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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER

A
REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME
AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1923

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

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1924

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

THE CONSERVATIVE MINISTRY.

MR. A. BONAR LAW, PRIME MINISTER TO MAY 20,
MR. STANLEY BALDWIN, PRIME MINISTER FROM MAY 25.

CABINET MINISTERS.

<i>Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury</i>	Mr. A. Bonar Law (to May 20).
<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	Mr. Stanley Baldwin (from May 25).
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	Lord Robert Cecil.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	The Marquess of Salisbury.
	Viscount Cave.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	Mr. Stanley Baldwin (to August 27).
<i>Secretaries of State:—</i>	Mr. Neville Chamberlain (from August 28).
<i>Home.</i>	Mr. W. C. Bridgeman.
<i>Foreign.</i>	Marquess Curzon.
<i>Colonies.</i>	The Duke of Devonshire.
<i>War.</i>	The Earl of Derby.
<i>India.</i>	Viscount Peel.
<i>Air.</i>	Sir Samuel Hoare.
<i>Scotland.</i>	Viscount Novar.
<i>Presidents:—</i>	
<i>Board of Trade</i>	Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame.
<i>Board of Education</i>	Hon. E. F. L. Wood.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Adm.-Col. L. S. Amery.
<i>Minister of Health</i>	Mr. Neville Chamberlain (to August 27).
<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	Sir William Joynson-Hicks (from August 28).
<i>Minister of Labour</i>	Sir Robert Sanders.
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	Sir Montague Barlow.
	Sir L. Worthington-Evans.

MINISTERS NOT IN THE CABINET.

<i>Attorney-General</i>	Sir Douglas Hogg.
<i>Minister of Pensions</i>	Mr. G. C. Tyrone.
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>	Sir John Baird.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Sir T. W. H. Inskip.
<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i>	The Marquis of Linlithgow.
<i>Financial Secretary to the Treasury</i>	Sir William Joynson-Hicks (to August 27).
	Adm.-Col. the Hon. Walter Guinness (from October 6).
<i>Secretary for Mines</i>	Mr. G. R. Lane-Fox.
<i>Under-Secretaries of State:—</i>	
<i>Air.</i>	Duke of Sutherland.
<i>Colonies.</i>	Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore.
<i>Foreign.</i>	Mr. Ronald McNeill.
<i>Home.</i>	Mr. Godfrey Locker-Lampson.
<i>India.</i>	Earl Winterton.
	Hon. Walter Guinness (to October 6).
<i>War.</i>	Colonel Wilfrid Ashley (from October 9).

Parliamentary Secretaries;—

B. M. Eyres-Monsell (to July 26).	{		
<i>Admiralty</i> Major	A.	Boyd-Carpenter	(from July 27).
<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	.I	arl of Ancaster.	
<i>Health.</i>		Lord Eustace Percy.	
<i>Labour.</i>		Mr. Henry B. Betterton.	
<i>Transport and Works</i> L	{	Colonel Wilfrid Ashley (to October 5),	
		- Col. J. T. O. Moore-Brabazon (from	
		October 9).	
Lt.-Col.		Leslie Wilson (to July 26).	
Treasure		B. M. Eyres-Monsell (from July 27).	
<i>Board of Trade</i>		Lord Wolmer.	
<i>War.</i>		Mr. Rupert S. Gwynne.	
<i>Overseas Trade</i>		Lt.-Col. Albert Buckley (to November 19).	
<i>Pensions.</i>		Captain Charles C. Craig.	
<i>Education</i>		Earl of Onslow.	
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lan-</i>			
<i>caster.</i>		J. C. C. Davidson.	
<i>Paymaster-General....</i>		Major A. B. Boyd-Carpenter.	

SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary.</i>	.Viscount Novar (<i>in the Cabinet</i>).
<i>Lord-Advocate</i>	Hon. William Watson.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Mr. F. C. Thomson.

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1923.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

BENEVOLENT NEUTRALITY IN THE RUHR.

THE New Year found England and France in the midst of a "Separations crisis" admittedly more serious than any which had preceded. Before the close of the previous year M. Poincaré had given unmistakable indications that France intended to seize the Ruhr coal mines unless Germany considerably quickened her rate of reparation payment—an event of which there was very little prospect. In a final effort to dissuade France from taking this step, Mr. Bonar Law, the Prime Minister, accompanied by Sir P. Lloyd-Greame, President of the Board of Trade, Sir Eyre Crowe, of the Foreign Office, and Mr. O. E. Niemeyer, Controller of Finance, had crossed over to France on December 28. In Paris Mr. Law conferred with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Curzon, who came over from Lausanne, where he was negotiating with the Turks, and obtained from him entire concurrence in his proposals. The chief object of these, it was known, was to give Germany a "breathing space," and to put her in a position in which she would be able to pay her debts. The French plan was entirely different, and from the outset it was more than doubtful whether an agreement would be reached.

These fears were soon justified by the event. The Conference opened on January 2 at the Quai d'Orsay. The tone of the negotiations was most friendly, but it soon became apparent that the differences between England and France were

irreconcilable. Mr. Law detailed his plan, the chief points in which were as follows :—

Germany was to be granted a moratorium for a maximum period of four years, apart from certain deliveries in kind. The capital sum of her debt was to be 50 milliard gold marks (2,500,000,000/.), for which the German Government would issue 5 per cent, bonds repayable at par in thirty-two years (1954). For the first four years no interest should be paid. For the next four years interest should be paid at 4 per cent. (100,000,000/. per annum), and after that at 5 per cent. (125,000,000/. per annum). At the end of ten years Germany should issue bonds bringing up the annual payment to 166,000,000/., but if this should be considered beyond her capacity by an impartial tribunal, this series of bonds should be cancelled, and payments should continue at 125,000,000/. A special inducement was to be offered to Germany to raise private loans and redeem the bonds at early dates in the form of a generous schedule of redemption prices. Should the Allies accept the proposed reparation settlement, then for the fixed obligations of the European Allies to Great Britain there would be substituted arrangements under which all except a small percentage (which would be accepted in the form of a transfer of German bonds) would be remitted.

In the evening of the same day, Mr. Law, addressing a gathering of British journalists in his hotel, added some comments for the benefit of the British public. He said that the supposition that England was quite independent of reparations had absolutely no justification. She needed them to a much greater extent than those outside the British Islands were ready to believe. They had, it was true, succeeded in balancing the Budget, but how? By submitting to a load of taxation absolutely unprecedented in any other country. They had made their Budget position strong by making the taxpayer poor, one result of which was a great increase in unemployment. Unless there was a general development of the trade of the world, they were running the risk of finding themselves, not indeed in the worst financial position from the point of view of the Treasury, but in a far worse position as regards the mass of the people than many of the Allied countries which seemed to be less strong financially. As to his scheme for obtaining payment from Germany, it was put forward purely as a business proposition. There was no chance of receiving any considerable sums from Germany till German credit had been restored, and this could not be brought about until there was some certainty as to the maximum amount which Germany might be called upon to pay. At the same time, having fixed reasonable conditions, they would be prepared, if the Germans refused to carry them out in goodwill, to take any steps necessary to compel them to fulfil their obligations. These remarks of the Premier contained nothing strikingly new, but the reason of his making

them was no doubt that he felt it incumbent on him to give some explanation to the more intransigent members of his own party why in his attitude towards Germany he was following so closely in the footsteps of his predecessor.

Mr. Law's plan was not favourably received by the French at the first hearing, and further reflection only deepened their dislike for it. They did not even consider that it afforded a basis for discussion. Mr. Law, on the other hand, was convinced that the French plan would produce no reparations, and might ruin Germany—a prediction which was only too well verified in the course of the year. At the second day's meeting the differences were stated with the utmost courtesy, but with perfect frankness, and there was no longer any pretence that agreement existed. After a brief third meeting, the Conference broke up without having arrived at any decision, and Franco-British co-operation was for the time being at an end. As the French said, the *Entente Cordiale* had been replaced by the "*Rupture Cordiale*." Mr. Law again gave his views to a gathering of British journalists at Paris. The impossibility of agreement between the two countries had, he said, already been pointed out by M. Poincaré at the end of the Conference in London some months previously. That, however, had not prevented them from doing their utmost to secure an agreement. If they had failed, it was because there was a fundamental difference of principle between them. Britain's great concern was to restore Germany's credit; France was anxious only to seize pledges, even though thereby German credit should be ruined. The discussion throughout had been of the most friendly character, but there was no advantage in prolonging it. In conclusion Mr. Law quoted the actual words in which at the Conference he had justified the British attitude, words which evidently had been carefully prepared, and might be regarded as an official statement of British policy. They were as follows:—

"His Majesty's Government, after giving the most urgent consideration to the French proposals, are definitely of opinion that these proposals, if carried into effect, will not only fail in obtaining the desired results, but are likely to have a grave and even disastrous result upon the economic situation in Europe, and in these circumstances they cannot take part in or accept responsibility for them. His Majesty's Government, at the same time, desire to assure the Government of the Republic that while they regret extremely that there should be an irreconcilable difference of opinion on a subject so serious, the feeling of friendship not only on the part of the British Government, but also, as I believe, of the British people towards the Government and people of France remains unchanged."

