, son of a major in the Royal Artillery, and nephew of Dr. Robert Bridges, Poet Laureate. After passing

through the Royal Military Academy he was gazetted second lieutenant in the Royal Artillery in February, 1892. In the South African War he served with irregular mounted troops, commanding a squadron of Imperial Light Horse and the 5th and 6th West Australian Mounted Infantry. After being severely wounded, and being mentioned twice in despatches, he gained the brevet of major in August, 1902, having been promoted captain in 1900. Sent on special service to Somaliland in October, he raised and commanded a body of native levies known as the Tribal Horse, which he led at the defeat of the Mullah at Jidballi in 1904. Again wounded, he returned home with the D.S.O., to enter the Staff College, and after graduating was appointed in 1907 to the Military Operations Directorate. Later in the year he went to the Cavalry School at Netheravon as an instructor. In June, 1908, he returned to regimental duty and was promoted to major in the 4th Dragoon Guards in August. From March, 1910, he served for four years as Military Attaché at Brussels, the appointment embracing also The Hague and the Scandinavian capitals. At the beginning of the Great War he went to France with his regiment, his squadron making the first contact with the Germans on August 22 north-east of Mons. The most famous of his many exploits occurred on August 27, when he succeeded in rallying, by means of a toy drum and a penny whistle—obtained from a nearby shop—several hundred stragglers at St. Quentin. The incident was commemorated by Sir Henry Newbolt in his poem, "The Toy Band," published in *The Times* on December 16, 1914, and set to music by Sir Richard Paget. Promoted lieutenant-colonel on September 3, he again distinguished himself on the 19th at the action of Paissy on the Aisne. Less than a week later he was summoned to G.H.Q. and sent by Field-Marshal Sir John French to Belgium to ascertain if there was any possibility of holding Antwerp. Reporting that it was hopeless, he urged upon the Allies the necessity of the Yser inundation, which was effected at the end of October. He remained in Belgium until December, 1915, when he was appointed to command the 19th Division, getting the brevet of colonel in the following month. In January, 1917, he was promoted major-general. When the United States entered the war he was selected to be Military Member of the Balfour Mission and reached New York in April, but resumed his command in France in June. At "Third Ypres," on September 20, he was again wounded, his leg having to be amputated. In January, 1919, he was selected as Chief of the British Military Mission to the Army of the Orient, returning home in November, 1920. From August, 1922, to December, 1927, he was Governor of South Australia. During the latter year he held in Adelaide an exhibition of his paintings in oil and water-colour, which were sold for the benefit of the Limbless Soldiers' Association. Since April, 1920, he had been colonel of the 5th Inniskilling Dragoon Guards and was also colonel of the 9th Australian Light Horse and of the 43rd Australian Infantry. He was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, an Hon. D.Sc. and Hon. D.C.L. of McGill University. Among his foreign decorations were the Legion of Honour, the Croix de Guerre, the American Distinguished Service Medal, the Order of Leopold, the Order de la Couronne, and the Order of the Dannebrog. He was created C.M.G. in 1915, C.B. in 1918, K.C.M.G. in 1919, and K.C.B. in 1925. In 1907 he married Janet Florence, daughter of W. Graham Menzies and widow of Major W. G. Marshall. His only child, Al vide, married the Hon. Anthony Chaplin, heir of Viscount Chaplin.

27. Professor Ernest Arthur Gardner, Emeritus-Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of London, was born at Clapton on March 16, 1862, son of a member of the Stock Exchange, and educated at the City of London School and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he was placed in the first division of the first class in Part I of the Classical Tripos in 1882, and in the first class in Part II in 1884. He was a Fellow of his college from 1885 to 1894, the fellowship being extended for three years for him to continue his work in Greece. When the British School of Archaeology was founded at Athens