The net effect of the Conference was to leave France with a perfectly free hand in relation to Germany—a freedom of which she was not slow to take full advantage. The attitude towards

her of the British Government was defined by the Premier as one of "benevolent neutrality/" and combined a wish for the success of her plan with a strong expectation of its failure. The Entente continued nominally to exist, though it had lost all its significance. England, for the time being, became a passive spectator of French action, holding herself in readiness to intervene when France should invite her. It was the general expectation that this development would not be long delayed; but in fact events took a very different turn.

No sooner was the Conference over than the French made ready to enter the Euhr. On January 11 their troops, in company with a Belgian detachment, occupied Essen and other places. Owing to the attitude of the population, which resorted to the policy of "passive resistance," they found themselves obliged almost daily to extend their occupation and make it more oppressive. The British Government meanwhile adopted an attitude of complete passivity, in accordance with the policy defined at a Cabinet meeting held on January 11. It was there laid down that this country should dissociate itself from the French action, not out of any sympathy with the Germans, but because it was considered that from the business point of view the present French plan was unpractical. Should France, however, be able to obtain money and the other reparations she wanted by the methods she was now adopting, this country would be the first to admit its mistake. This being their feeling, the Government were doing their best to see that their dissociation from France should lead to no friction, either in the Ehineland or elsewhere. They were not withdrawing their troops from the Ehine; they were keeping Sir John Bradbury on the Separation Commission, Lord Kilmarnock on the Ehineland Commission, and Lord Crewe on the Council of Ambassadors; and they were putting no difficulty in the way of the passage of French troops across the British zone.

The French movements in the Euhr were carefully reported in the British Press and followed with the keenest interest by the British public. The country was by no means united behind the Government in its policy of "benevolent neutrality." Objection was taken in some quarters to the "neutrality," in others to the "benevolence." Among certain sections of the Conservative Party the action of France was warmly applauded, and the Government was urged to co-operate with her in putting pressure on Germany. In the Press this view was strenuously advocated by the organs of Lord Eothermere, especially the *Daily Mail*. On the other hand, the Government's complaisance towards France was strongly criticised by the Independent Liberals, and still more so by the Labour Party, which advocated a totally different policy. It issued a manifesto "repudiating in the most formal manner all responsibility for approving, directly or indirectly, the policy now being pursued by the French Government towards Germany." It demanded

of the British Government that it should refrain from all measures of support of or co-operation with the French troops, dissociate itself by a formal declaration from the French Government's policy, refuse to take advantage in any way of the French Government's action, take steps to secure the withdrawal of all Armies of Occupation, support the United States Government in securing the submission of the dispute to an impartial body, and make a formal proposition for referring the whole Reparation problem to the League of Nations. More was destined to be heard of these proposals in the ensuing session of Parliament, but for the time being they passed unheeded.

The avoidance of friction with France in the Cologne area was soon found to be a task requiring the exercise of considerable tact and goodwill on both sides. Not many days had passed before the French commenced to carry out arrests of Germans in the British zone. At first the gendarmes who made the arrests were accompanied by British military police. This practice, however, was discontinued on instructions being received by the British Commander-in-Chief that British troops were on no account to take part in the execution of the French "sanctions." On January 23 the French arrested in Cologne the President of the Landesfinanzamt; but as it was evident that the German population deeply resented this step, the French High Commissioner a few days later relieved the anxiety of the British by stating that no further requests for such action to be sanctioned would be made for the present; and the British continued to remain on excellent terms both with the French and the Germans.

While Mr. Law was in Paris, one of his chief lieutenants, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was on his way to New York on board the *Majestic* in company with Mr. M. Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, in order to make the best arrangements possible for funding Britain's debt to the United States, in accordance with the demand recently made by that country. The *Majestic* arrived at New York on January 4, two days late. In an interview given on board Mr. Baldwin said that he believed the success of his mission would do much to relieve the tension from which the world as a whole was suffering. He did not think that the United States would try to drive a hard bargain, since the Government realised, as England did, that the fate of humanity depended on Anglo-American co-operation. Britain was a solvent nation, and her liabilities were not beyond her capacity, but her assets were frozen for the moment. She would therefore eagerly accept the first reasonable proposal of the United States.

The Commissioners proceeded without delay to Washington, and held their first meeting with the American Commissioners on January 8. In welcoming the guests, Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, who presided, said that the United States

Commission was sensible of the extreme desirability, amounting to necessity, of effecting a definite settlement of the financial relationship of the two countries on a basis entirely just to both. He added that the prompt payment by Britain of \$100,000,000 (20,000,000Z.) interest within the previous three months was conclusive proof of the spirit of financial integrity which had always animated the two great English-speaking nations. Mr. Baldwin then put the British case. He said that the burden of taxation was impairing British purchasing capacity, and this could not fail to react upon American prosperity. He reminded his hearers that every cent of the money borrowed was used to purchase American goods in America, and so went to enrich that country. If it was asked, why not pay in goods, the answer was that goods had been bought at war prices and prices had fallen, so that Britain would have to send to America a far greater bulk of goods than she originally purchased; and this might affect employment in the United States. Since then direct repayment in gold or goods was impossible or undesirable, there remained the purchase of dollars in the exchange markets of the world. What Britain wanted, he concluded, was a fair business settlement, a "square deal," a settlement that would secure for America repayment to the last cent on such terms as would produce the least possible disturbance in the trade relations of the two countries.

Mr. Baldwin's statement made an excellent impression both on the Commissioners and the general public, and the negotiations commenced under favourable auspices. After nearly a week's discussion, agreement was reached on the point that the settlement should take the form of bonds providing interest and sinking fund against the sum due. When it came, however, to fixing the rate of interest and the term of repayment, differences between the two parties became acute. Mr. Baldwin could not bring himself to offer more than 3 per cent, which he regarded as the maximum that the British taxpayer could stand. The American Commissioners did their best to meet him, but they were convinced that the lowest terms which they would be able to induce Congress to ratify were 3 per cent, for the first ten years and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, for the remainder of the period, with an additional half of 1 per cent, as sinking fund over the whole of the term, which under this arrangement would be some sixty-two years. Mr. Baldwin at once telegraphed this proposal to the Cabinet in London. The reply he received showed the Cabinet to be undecided, and in consequence he procured an adjournment of the negotiations, and with Mr. Norman left New York for London on January 20 in order to consult with his colleagues.

On his departure he issued a statement in which he thanked the American people for the extraordinarily cordial reception which they had given to him and his companion, and praised the American Press for its manner of discussing the debt question.

On his arrival at Southampton, before landing, he received some Press representatives on board and answered a number of questions. In the course of his remarks he said the chief difficulty was caused by the fact that they had ultimately to deal not with the Secretary of the Treasury but with Congress, and while there were men of their way of thinking in the Eastern States, the majority of the Senate came from agricultural and pastoral communities, and did not realise all the implications that were involved in an international debt. When reported in America these words created a certain amount of resentment in some quarters, and were regarded as affording a handle to those who were opposed to a revision of the existing Funding Law. Fortunately, however, by the time the matter came up for discussion in Congress their effect had worn away.

The Cabinet discussed the matter on January 30. Mr. Baldwin was strongly in favour of accepting the American proposals. From what he had seen in America, he was convinced that these terms were the most favourable that Congress could be induced to grant. He also pointed out that from the American point of view they were exceedingly generous, as the money had been originally borrowed at 5 per cent, and the Funding Law subsequently passed by Congress, and still in force, had not lowered the interest figure to less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Some members of the Cabinet were of the opinion that it would be better to go on paying 5 per cent, on the unfunded debt for the present, in the hope that in the course of six months or so they would be able to obtain better terms. However, on further reflection they came round to Mr. Baldwin's view, which was strongly supported in the City, and the American proposals were finally accepted without dissent.

The decision of the British Cabinet was warmly welcomed in official circles in the United States, and the President lost no time in bringing before Congress a Bill to replace the Funding Act of 1921 and embodying the terms agreed upon by the Commissioners. The Bill, after some discussion, was passed in the House of Representatives on February 9 almost unanimously, and in the Senate on February 15 by a large majority, and a few days later the indenture of the bonds was signed by Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador at Washington, and Mr. Mellon of the United States Treasury. In England the settlement was not received without misgiving on account of the heavy burden of taxation which it was bound to entail for a number of years; but for the time being all scruples were swallowed up in the lively sense of satisfaction at having demonstrated to the world British financial integrity, and in the hope that this step would pave the way for a general settlement of the world's economic difficulties.

The amount of the debt involved was approximately at the par rate of exchange 978,000,000[^]., made up of 851,000,000Z. the capital sum advanced, and 127,000,000Z. the interest which had

accrued between 1919 and the spring of 1922. On the new terms the annual charge for interest and sinking fund would be about 34,000,000/. so long as the interest was at 3 per cent, and the rate of exchange remained as it was. So long as the debt was unfunded the interest alone, without provision for sinking fund, amounted to over 46,000,000l. per annum. Thus the new arrangement effected nominally a saving of 12,000,000/. annually—at any rate for the first ten years—besides providing for the extinction of the debt in sixty-two years. But of course the interest from this point would have to be paid regularly, and therefore become a fixed annual charge like that of the National Debt, instead of a debt which could be renewed from year to year.

During the greater part of January the unemployed were much in the public eye. Just before the New Year a number of hunger marchers had tramped from the North of England and Scotland to London, and there they demanded an interview with the Prime Minister, which was refused. Although not professedly Communist, they were undoubtedly stimulated by Communist propaganda, which was actively carried on among them. At the same time they were supported by the Trade Unions, and under the auspices of the Trade Union Congress demonstrations were arranged for the first Sunday of the year, January 7, in some 150 towns, the chief being in Trafalgar Square, London. This was the first occasion on which the official Labour movement had taken joint action with the unemployed organisation. At each demonstration a resolution was submitted demanding the immediate meeting of Parliament to deal with the unemployed problem. The Communists were well to the fore at several of the demonstrations, particularly in London. An harangue of extraordinary violence was delivered by a Communist speaker in Manchester, and listened to with marked approval by an audience of some 3,000 people.

With this ebullition the discontent due to unemployment may be said to have reached its high-water mark, and from this point it commenced slowly to subside. The chief reason was that just about this time an appreciable improvement in trade made itself felt, and during the next few months the number of unemployed showed a continuous decline, though the registered figure never sank much below 1,200,000. The fulminations of "Unemployed Sunday" produced no more serious effect than the despatch by the Trades Union Congress of a deputation to the Prime Minister on January 16. The hunger marchers were not represented on the deputation, nor did they succeed in obtaining a separate interview with the Premier. The Communists did their best to provoke a general strike, but met with no success.

On meeting the Prime Minister, the deputation reiterated its demand for the early assembly of Parliament, stating that the workers regarded the long Parliamentary holiday as an indication

of indifference on the part both of the Government and the Legislature. Mr. Law replied that there was no holiday so far as Ministers were concerned, and he saw no point in summoning Parliament. Their efforts to assist the unemployed would be hindered rather than helped if the House of Commons was sitting all the time. It was absolutely essential that Government departments should have time to prepare properly for the work of the coming Session. The Government, proceeded the Premier, was sensible of the evils of unemployment and felt it was its business as far as possible to remedy them. But he was convinced that the scheme recommended by many members of the House of Commons, involving a complete upsetting of their present social arrangements, could make things not better but worse. It had been pointed out by one of the speakers that there had been a fall in wages of something like 600,000,000Z, a year. How was this money to be got? One way was by giving the workmen a larger share of the profits of industry. But it was quite certain that profits from which such a wages fund could be drawn were not now being made; in fact, many businesses were being run at a loss simply for the sake of being kept going until better times should return. Another way was by borrowing. He admitted that the situation as regards unemployment had been made a good deal worse because, rightly or wrongly, not this Government only, but its predecessor also had come to the conclusion that in the long run the first essential to real prosperity was to pay their way and balance the Budget. He was certain that if they were now to borrow money in order to set the stream of wages going, they would be permanently destroying the chance of getting back to normal conditions. He saw no hope of any scheme that would give employment to the whole of the unemployed just now. If, however, there was suffering, it was fair to remember that unemployed relief was being given on an unexampled scale. The State was paying on unemployment half the total amount which was spent on running the country before the war. In his belief the only hope lay in an improvement in trade, and what he most feared in this connexion was the effect of European complications. With regard to the marchers, he was convinced that they sought an interview with him chiefly for the sake of publicity, and to this he declined to be a party.

The uncompromising attitude of the Prime Minister caused some resentment in Labour circles, but the demand for an earlier meeting of Parliament to deal with unemployment was not pressed any further. Nor did the Government make any move in the matter till March 5, when the Minister of Labour, Sir M. Barlow, introduced in the House of Commons an Unemployment Insurance Bill to make provision for a further grant of uncovenanted benefit as from April 19. He said that in the past they had been disposed not to look sufficiently far ahead, but they were now attempting to make reasonable provision for a period of eighteen

months. Under the Act of 1922 the Government possessed borrowing powers up to 30,000,000/. and so far only 17,000,000/. had been borrowed. The amount expended under the Act during the last two and a half years had reached the colossal figure of 125,000,000/., of which the State had contributed 33,000,000/., employers 48,000,000/., and workers 44,000,000/. The Government's insurance scheme was criticised by Unionist members as being actuarially unsound, and by Labour members as inadequate from the worker's point of view, but the Bill was read a second time without opposition.

Towards the end of January the Prime Minister, acting on the recommendation of the Eoyal Commission on Honours [see ANNUAL BEGISTEK, 1922, p. 144], appointed three members of the Privy Council—viz., Lord Dunedin, Lord Mildmay, and Sir Evelyn Cecil, M.P.—as a Committee to consider the recommendations for honours on account of political services which he proposed to submit to the King. The duty of the Committee, conformably to the recommendations of the Commission, was to be purely that of scrutinising the names of persons recommended for honours, and the scrutiny was to be confined to cases where the recommendation was made "on account of political services." The Committee was to make such inquiry as it thought fit, and report to the Prime Minister whether it considered the recommendations suitable. The Prime Minister was to be at liberty to recommend persons for honours against the advice of the Committee, but in that case the King was to be informed of its report. The Committee was appointed for the lifetime of the Government.

Owing to the delay in appointing the Committee the New Year's Honours List was not issued till February 7. Its most striking feature was the elevation to the peerage of Sir George Younger, who had since 1917 been Chairman of the Unionist Party Organisation, and who in the previous year had by his opposition prevented Mr. Lloyd George from dissolving Parliament in February, and had thus indirectly assured the Conservative victory in the autumn.

The Beport of the Commission was discussed in the House of Lords on March 7, when Lord Southborough asked the Government whether they proposed to introduce the legislation recommended by it, viz., that penalties should be imposed on anyone who undertook for payment to become instrumental in procuring an honour for another, or who promised payment in order to obtain such an honour. Lord Curzon, who replied, said that broadly speaking the Government—which shared the opinion that this was a matter of first-class importance—accepted and were prepared to act on the Beport of the Commission. He thought the country at large would have noted with satisfaction that the Commission had declared that little fault was to be found with the distribution of the great mass of honours. Grave uneasiness had, however, been caused in many

quarters by the excessive number of additions to the peerage in recent years, since in many cases the suspicion existed that titles had been conferred on persons who were unfitted for the honour or as a reward for contributions to party funds. He thought that the real check on abuse in this matter consisted not merely in any machinery that they could set up, but in the improving standard of public honour in the country; the best safeguard in fact was a vigilant public opinion.

On February 4 the Conference at Lausanne broke up after sitting for eleven weeks without having secured any definite result. The Turkish delegates at the last moment refused to sign the treaty presented to them by the Allies, and Lord Curzon returned to London empty-handed. He immediately issued a statement to the Press explaining what had occurred at the Conference. The proposals of the First Commission, over which he presided, and which dealt with the question of frontiers, Thrace, the iEgean Islands, the Straits, Constantinople, Turkish Army and Navy, minorities, exchange of populations and other cognate subjects, had been accepted *in toto* by the Turks. Further, he had on the last day made two considerable concessions, by withdrawing the restriction which hitherto had been placed on the numbers of the Turkish Army in Europe, and agreeing to postpone for a year the reference of the Mosul question to the League of Nations, in order to admit of friendly discussion between the British and Turkish Governments. With the acceptance of this concession by the Turks, all important matters at issue between them and the British Government in particular were at an end. But there were other points—notably the question of the Capitulations and the financial and economic clauses—for which his two colleagues were more particularly responsible; and it was over these that the breakdown finally occurred. The attitude of the Turks had seemed to him unbelievable at the time, and as he left Lausanne he had felt convinced that when they realised what they had done they would recognise the extent of their error in rejecting a settlement more generous than had ever been offered by a victorious group of States to a vanquished Power. In his view the Conference had succeeded and not failed, and he had come back, not with defeat but with victory, and the treaty, far from being torn up, would still be signed. Whatever the future might be, he consoled himself with the reflection that he had declined to swerve from the position he had taken up before he went to Lausanne, namely, that only by absolute and unbroken solidarity between Great Britain, France, and Italy would peace be won and a treaty secured. When others had talked about concluding separate treaties he had rejected their overtures; he preferred to fall with his Allies rather than win a victory on the field of self-interest or exclusively national advantage.

Lord Curzon's conduct of the negotiations at Lausanne came in for some criticism in the House of Commons a little later on

the second day of the debate on the Address. Lieut.-Colonel Herbert thought that he had been too high-handed with the Turks, and Mr. N. Buxton considered his attitude towards Russia was largely responsible for the failure of the Conference. The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. R. McNeill, in defending Lord Curzon, said that he did not think there was a shadow of foundation for the suggestion that their relations with Russia had anything to do with the failure at Lausanne. The real fact was that the Turks knew perfectly well that although this country was powerful, yet the very last thing it desired was to draw the sword. Lord Curzon, he said, had done his best to obtain for the Armenians something in the nature of a territorial and national home, but precisely on that point had found the Turks adamant. Every one who had been to Lausanne, he said, paid the highest possible tribute to the British delegation, and especially to the extraordinary knowledge, skill, patience, and courtesy displayed by Lord Curzon in the conduct of negotiations.

The critics of Lord Curzon were by no means satisfied with this defence, and a fortnight later returned to the attack in the debate on the supplementary estimates for the Foreign Office. The Under-Secretary having proposed a token vote for KM. for embassies and other purposes to cover the Government's expenditure on the relief of war victims in the Near East, Colonel Wedgwood moved to reduce the vote by half as a protest against British policy in the Near East. He said they were being asked to find money on account of the bankruptcy of the Curzon policy to which the troubles in the East were mainly due. They were now witnessing the funeral of the peace of Sevres, which was Lord Curzon's peace. Mr. Mosley said it was a habit of the late Government to back the wrong horse, and back it with other people's money. However, the critics of the Government finally agreed that though the policy was to be condemned they must abide by its sequel.