in 1886 under the directorship of Dr. Penrose, Gardner became its first student, succeeding in the following year to the directorship, a post which he held until 1895. He then became Yates Professor of Archaeology in the University of London and quickly established a flourishing school of Classical Archaeology at University College. He was Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1905-09, and again in 1913-15, and was Vice-Chancellor in 1923-26. For several years he was Public Orator. During the Great War, although over military age, he attained the rank of lieutenant-commander in the R.N.V.R., serving abroad, 1915-17, as naval intelligence officer to the senior naval officer at Salonika, where his knowledge of the Greeks, their language, and politics, proved very useful. Under his charge a museum was established in the White Tower, the collection subsequently being presented by the Greek Government to the British Museum. From October, 1917, to January, 1919, he served in the Intelligence Department of the Admiralty. His publications, the best known of which was the "Hand-book of Greek Sculpture," 1896-97, revised edition, 1915, included a "Catalogue of Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum" (1897); "Ancient Athens" (1902); "Introduction to Greek Epigraphy" (1905) (written in collaboration with the Rev. E. S. Roberts); "Six Greek Sculptors"; "The Art of Greece"; "Greece and the iEgean"; and "Poet and Artist in Greece." From 1897 to 1932 he was one of the editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and from 1929 to 1932 president of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. For his services during the war he received the cross of Officer of the Order of the Redeemer from the Greek Government. He also had conferred upon him the honorary fellowship of Gonville and Caius College, the fellowship of the University College, London, and the honorary degree of Litt.D. of Trinity College, Dublin. He married, in 1887, Mary, daughter of Major Wilson, and had one son and two daughters. Professor Percy Gardner was his brother, and Miss Alice Gardner, of Newnham College, his sister.

29. Philipp Scheidemann, first Chancellor of the German Republic, was born at Kassel on July 26, 1865. In early manhood he became an enthusiastic worker for Socialism, and for many years edited various newspapers and publications. Entering the Reichstag as Socialist member for Solingen in 1903, he was elected vice-president when the Social Democrats came into power in 1912, but held office for only a few weeks, and it was not until the Great War that he gained an outstanding place in the political life of Germany. He became leader of the majority Socialist Party and was associated with Friedrich Ebert, first President of the German Republic. Under the last Imperial Chancellor (Prince Max of Baden) Scheidemann was appointed Secretary of State without Portfolio and took charge of foreign affairs. When the revolution broke out in November, 1918, followed by the Kaiser's abdication, he proclaimed Germany a Republic, two days before the Armistice. Three months later the National Constituent Assembly was convened at Weimar and Scheidemann was elected Chancellor. His tenure of office was very short, however, as he resigned after refusing to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Subsequently he settled in Kassel of which he became Senior Burgomaster, a position he held from 1919 to 1925. He was so hated by the Right that in 1922 he was attacked in the streets of Kassel by two young men who squirted prussic acid over him. The men, when sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, said they did it because he brought about the German revolution. If, as was alleged, he refused to sign the treaty with a view to his own political future, his action proved of no avail when the Nazis seized power, and he was obliged to find sanctuary abroad. In revenge they arrested five of his male relatives and put them into concentration camps on the ground that he had published an article grossly calumniating Hitler. Since 1934 he had lived with his daughter in Copenhagen. His publications included "Memoiren eines Sozialdemokraten."

DECEMBER.

2. **Llewelyn Powys**, author, was born at Dorchester in 1884, son of the Rev. Charles Francis Powys, and educated at Sherborne and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. For a time he was a schoolmaster, and then accompanied his eldest brother, John Cowper Powys, on an American lecture tour. Soon after his return he developed tuberculosis of the lungs and although he spent some years in Switzerland and in British East Africa was never completely cured. That he lived to the age of 55 was thought by his friends to be little short of a miracle. His first sketches appeared in the *New Age*, but it was not until his return from Kenya Colony after the Great War that he published his first book, "Ebony and Ivory" (1923). Later came "Thirteen Worthies" (1924), essays in biography; "The Verdict of Bridle-goose" (1927), a description of his second visit to America; a life of the explorer Henry Hudson (1928); "The Pathetic Fallacy" (1930), an attack on dogmatic Christianity; and "Impassioned Clay" (1931). In "The Cradle of God" (1929) and "A Pagan's Pilgrimage" (1931) he described a visit to Palestine. Powys married Alyse Gregory, editor of the *Dial*.