Meanwhile the proceedings of the French in the Ruhr were observed with growing indignation in England, particularly in Labour circles. On January 24 the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and the Executive of the Labour Party passed a strongly-worded resolution expressing the solidarity of British Labour with the working population of the Ruhr in their resentment at the French invasion, and calling on the Government to adopt a policy of definite diplomatic action, and to support any proposal that might be made for submitting the matter to the League of Nations. On January 30 Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, as leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, after consultation with his colleagues, reminded the Premier of his promise on December 12 to summon Parliament earlier than February 13, should a situation arise in which it would seem that the House of Commons ought to be consulted. The Prime Minister, however, while recognising the gravity of

the situation, thought that there was not as yet any ground for shortening the recess.

Parliament reassembled as arranged on February 13. The King's Speech opened with a reference to the Conference held at the beginning of the year at Paris, and stated that the Government, while unable either to concur or participate in the French operation, were acting in such a way as not to add to the difficulties of their Allies. The Speech further expressed regret at the refusal of the Turks to sign the treaty drawn up at Lausanne, coupled with the hope that on more mature reflection they might still consent to do so. It further referred with satisfaction to the prospective settlement of the United States debt, and with concern to the unemployment problem, and promised legislation on housing and rent restriction.

The debate on the Address, as usual, was desultory, and included in both Houses congratulations to the King and Queen on two happy events which had recently taken place—the birth of a grandchild and the engagement of the Duke of York. But the question of the Euhr occupied the lion's share of attention. Mr. Eamsay Macdonald, who, as leader of the Opposition, spoke first after the opener and seconder in the House of Commons, in view of the intention of the Labour Party to move a special amendment on the matter, referred to it only in somewhat general terms, devoting more attention to unemployment and housing. It was noticeable that ministerial cheers greeted a remark of his that one course open to this country (a course which needless to say the Labour Party did not advocate) was to support France whole-heartedly. He hinted that British interests were being sacrificed to ambitions which Britain did not share, but instead of criticising the Government contented himself with asking a number of searching questions concerning their relations with France. Mr. Asquith, who followed, was more outspoken. Confining himself to the paragraph in the King's Speech which dealt with the Euhr, he characterised the statement of British policy contained in it as a confession of the impotence of Europe, and in particular of the Allies, to arrive at a liquidation and final settlement of the problem of reparations. He was not satisfied with the Government's policy as outlined in the Speech. He thought they ought not to content themselves with silent and passive standing by, and he proposed that this country should press both upon France and Germany the urgent necessity of allowing the matter in all its aspects to be dealt with by the League of Nations.

The Premier replied immediately in a speech which was virtually an *apologia* for the Government's attitude. He gave a detailed account of the proposals which England had put forward at the recent Conference, and stated the reasons why France had rejected them. The chief of these was, he felt, the French fear that Germany might in ten or fifteen years be able to pay off the 2,500,000,000% required of her and then be in as

strong a position as before the war. It became evident in the course of the Conference that France was determined to try her plan, and though they might have said to France, "If you do that, it is the end of the Entente," he did not think that would have been wise. They still had their troops on the Rhine, though he did not know whether it would be possible for them to remain there long. He thought it would be a pity to put an end to the Entente. It was no good for him to appeal to the League of Nations if he was certain that France would have nothing to do with it, and he was certain that that would be her attitude. It might be that in a few months' time they would look upon such a step as possible, and then, in his view, would be the time to make the attempt. Since they could not prevent the French action, they would lose and not gain by making a breach with France, but he still had a hope that something might happen which would make it possible for them to intervene usefully.

In the House of Lords Viscount Grey spoke rather as a supporter than a critic of the Government, in regard to its dealings both with France and with Turkey. He recognised their difficulties and hoped they would succeed to the utmost possible limit. Like the Government itself, he held that co-operation between France and Britain was essential to restore peace and make Europe safe, but at the same time he thought that the action of France in the Ruhr, from an economic and financial point of view, was not only not wise, but would in the end be disastrous. Regarding the security of France, he said he was driven back more and more to the League of Nations as the only means of a permanent solution. The peril of a new war could only be averted if nations would rise to some higher and better conception of international relations and future security.

Lord Curzon, in replying on behalf of the Government, said that the fact of his having had to spend nearly four months out of the last twelve on the Continent was significant, and showed that the affairs of this country were inextricably interwoven with those of the Continent, and that a policy of isolation was impossible. He had sought at Lausanne to maintain the unity and solidarity of the Allies, and he had no doubt that the Turks there had been greatly impressed by the united front presented by the Allies, though to his regret they had not yet signed the Treaty. He repeated that in regard to French action in the Ruhr the Government's attitude was one of "benevolent neutrality/" and denied that an offer of intervention at that juncture could serve any good purpose.

The next day Mr. Clynes moved the Labour amendment, which, after referring to unemployment, "regretted the absence in the Address of any indication of policy upon affairs in Europe and the Near East which might check the progress in economic ruin of Europe." He said the Labour Party was convinced

that foreign policy was largely the cause of the industrial dislocation and economic breakdown from which they were suffering. He thought the Prime Minister, in the matter of the French occupation of the Ruhr, had retreated too soon and himself showed a great deal of fear. He hoped the Government would clearly say that it could not approve of interference with the natural development of any nation. His party rejected the monstrous doctrine that Germany must be prevented from becoming strong enough to pay her way.

A striking contribution to the debate was made by Mr. Philip Snowden, who detailed the deprivations to which Germany had been subjected, while France, he suggested, was possibly the richest country in the world at this moment, not excepting America. The action of France was not only cruel and oppressive, but contrary to the Treaty of Versailles, for on a strict interpretation of that document no one Power was justified in taking independent action. We must, he said, be one thing or the other in the crisis. Our neutrality was in effect active co-operation with the French. Had we no interest in stopping France from completing the ruin of Europe and the ultimate ruin of herself? Had the Government no policy but that of putting no difficulties in the way of our Ally? The matter should be referred to a world conference. If France would not submit, she would become morally isolated. This was a moral question, concluded Mr. Snowden, and unless economics were based on moral principles, they would never succeed.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald summed up the case for the Labour Party. He said the amendment had been moved for two reasons. It was to declare that European political uncertainty was having a direct bearing on the economic condition of the peoples, and it was to emphasise the view that international exchange was essential for the well-being of each State. It might have to be confessed that nothing practical could be done, but for the purpose of turning over a new leaf benevolent neutrality neither helped us, nor our Ally, nor the world. Nations, he declared, had to make up their minds in times of crisis, and having done that they should allow their will to operate, and not be lacking in the courage to execute it. The desire of the Labour Party was candidly to break with the policy of the past—not indeed in any senseless, ramshackle, revived Palmerstonian sense, though he was not sure they might not do a little better than they were doing if they had a certain amount of the spirit of Palmerston in these days. He predicted that the amendment, rejected to-day, would later on become the foundation of the policy which a wise Government of this country would pursue.

Mr. Baldwin (Chancellor of the Exchequer) replied on behalf of the Government. He agreed with the two axioms that had been laid down in the course of the debate—that the state of

Europe had a direct bearing on the economic conditions of this country, and that international exchanges were essential to our economic prosperity. But the difference was that in the view of the other side they ought to have an immediate breach with France, whereas the Government did not think this an opportune moment. (These words, uttered in a slight inadvertence, set the Opposition agog with the idea that possibly they indicated a change of attitude on the part of the Government, but it turned out that Mr. Baldwin did not mean them to be pressed.) Desiring above all things as they did the peace and settlement of Europe, they believed, so far as they could see at present, that they were more likely to attain these ends by maintaining their friendship with their old Ally in the hope and behef that the time would come when their services as mediator and helper might be possible and might be effective.

The amendment was defeated by 277 votes to 180.

Before the subject could be again raised in Parliament, the neutrality of Britain in the Cologne area was put to a somewhat severe test. On February 14 a French delegation, headed by M. Le Troquer, Minister of Public Works, came to London with the object, as it was supposed, of asking permission for the transport of Buhr coal and coke to France through the North-West sector of the British zone. It turned out that what the French really asked for was something far more comprehensive, namely, that the entire railway system in the British zone should be controlled by French troops. The negotiations lasted a couple of days, and when the French delegates returned to Paris nothing had been finally decided. There could be no question of the Government acceding to the whole of the French request; and in some quarters the request itself was looked on as a subtle move on the part of the French to get the British out of the Cologne area. For various reasons the Government was averse from this step; and in the end it commissioned General Godley, the commander of the British troops in Cologne, to make some arrangement which would provide the French with reasonable facilities for transport without compromising British neutrality. The French were finally satisfied with an arrangement by which a small strip of railway in the North-West sector of the zone, which was never used by the British, was handed over to them, and on the rest of the system they were granted the same facilities of transport as they had enjoyed before invading the Buhr. Thus the Government remained true to its intention of putting no positive hindrance in the way of its Ally, while yet not actively assisting her. The same policy was exemplified in the action of the British representatives on the Reparations and Rhineland Commissions in abstaining from voting on all motions ratifying France's actions.

On February 19, the question of the Buhr was again discussed in the House of Commons on an amendment to the Address moved by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher in the name of both wings of the

Liberal Party, to the effect that securities against aggression should be sought by international guarantees under the League of Nations, which should be invited to appoint a committee of experts to report upon Germany's capacity to pay, and that the British representative on the Council of the League should urge that the United States be invited to appoint experts to serve on the Commission. Mr. Fisher said that though there had already been a division on the question, nothing should mask the fact that an overwhelming majority of the House, and he believed also of the nation, supported the Government in its decision not to be associated with the French enterprise in the Buhr. At the same time there was not indeed universal agreement, but a large measure of agreement in every quarter of the House upon the necessity of preserving, if it could be preserved, a good understanding and cordial co-operation with France. In the interests of the Entente he was desirous of seeing the Government take some action. The proposal which he made was one which he believed would be practicable and would not prejudice the future, and was compatible with the economic restoration of Europe and the growth of a better feeling between the French and German peoples.

Lord Eobert Cecil caused some surprise by stating that he was not prepared to vote for the amendment. He admitted that he agreed broadly with the policy suggested by the amendment, and that he would go even further and say that the question would have to be settled ultimately by the League of Nations or some such world conference as the mover had suggested. But he was not prepared to say that the Government should here and now take this action, and he saw no reason for want of confidence in the Government in regard to this matter. Lord B. Cecil's speech was adversely commented on in many quarters as inconsistent with his professions of devotion to the League of Nations, but he to some extent removed the impression thus created by signing an open letter published in *The Times* a few days later calling on the Government to utilise the machinery of the League as soon as possible.

The chief feature of the debate was a vehement attack on the French policy by Mr. Lloyd George. He said that there was nothing in the reparations situation which demanded such a violent step as France had taken. Their interpretation of the Versailles Treaty was at fault. The figure which had been mentioned by Mr. Snowden of 11,500,000,000Z. had never been presented to Germany. The Treaty of Versailles had no figures; it merely provided that Germany should pay damages of certain categories. In 1921 the damage was assessed at 6,600,000,000Z. That figure was not the claim, but the figure of damage. The only claim presented to Germany for payment was in respect of 2,500,000,000Z. The remainder had never been claimed, and there was no serious intention that it should be claimed. Mr. Lloyd George then proceeded to

enumerate what he considered the mistakes made by France in her reparations policy. The first was her refusal to accept the proposal of the Bankers' Committee in the previous year to take the necessary steps for procuring an advance for reparations provided the situation were cleared up. The second was the rejection of the Balfour note with its very generous offer. The third was the rejection of the suggestions of Sir B. Home for putting the finances of Germany in order. The fourth was the refusal to listen to the very generous and liberal proposal of Mr. Bonar Law; and the crown of these blunders was the invasion of the Ruhr. It was difficult to believe that the securing of reparations was the only object of the French action, and this was what added to the gravity of the situation. If they were friends of France—and he thought they were—they would try to extricate her from this enterprise before it became too late.

In connexion with this speech it was remarked in Press comment and communications as somewhat extraordinary that no subsequent speaker in the debate called attention to Mr. Lloyd George's inaccuracy in stating that the figure of 11,500,000,000/. had never been presented to Germany, the fact being that this figure had been definitely fixed as the amount of the Allied claims in March, 1921.

The amendment was supported by Mr. A. Henderson on behalf of the Labour Party and Sir J. Simon on behalf of the Independent Liberals. Replying on behalf of the Government Mr. Bonar Law said that the view dwelt upon by supporters of the amendment, that French action in the Ruhr was bad and could only have had bad results, was the view of the Government also. But the conclusion the Government had come to and acted on was that neither their own interests nor the interest of the peace of the world would be helped by their taking up an attitude antagonistic to France. He reminded Mr. Lloyd George that he himself two years previously had proposed an ultimatum to Germany threatening that the Ruhr would be occupied (at this point a voice interposed amid general laughter "bluff!"). It was no use laying the blame on M. Poincaré alone, as he undoubtedly had both the French Chambers behind him. To bring in the League of Nations at this point would probably only have the effect of making France—and perhaps Belgium and Italy also—hostile to the League, and so weakening the influence of the League or all that was left of it. He was surprised by the reference in the amendment to America. Where did hon. members get their evidence of the willingness of the United States to come in? Everything which they had said had gone directly counter to such an idea. Mr. Hughes had said he had no doubt that distinguished Americans would be willing to serve on a Commission. But distinguished Americans were not the same thing as the American Government. It was their old friend, the Commission of Bankers,

which had tried before and which the French Government would not permit to examine the question. He would impress on the House that it was no use passing these pious resolutions, or appealing to the League of Nations when they knew that nothing effective could come of it, and all it would do would be to irritate their Ally. The amendment was defeated by 305 to 196.

While this debate was going on in the House of Commons, four Scottish Labour members of Parliament—Messrs. John Wheatley, James Maxton, David Kirkwood, and Campbell Stephen—had been making a tour of inspection in the Ruhr to study conditions there, and immediately on their return they published an account of their impressions. They drew a comparison between housing conditions in the Ruhr and in the West of Scotland, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. They declared the motive of the French occupation to be a desire to unite the Ruhr coalfield with the Lorraine iron-field. They said that England had a deep interest in preventing this, and was regarded by France not as an Ally, or even neutral, but as a friendly rival, and therefore there was no hope of Britain being accepted as a mediator between France and Germany. They suggested as the only way out of the difficulty that France, Germany, Britain, Belgium, and Italy should internationalise the Ruhr coalfield.

The Executive of the Labour Party was far from being in accord with the views of the four Scottish members, and in order to prevent misunderstanding drafted a manifesto of some length to express the policy of the party on the Ruhr question. It was fully expected that the manifesto would be issued immediately after the party meeting on February 27, but at the meeting differences of opinion revealed themselves, and the matter was referred back to the Executive Committee. The manifesto never saw the light, and the Labour party continued to expound its policy through the medium of Parliamentary debates.

The next debate on the Ruhr was as a matter of fact initiated by the Labour Party on March 6, when Mr. Eamsay Macdonald brought forward a motion urging the Government to invite the Chambers of France and Belgium to appoint representative committees in order to exchange information and views with a similar committee appointed by the House of Commons regarding the occupation of the Ruhr in relation to the problems of security and reparations. He said that he and his colleagues were convinced that until public opinion had been moulded in the countries concerned Governmental interference would be of very doubtful benefit. The public in each country was uncertain and unhappy, and anxious to understand the public opinion of other countries. But there was no means of conference or of exchange of opinion, and it was the machinery for this that he desired to create. Lord Eobert Cecil criticised the

proposal as insufficient to deal with the situation. He gave it as his belief that the working of Foreign Affairs Committees in other countries was disastrous, and said that for the purpose of exciting public opinion there could be no instrument comparable to the League of Nations. Mr. Bonar Law pointed out that the Leader of the Opposition had said in effect that there was no use in the Government attempting to do anything unless there was a public opinion behind it. This, he said, was the basis of the policy which so far had been followed by the Government. He regarded the amendment as even of less practical value than those which had preceded it on the same subject, and asked the House to reject it by a large majority. As a matter of fact it was talked out without a division.

On February 20, in continuation of the debate on the Address, Mr. G. Lambert moved an amendment "that there should be an immediate and drastic curtailment of British responsibilities in Mesopotamia/' He said that in the three years following on the Armistice the expenditure on Mesopotamia had been 147,500,000J. and there were now new estimates for 11,476,000/. He blamed Mr. Churchill very largely for the disappointing results of British policy, and denied that King Feisul was as acceptable to the people as Mr. Churchill had represented, or that the elections in Mesopotamia were any index of feeling in the country. He hoped the House would not ratify the Treaty with King Feisul, by which England would be required to defend Mesopotamia against armed aggression by any other power. The money wasted in that part of the world if kept at home would fructify in the pockets of the taxpayers.

In answer to questions Sir Samuel Hoare, the Minister for Air, denied emphatically that there had been any bombing by aeroplanes for the collection of taxes, though, as Mr. Lambert stated, this had been asserted by a newspaper which supported the Government. The amendment was warmly supported by Mr. Asquith. He said they had gone to Mesopotamia in the first instance as part of a military operation; also in the hope of rescuing what had once been one of the most fertile and historically interesting quarters of the globe from the domination of Ottoman rule. After the successful campaign of General Maude they had given pledges to free the population from Ottoman rule, and to do everything in their power to establish an autonomous Arab State. They had carried out those pledges. But they had made many mistakes. The first, which was a very disastrous one, was to set up in Mesopotamia an Anglo-Indian Administration. It was done in good faith, but it led to what was called a rebellion, because the Arabs did not welcome it. He did not know if even now the British public realised what the adventure had cost. Already 150,000,0002. of British money had been sunk in the country without any visible material result, and with a large loss of precious lives. A worse investment of British money had in their time never been made. Three years

ago he had urged the policy of withdrawal and the concentration of their troops at Basra. He thought if that policy had been adopted, they would have saved certainly 50,000,000Z. He believed he was expressing the opinion not only of his own party but of the vast majority of people in the country in saying that they were not prepared to give any commitments of any kind to the future of Mesopotamia. Mesopotamia was a geographical expression, a country without a boundary. To make an effective and defended line would entail an enormous and disproportionate expenditure both in men and money. The oil supply was hypothetical, and was not a thing on which any sane Government would ask the people to spend a single half-penny. There were no British interests in Mesopotamia. Whatever interests they had in that part of the world, they could adequately safeguard without making themselves responsible for a single acre of Mesopotamian territory.