3. Princess **Louise**, Duchess of **Argyll**, sixth child of Queen Victoria, was born on March 18, 1848. In 1870 she married the Marquess of Lome, eldest son of the Duke of Argyll. When her husband was appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1878 she accompanied him to that country, remaining there for five years. From an early age she had shown a gift for sculpture, and in 1863 Mrs. Thoryncroft, daughter of the sculptor, John Francis, was appointed to instruct her. Besides her best known work—the statue of Queen Victoria facing the Round Pond in Kensington Gardens—she sculptured a monument to Prince Henry of Battenburg in Whippingham Church, a statue of her mother in Manchester Cathedral, a bust of the Queen in the Institute of Water Colours, the memorial to Colonial soldiers which was placed in St. Paul's Cathedral after the South African War, and the War Memorial for the Heritage Craft Schools at Chailey. She was also a talented book illustrator, and, under the pseudonym of Myra Fontenoy, wrote many magazine articles. Since the death of the Duke in 1914 Princess Louise, who had been famous in Victorian and Edwardian days for her unconventional parties, seldom appeared in public. There were no children of the marriage.

14. **Lord Ernest (William) Hamilton**, historian and novelist, was born on September 5, 1858, seventh son of the first Duke of Abercorn and his wife, Lady Louisa Russell, second daughter of the sixth Duke of Bedford. After being educated at Harrow he entered Sandhurst and in due course obtained a commission in the 11th Hussars, from which he retired in 1885 with the rank of captain. In that year he was elected Member of Parliament for North Tyrone, holding the seat until 1892. Soon after leaving Parliament he began writing, and in 1897 published "Outlaws of the Marches," which was followed the next year by "The Mawkin of the Flow," in 1899 by "The Perils of Josephine," and in 1901 by "Mary Hamilton." Eleven years later came "Involution," and in 1916 "The First Seven Divisions," a narrative of the work of the British Expeditionary Force in France. His other publications included four books on Ireland—"The Soul of Ulster" (1917), "Elizabethan Ulster" (1919), "The Irish Rebellion of 1641-1821" (1920), and "Tales of the Troubles" (1925)—"Old Days and New" (1923), a comparison of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; a novel, "Four Tragedies of Memworth"; and two volumes of reminiscences, "Forty Years On" (1922) and "The Halcyon Era" (1933). In addition to writing he took an active part in the business world, being director or chairman of a number of companies. In 1891 he married Pamela Louisa Augusta, daughter of Captain E. A. Campbell, and had two sons and two daughters.

19. **Professor John Alexander Smith**, Waynflete Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford University, 1910-36, was born in 1864 and educated at Edinburgh University and Balliol College, Oxford. After taking a good classical degree at Oxford he returned to Edinburgh as assistant to Professor Butcher, but came back to Balliol College in 1891 as a Fellow, in the following year becoming principal tutor in philosophy. In 1910 he was appointed Professor, a post which he held until 1936. In his inaugural lecture he made something of a sensation by announcing himself as a disciple of the then little-known Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce, whom he was later to have the pleasure of entertaining at Oxford (1923). Smith, who had been brought up by Lewis Nettleship in the school of Hegel, acknowledged also the influence of the older Italian thinker, St. Thomas Aquinas. Strangely enough he never published a book of his own, but it was said that from 1891 onwards hardly a single work on philosophy was written in Oxford without a tribute to his assistance. He succeeded Bywater as president of the Oxford Aristotelian Society, and became in time senior editor of the Oxford series of translations of that philosopher. He was elected to an honorary fellowship at Balliol in 1924, and was Gilford Lecturer in 1930-31.