The Prime Minister in replying said he was in agreement with a good deal that Mr. Asquith had said. But Mr. Asquith had not suggested that there should be an immediate evacuation. That was the difficulty. They had had the subject discussed by a Cabinet Committee, and it was not so simple as one would think. Whatever the reasons which induced them to go to Mesopotamia, the fact that they had been there for six or seven years must bring in its train certain obligations which no country would desire to get out of without the goodwill of the people they were leaving. Further, this question was bound up with the Turkish Treaty. There was no doubt that to come to a decision before the Treaty was signed at Lausanne would be a very unwise procedure. If they had to go, every one would say that the right way was by negotiation, and that could only happen after the Treaty had been made. At present they were seriously considering the subject with an open mind; what their ultimate decision would be he could not at that stage say, but he would like the House to lay to heart one statement of Mr. Asquith. If ever this country had been engaged in an operation which was not directed towards getting oil or anything of the kind, but which was entirely unselfish from this country's point of view, their being in Mesopotamia was in that category. The amendment was defeated by 273 votes to 167.

One further amendment was moved to the Address by Mr. W. Adamson, on behalf of the Labour Party, regretting that no reference had been made to the institution of a thorough inquiry by a Select Committee to consider what action was necessary to secure a full discharge of the country's obligations with regard to war pensions. After some discussion, in which the Ministry of Pensions was criticised as being too eager to effect economies and too bureaucratic in its methods, the amendment was defeated by 307 votes to 176, and the Address was then agreed to.

A few days later, on February 26, Lord Curzon, as guest at an Aldwych Club luncheon, defended the foreign policy of the

Government. He reiterated his **opinion** that it was not possible that any nation or Government or people would in the long run reject a Treaty so generous **and** considerate in its terms as that which they had offered to Turkey. Speaking of England's imperial responsibilities, he said that flag-wagging for the mere sake of showing the Union Jack had long ceased to have any attraction even for the British race. But he confessed he was rather shocked when sometimes he took up his papers in the morning, and read almost piteous appeals to the British people to withdraw from everywhere—from the Bhine, from Constantinople, from the Straits, Jerusalem, and Bagdad. He had not any personal sympathy for the policy of universal skedaddle. Withdrawal was an expedient, sometimes a wise and necessary expedient, but it was not a policy. He remembered many cases in which, in deference to popular clamour, they had withdrawn—from Egypt, the Sudan, the Transvaal, and parts of the North-West Frontier of India, and with what results? After the lapse of only a few years, at the expense of untold blood and treasure, they had to go back again. He did not want to repeat that experience. There were places from which they ought to withdraw and might have to withdraw, but he would like to be cautious about withdrawing, and to be certain that he was not making a mistake by doing so. It was sometimes better to stay a little longer than to go too soon.

While Parliament was discussing the Address the Government was greatly exercised in its mind over the question of housing (with which was inseparably connected that of rent control), on which it had pledged itself to bring in a Bill. This question was also a burning one with the local authorities, and in January a Conference of local authorities in the North of England had been held in Manchester in order to devise a solution of the problem. On January 25 a deputation of members of this Conference, headed by the Lord Mayor of Manchester, interviewed the Minister of Health, Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, along with a deputation from the Council of Municipal Corporations, to urge on him the necessity of granting a fresh Government subsidy for house building. The two bodies were not in entire agreement, as the former asked for a minimum contribution from the State of 6l. per house per annum, and in addition half the annual loss if the loss should be more than 12l., whereas the latter were content with 6Z. in all cases. The Minister of Health thought that the suggestions submitted would impose upon the State a much larger liability than the Government had contemplated, but he decided that officers of the Ministry of Health should go into the question in conjunction with representatives of the local authorities who had met in conference in Manchester the previous week and of the Association of Municipal Corporations.

Four days before Parliament met (Feb. 10) the Departmental Committee on the Increase of Bent and Mortgage Interest

(Eestrictions) Act, 1920, had issued two reports—a majority report signed by the Chairman, Lord Onslow, and eleven other members, and a minority report signed by two Labour members. The majority report recommended a further period of restriction, but proposed measures by which rent control could be withdrawn gradually. Decontrol should commence at Midsummer, 1923, with houses of a standard rental exceeding 70l. in the Metropolitan area, or 52l. elsewhere in England and Wales, and should be extended in the two following years at midsummer first to houses of 35l. and 26l. rental respectively, and then to all other classes of houses. Separate figures were fixed for Scotland. The minority report suggested that the existing restrictions should be continued till 1930 for the lowest category of houses, and also for the same period in respect to the two other categories unless withdrawn earlier by an Order in Council approved by Parliament. It also recommended an immediate reduction of all rents by 25 per cent., and a further reduction by 15 per cent, at Martinmas, 1923, and called for a revival of the State-aided housing schemes of local authorities.

As soon as Parliament met, the Government announced its intention of introducing early in the session a Bill based on the recommendations of the Onslow Committee. Before it could do so, however, a new complication arose which demanded immediate attention. The Increase of Bent and Mortgage Interest (Restrictions) Act of 1921, which gave landlords permission to increase existing rents by a certain percentage, contained a stipulation that they were not to do so without first giving the tenants notice to quit. In the case *Kerr versus Bryde*, the House of Lords had decided that such action on the part of the landlords was illegal, and the natural inference was that any excess of rent obtained by this means was recoverable. As a matter of fact, the stipulation had been very generally ignored, and technically the landlords throughout the country were liable for huge sums. In England and Wales the tenants for the most part condoned the exaction, but in Scotland a great outcry was raised, and numbers of tenants, incited it was said by Labour members of Parliament, were carrying on what was called a "rent strike," i.e., withholding their rent payments in order to imburse themselves for the sums which they alleged had been illegally extorted from them by the landlords. In Glasgow alone claims amounting to 2,500,000l. were involved in the controversy.

The Government espoused the cause of the landlords, and introduced immediately a House Bents Bill, which was to confirm them in possession of the excess rents they had obtained without giving their tenants notice to quit. The Bill came up for its second reading on February 23, and had a very unfavourable reception, the retrospective principle being condemned by Conservative as well as Labour speakers. Nevertheless it was carried by 288 votes to 196.

Meanwhile the public was waiting impatiently to know what legislation the Government intended to introduce on the basis of the Onslow reports. The great mass of householders were above all things anxious that landlords should not be permitted to raise their rents further until there was a plentiful supply of vacant dwellings. New building was still completely failing to keep pace with the housing needs of the population, and if not protected by law against arbitrary rent increases, the tenants would be at the mercy of the landlords.

The first statement of the Governments policy was made by the Minister of Health at a meeting of electors at Mitcham on February 16. He said that although the existing Act for restricting rents came to an end the next June, the Government had decided that rent restriction was to go on for a further period, and a Bill would be brought in for that purpose, embodying many of the recommendations of the Onslow Committee, not, however, the one by which the more highly-rented houses would come out of the Act next June, as this notice was considered by the Government too short. He said that the Government would like to remove all rent restrictions and leave house building entirely to private enterprise, but this was impossible owing to the acute shortage of houses. Private enterprise might supply and in fact was to some extent supplying the villa type of house, and even the highly-rented working-class house, but it would not and could not under present conditions supply the smallest type of house with the low rents suitable to a working-class family. The Government therefore considered that the next two and a half years should be looked upon as a transitional period, during which there should be both rent restriction and State assistance. The assistance it proposed was a limited subsidy per house for a period of years, calculated to represent half the loss, the local authority making up the other half. The scheme would be limited to the smallest type of house, and in time to the transition period while rent restriction remained. He called it the Manchester scheme because it had been first suggested by the Lord Mayor of Manchester.

A few days later, on February 20, the Board of Health issued a statement which rendered slightly more precise the vague outline of the Government's policy given by the Minister himself. It adopted in the main the recommendations of the majority report of the Onslow Committee, but proposed that the highest-rented class of houses, viz., those between 70*L* and 105*L*. in London and 52*L*. and 78*J*. elsewhere, should not be decontrolled till June, 1924 (instead of 1923), along with the houses of the second class. Its calculation was that by that time a sufficient number of new houses of these classes would have been built to render decontrol innocuous for the tenant.

The evident indecision of the Government on the housing question made a very bad impression on the electorate, which

soon had an opportunity of showing its displeasure in no uncertain fashion. Three Cabinet Ministers who had not secured seats at the General Election were standing for Parliament at bye-elections—Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, at Mitcham, in Surrey, Sir A. Stanley, Under-Secretary to the Home Office, at East Willesden in London, and Major Hills, at Edgehill, Liverpool. Mitcham had always been considered a safe Conservative seat, but the Government's wobbling on the housing question so exasperated large sections of the electors that the result this time could not be considered a foregone conclusion. Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen's prospects were further jeopardised by the interposition at the last moment of an opposition Conservative candidate, who advocated active support of French policy in the Ruhr. The contest was four-cornered, and the victory, to the general surprise, fell to the Labour candidate. Almost simultaneously Sir A. Stanley lost to the Liberal candidate at East Willesden, and Major Hills to the Labour candidate at Edgehill, so that the Government was still left with three Ministers who had no place in Parliament.

These results made it plain that at the moment no seat could be considered safe for the Conservatives, especially if the candidate was a stranger to the constituency. Accordingly the defeated Ministers, in order not to risk another reverse, laid down their posts. Mr. Neville Chamberlain became Minister of Health in succession to Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, and was himself succeeded as Postmaster-General by Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, who till then had been Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Overseas Trade Department. The Government's position was not materially affected by these electoral disasters, which were recognised as being due to a cause which was not beyond its power to remove. In fact, in the end it gained rather than lost by them, as Mr. Chamberlain tackled the housing problem much more effectively than his predecessor had shown promise of doing, and Sir W. Joynson-Hicks also justified his promotion.

During the earlier part of the Session the internal affairs of the Liberal Party formed one of the chief topics of political interest. On the eve of the Session some excitement had been caused by the announcement of the resignation of Mr. J. M. Hogge from the position of Joint Liberal Whip. The reason given by Mr. Hogge was that Mr. Asquith, in virtue of his prerogative as leader of the Independent Liberal Party, had appointed his secretary, Mr. Vivian Phillips, to be Chief Liberal Whip, and had asked Mr. Hogge to remain as second in command, a position which he refused to accept. This step on the part of Mr. Asquith was generally interpreted as a move against Liberal reunion, *i.e.*, the reunion of the Independent Liberals under Mr. Asquith, with the National Liberals under Mr. Lloyd George, a cause in which Mr. Hogge was keenly interested. This view soon received confirmation from further proceedings within the two groups.

Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at a meeting of the National Liberal Party on the day before Parliament met, said that while it was his own desire to see the greatest possible measure of party unity attained, he had not discerned the same desire in other quarters, as advances which had been made by himself and his colleagues had met with no response. He followed up this pronouncement with a speech to the Scottish Liberal Club at Edinburgh which he devoted to the question of reunion. He said that this crisis was different from any other which had ever arisen in the Liberal Party, because formerly the Liberal Party was the only alternative to the one in power, and no matter how much it quarrelled within itself, when the nation became sick of the domination of the other party it had to fall back on Liberalism. Now, however, there was another alternative in the shape of the Labour Party, which was gaining from Liberal dissensions. They should begin betimes to prepare for the next election, and the first thing needed for a revival of Liberalism was unity, and then a programme. He therefore advocated that those who were responsible for the leadership of Liberalism of all sections should come together frankly to consult. He had his suggestions, but he would rather make them in common council, so that they should be put forward as a programme of united Liberalism. So far as he was concerned, there was no question of leadership. He neither claimed leadership, nor sought nor desired it. He had had his fill of responsibilities and was willing to follow any leader who possessed the necessary vision, courage, and inspiration.

This speech elicited a rejoinder a couple of days later from Sir John Simon, who, speaking at Spen Valley, said that the essence of Liberal reunion was united action, and that would not be achieved suddenly by some dramatic gesture or some secret conclave. Unity would come by sincere Liberals, without regard to the past, working and fighting for the same things and voting in the same lobby. How could they talk of unity or expect it when some sections of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons voted differently from the rest, or refrained altogether from voting for Liberal measures? They could not forget that only four months ago some of the champions of Liberal reunion were in alliance with Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Austen Chamberlain for the purpose of promoting a Centre Party.

It was known that Mr. Asquith shared Sir J. Simon's sentiments, but in spite of this rebuff the rank and file of Liberal members in the House took active steps to bring the leaders of the two wings together. They were encouraged by the fact that in the House of Lords the Liberals had meanwhile settled their differences and united under the leadership of Lord Grey of Fallodon. A memorandum, signed by seventy-three members of the Liberal rank and file in the House of Commons, was issued urging the need for speedy reunion, and on March 12 about fifty

of the signatories met at the House of Commons, and after a two hours' conference deputed Mr. Alexander Shaw to convey to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George the sense of the meeting in favour of united action in debate, in the lobby, and in the country.

On March 20 a further meeting of Liberal members was held to which Mr. Shaw reported that he had interviewed Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, and had received sympathetic replies from both. The meeting thereupon passed a motion by 41 votes to 12 suggesting that a consultative committee consisting of Mr. Asquith, Sir John Simon, Mr. Lloyd George, and Sir Alfred Mond should be formed to discuss policy in the House and make such arrangements for a common programme as they deemed advisable. The next day a deputation waited on Mr. Asquith to convey to him this proposal, and he promised to submit it to the weekly meeting of his party which was to be held that evening.

This meeting proved a severe disappointment for the advocates of reunion. Mr. Asquith poured scorn on the proposal of the deputation. Suppose, he said, he and Mr. Lloyd George were to meet, what were they to discuss? Every day he was receiving messages from the constituencies urging them not to compromise or in any way depart from their great Liberal tradition. Mr. Asquith found the meeting fully in sympathy with him, and a resolution was carried with one dissentient to the effect that "regular and continuous co-operation in the division lobby and the constituencies should be a condition precedent to the setting up of any formal machinery for Liberal reunion." This was a condition which the National Liberals found themselves unable to fulfil, but this did not prevent them during the following months from repeating their advances time after time, amid the somewhat amused interest of the members of other parties and a large part of the public.

On March 1 the Government was pressed in the House of Lords to lay on the table the correspondence which passed in 1915 between Sir Henry McMahon and the Sherif of Mecca, now King Hussein. The Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Duke of Devonshire) replied that there were strong reasons which showed that the publication of the correspondence would be detrimental to the public interest. Quoting from a White Paper issued in the previous June, he denied emphatically that in 1915 Sir H. McMahon, then High Commissioner of Egypt, had given any pledge to the Sherif of Mecca to recognise Arab independence in Palestine.

The subject came up again in the House of Lords on March 27, when Lord Islington called attention to the fact that in the election to the Legislative Council in Palestine the great majority of the Arab electorate had refrained from voting in protest against the new constitution, and asked whether in view of this protest and other recent events in the country the Government would consider the desirability of modifying the constitution,

He was supported by Lord Sydenham, who questioned the Government's right to impose on the country a loan of 2,500,000?. Viscount Grey desired to know if it was true, as had been alleged, that British Governments had given various pledges which were inconsistent with each other. They were, he said, placed in a position of considerable difficulty by the Balfour Declaration. If 93 per cent, of the population of Palestine were Arabs, he did not see how they could establish any other than an Arab Government without prejudice to the civil rights of the population. He was not speaking with any want of sympathy for the idea of a Zionist home, but all commitments which might involve this country in the use of force were things which needed very careful consideration, and ought to be avoided if possible. Lord Buckmaster said that communications published in the Press, the accuracy of which had not been denied, showed, not that there had been a mere casual inconsistency between different announcements at different times, but that there had been a deliberate pledge given on the one hand which had been abandoned on the other.

On behalf of the Government the Marquess of Salisbury, Lord President of the Council, said it must be remembered that the present British policy in Palestine was adopted in the first instance by the previous Government, but once it had been adopted it became the policy of the country, and there could be no worse administration than one which pursued a zig-zag course, so to speak. He admitted that he found some difficulty in carrying out certain parts of the policy of the previous Government, but they must have regard to it in order to uphold the honour and consistency of the country.

Early in March the Navy, Army, and Air Estimates were published. The Navy Estimates were (net) 68,883,700?., a reduction of 6,883,7002. on the previous year; the Army Estimates were 52,000,000Z., as against 63,300,000Z.; and the Air Estimates 12,011,0002., an increase of 1,116,0002. In introducing the Navy Estimates in the House of Commons (March 12), Mr. Amery, First Lord of the Admiralty, said that these Estimates embodied the full financial results of the Washington Agreement. But for that step the replacement by modern capital ships of ships which were becoming obsolescent, in face of the building programmes of America and Japan, would have forced the Estimates up by another 15 or 20,000,0002., whereas now they had in barely twelve months brought down the gross Navy Estimates from 92,500,0002. to under 61,500,0002. and the net Estimates from 83,400,0002. to 58,000,0002. In taking action immediately as they had done on the conclusion of the Agreement before it had been ratified by themselves or any other Power, they had run no small risks, but they had by their act of faith secured for the taxpayer economies for which otherwise he might have had to wait two years. The main principle of limitation was that there should be equality in battle strength

between the United States and the British Empire. They had twenty-two capital ships and two just laid down, while the United States had only eighteen; but both the United States and Japan were much stronger in ships of over 30,000 tons. Also, while stronger in light cruisers and air-craft carriers, they were markedly inferior to the United States in destroyers and submarines. The total personnel provided for in these Estimates was 99,500 as against 116,400 in the United States. He considered that this was the irreducible minimum of their naval strength, as they could not run the risk of being obviously and demonstrably inferior to any other Power, however friendly. Mr. Amery in the course of his remarks also referred to the creation of a naval base at Singapore and the relations of the Admiralty and Air Service, matters of which much more was to be heard in the course of the year.

Mr. Snowden moved "that this House regrets that the sum proposed to be spent on the Naval Services is not consistent with the pledges of retrenchment given by the Government, and calls on the Government to use its influence to summon an International Conference for considering the extension of the principles of the Washington Treaty to all non-signatory States." He said that when members asked for reforms in this or that direction, they were told by Ministers that they were impossible because of the expense. He refused to accept that view, and was not prepared to take Dreadnoughts for widows' pensions, for better old-age pensions, and other much-needed reforms. He hoped that the Government, if it could not accept the whole motion, would at least be sympathetic to the latter part. Commandant Bellairs twitted Mr. Snowden on having said in 1910 that, owing to the growth of Socialism and internationalism, no Great Power dared to go to war, because they could not trust their armies and navies. He said that while in regard to the Washington Conference their motto had been "Trust and Scrap," the other Powers had nailed to the mast "Wait and See." This particularly applied to France, which was holding them back in the matter of disarmament, all over the world. Mr. Snowden's motion was ultimately defeated by 240 votes to 153.

The Army Estimates were introduced by the Under-Secretary of State for War, Col. W. Guinness, with a warning that retrenchment had been carried to a point which was only safe so long as the world was exhausted by war, and that the country was facing the same risks as before the war with dangerously decreased resources.