23. **Anthony Herman Gerard Fokker**, aeroplane designer, was born son of a Dutch father and a French mother, in 1890, at Kediri, Java, where he ran wild until the age of six and began to develop the physical dexterity in the exercise of which he found so much pleasure. He first came into prominence during the Great War when his E-type monoplane appeared on the Western Front, causing so much damage that it gave rise to the expression the "Fokker scourge." Although heralded as something new, the machine, in fact, closely resembled a French Moraine which had been brought down in German territory. After the war he went to the United States where, as chief of the aviation department of General Motors, he claimed to have built the first four-engined American machine—the F. 32. Probably his most successful aeroplane was the F. 7, a three-engined monoplane which was used by Kingsford-Smith on a flight round the world in 1928. One of his last innovations was a tandem-engined fighting aeroplane with twin tail booms and a tricycle undercarriage. Of an almost aggressive inventiveness, he owed his success perhaps less to his ability as a designer than to his quickness to appreciate new ideas and to his skill and daring as a pilot. He was twice married; first to a German, the daughter of General Von Morgen; and secondly to a Canadian. The first marriage was dissolved. There were no children.

29. **Sir John Withers**, solicitor and politician, distinguished for his service to Cambridge University, was born in 1863 and educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Qualifying as a solicitor, he founded in 1896 the successful firm of Withers and Company. In 1926 he followed his friend John Rawlinson as Conservative Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge, holding the seat at the time of his death. Outstanding among his many activities in the House of Commons was his work in connexion with the amending of the Finance Bill of 1927 so as to relieve universities, colleges, and schools from income tax on their surpluses. He will best be remembered, however, for his long and loyal service on behalf of Cambridge University, particularly his achievement at King's College in breaking down the barriers between Etonians and "new-comers." He was also responsible for the compiling of the first Register of King's men; was one of the promoters of the King's College Association; and gave much assistance to St. Catharine's College in drafting its new statutes and in securing the separation of the Mastership from the Norwich Canonry. He was made C.B.E. in 1918 and knighted in 1929. In 1893 he married Caroline Gifford, daughter of Dr. Gilford Hansford.

31. Sir Francis Robert Benson, eminent Shakespearean actor, was born of Quaker ancestry on November 4, 1858, and educated at Winchester College, where he met the Rev. C. H. Hawkins, who fostered in him the passion for Shakespeare which became his chief interest, and at New College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself both as an actor and as an athlete. After seeing him play the part of Clytemnestra in a production of *Agamemnon* Ellen Terry was said to have advised him to make the stage his profession. In July, 1882, he took the part of "Don Pedro" to the "Benedick" of Irving and the "Beatrice" of Helen Faucit at a private reading in the house of Sir Theodore Martin. Two months later he joined the Lyceum company in *Romeo and Juliet*, taking over from George Alexander the role of "Paris." Again at Ellen Terry's instigation, he joined a touring company to gain experience, working first with Miss Alleyn and then with Walter Bentley. One night the manager of the latter company absconded with the salaries. In desperation, Benson appealed to his father, with the result, after an exchange of telegrams, that the actors not only got their salaries but that Benson became manager of the company, and thus founded one of the greatest organisations in the history of the English stage. By degrees the company became a nursery for the stage; so much so that when in 1913 Benson set out on a Canadian and American tour *The Times* was able to print a list of over ninety old Bensonians who were familiar to London playgoers. For nearly fifty years he took part in the annual Festival performances at Stratford-on-Avon, earning gratitude which found expression in 1910 when he was presented with the freedom of the borough, an honour which he shared with David Garrick. When the Great War began he volunteered for service but was rejected on account of his age—55. Instead, he gave performances of *Henry V*, helped to organise the celebrations in connexion with the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death, and on May 2, 1916, played the part of Julius Caesar at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, in aid of the Red Cross. At the conclusion of the performance King George V, who had been present with Queen Mary, sent for Benson and with a "property" sword, borrowed for the occasion from a costumier's, knighted him, that being the first time an actor had been knighted within the walls of a theatre. Later Sir Frank went to France where he drove an ambulance and undertook other work which gained for him the Croix de Guerre. While his best, and favourite, part was Richard II, he was not, nor did he consider himself to be, a great actor. Working so hard at all the many duties of an actor-manager he seldom did himself justice in his own performance. His genius lay rather in his singleness of purpose, his energy, and in the enthusiasm which he infused into his company. Sir Frank married, in 1886, Constance Fetherstonhaugh, a member of his company, and daughter of Captain Morshead Samwell. They had one son and one daughter.

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