The Air Estimates, presented by the Secretary of State for Air, Sir S. Hoare, on March 14, excited greater interest, owing to the continual increase of friction in British relations with France, which was maintaining an Air Force far stronger than England's. Sir S. Hoare, as was natural, deprecated even the remotest idea of hostility to France; nevertheless he took a comparison of the British and French forces as the basis of his

remarks. He pointed out that to-day while Great Britain had 371 first line aeroplanes, France had 1,260, and in 1925, according to present programmes, the disparity would be much greater. If therefore they decided to apply a one-Power standard to the Air without making corresponding reductions in the Estimates of the Army and Navy, they would have to add 20,000,000Z. at once, and 35,000,000Z. in all, to keep pace with the growing programmes of other Powers. In these circumstances the Air Minister did not take upon himself the responsibility of proposing any addition to the Air Force, but asked the House to await the result of the comprehensive inquiry into the whole problem of Imperial and national defence which was being undertaken by the Committee of Imperial Defence. Meanwhile he proposed to concentrate his attention on making the quality of Britain's Air Force as good as possible.

In the House of Commons the only serious criticism levelled at the Air Minister was on the ground that he was not doing enough to support civil aviation; but public anxiety on the military situation found expression a few days later in debates in both Houses. In the House of Lords, on March 21, Lord Birkenhead called attention to the relative air strengths of France and Great Britain. The question, he said, was one which had changed its aspect very largely in the last few months. Since the present Government came into office relations with France had not grown better; and though every one realised how immense would be the disaster if the previous harmony could not be restored, yet it was vitally important for those who were responsible for the security of this country to consider that security in terms of the new diplomacy and not of the old. The situation, according to the statement of the Secretary of State for Air, was that while Great Britain had 371 Service machines, France had 1,260, and in 1925, if the present programmes were maintained, the figures would be: Great Britain, 575; France, 2,180. Whereas in this country in 1922 they had built only 200 aeroplanes for military and civil purposes, France had built 3,300—3,000 for military and 300 for civil purposes. That seemed to him a most alarming state of affairs. Just as in the past they could not claim security for this country unless the Fleet was adequate, so to-day they would be lacking in their duty unless they could afford the people the guarantee of an adequate Air Force. This country could no more be content during the coming years with a position of inferiority in the air than it would have been content with naval inferiority prior to 1914. Nothing less than a one-Power standard was safe.

The Duke of Sutherland, Under-Secretary of State for Air, who replied on behalf of the Government, said that if the present Cabinet decided that the axiom accepted by the late Coalition Government, that, there was not likely to be a major war for ten years from 1919 no longer held good, and if the Com-

mittee of Imperial Defence, which was now investigating the subject, also held the same view, and thought that the circumstances warranted a larger Air Force, then possibly a larger Air Force would be raised. If it was decided to adopt a one-Power standard with France, it would mean an increase on the Estimates for 1923-24 of about 5,000,000Z., which would mean a total expenditure on the Air Force of 23,000,000Z. France at the present moment regarded her large Air Force as a first line of defence against an air attack both upon herself and Great Britain by a Busso-German combination in the future. He was glad the Committee of Imperial Defence was inquiring into the whole problem, so that they could be satisfied, before increased expenditure was undertaken, that it was really necessary for the safety of the Empire at the present time, when the need for economy was most imperative.

Viscount Grey pointed out that the question they were really dealing with was the defence not of the Empire as a whole but of this island and more particularly of its vital part—London. He had listened to the debate with great uneasiness; Lord Birkenhead's speech contained grave statements regarding their present position to which he saw no answer. Since the Armistice things had become more and more uncertain, and as regarded Air Forces, they were on the brink of a new competition in armaments unless there could be created some sense of security in Europe which would cause a general reduction of Air Forces as well as of other forces. Without this, it was impossible for any Government in this country to hold its position unless it could show that as regarded aircraft they were in a position to secure the vital parts of the country against any possible attack.

The Marquess of Salisbury, while deprecating some of the language used by Lord Birkenhead in regard to France, said there was little difference between them on the main issue. He did not think, however, there was any necessity to take a tragic view of the situation. The Government was perfectly able, if the country wished, to put these matters right, and he asked them in this respect to trust the Government, which would soon announce the result of its deliberations.

When the Foreign Office Vote came up on March 13, Sir John Simon moved a reduction of 100l. on account of the Government's inaction in the Ruhr. The new facts in the situation to which he called attention were the encirclement of the British troops in Cologne by French outposts, the resulting injury to British trade in that quarter, and the imminent danger of an outbreak of violence in the Ruhr district. He pressed the Government to say whether they were really satisfied that the action of the French in advancing into Germany was within the Treaty of Versailles at all. A number of speeches from members of all parties, including Mr. Asquith, supported him in urging the Government to adopt a more positive attitude, but

without effect. Mr. E. McNeill (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) said he did not see what good purpose could be served by the Government expressing publicly—it might be through the law officers—the view that our Ally had violated the Treaty, if that really was the opinion of the law officers. The position, in the Government's view, remained the same as when the Prime Minister had spoken a few days previously, and therefore no new step could be taken. On a division the Government majority fell to 48, 201 voting for the amendment and 249 against.

If in regard to the Euhr the Government was blamed for its passivity, in another direction it displayed an activity which equally offended its critics. On the night of March 11 the police, acting on the instructions of the Home Office and in accordance with a concerted plan, arrested a number of Irish men and women resident in various towns of England and Scotland who were suspected of plotting against the Irish Government, and deported them to Ireland, where they were handed over to the Free State Government to be interned until further orders. The number of deportees amounted to over a hundred. This high-handed action of the Home Office created a storm of indignation in Labour circles. Mr. Macdonald raised the question in the House of Commons on March 13, and in the subsequent proceedings great passion was shown by a number of the Labour members. The Home Secretary explained that the Government had come into possession of material clearly indicating the existence in England of a quasi-military organisation to co-operate with the Irregulars in Ireland in their endeavour to overthrow the Free State, and had taken action at the request of the Free State Government. The persons arrested, he said, had been informed that they might, if they wished, make representations to an Advisory Committee which would be presided over by some one who held, or had held, high judicial office. This did not satisfy the Labour members, who demanded that the arrested persons should be tried in England; and on March 23 application was made before the King's Bench on behalf of one of the deported, Mr. Art O'Brien, for a writ of habeas corpus in order that he might be brought up to trial and so test the validity of the order interning him. The Court refused to grant the writ, and an application was then made to the Court of Appeal. The Court of Appeal took some weeks to form its decision, and meanwhile the matter remained in abeyance.

On March 20 the House of Commons took the unusual course of transforming itself for a few hours from a legislative assembly into a debating society. The change was due to Mr. Philip Snowden, who, having been fortunate enough to draw a place in the private members' ballot, took the opportunity to introduce an academic motion urging the House of Commons to declare that "legislative effort should be directed to the

gradual supersession of the capitalist system by an industrial and social order based on the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution/' The subject drew a full house, and a large gathering of visitors, Mr. Snowden's speech being awaited as an authentic exposition of the Socialist creed in England. It proved to be much more moderate in tone than was anticipated. In the name of his party, Mr. Snowden repudiated revolution. Further he said that they did not propose confiscation, which was the longest way to obtain an object, and was certain to end in disaster. There was, he continued, no analogy between Socialism and Bolshevism; as a matter of fact they were antitheses, for Bolshevism, in its political theories and in its practice of dictatorship and confiscation was not Socialism but Die-Hard Toryism. For the rest the speech was an attack on the capitalist system on familiar lines; while the other side of the picture was effectively presented by Sir Alfred Mond and Sir P. Lloyd-Greame. So keen was the interest aroused by the debate, and so large the number of would-be speakers that the Premier promised as soon as possible to allow another day for its continuation; a promise which was actually fulfilled after a lapse of nearly four months.

On March 22 the House of Lords discussed the question of its own reform. Lord Newton proposed that its membership should be confined to 250 to 300 peers who should be possessed of high qualifications. Lord Curzon agreed that the House was too large, and that it had been unduly swollen by the excessive number of new creations in recent years. But he was not sure that if the House was constituted in some other way they would get a better attendance. While the evil was acknowledged, the difficulty was that there was no agreement as to the remedy. Challenged by Lord Birkenhead to state when the Government was going to deal with the problem, Lord Curzon replied that, while the reform of the House of Lords was one of those obligations which the Government accepted and which they hoped to redeem, he did not think anyone had expressed a hope or desire that the Government should undertake this reform in the first months or the first years of their office. Lord Birkenhead thereupon made a speech of some bitterness in which he pointed out that when the Coalition Government was in office it had been upbraided by the Conservative Party outside with neglecting to reform the House of Lords while there was an immediate positive risk of a Socialist Government, yet now the Conservative Party was in power they were told that the question might be dealt with in two or three years. Were they certain that this Government would be in office after a couple of years? It was an extraordinary thing that the Government should tell them to wait this time for a reform of the House of Lords when they could not find a seat for the Lord-Advocate of Scotland in the House of Commons.

On March 28, in the debate on the Consolidated Fund, the

question of the Ruhr was again discussed in the House of Commons, and once more an attempt was made, and without success, to stir the Government to a more active policy. Mr. Lloyd George had announced his intention of initiating the debate, but at the last moment he handed over the task to Sir E. Grigg, who had formerly been his private secretary. The speaker laid stress on the great harm which was being done to British commercial interests by the Ruhr embargo. It was evident, he said, that France was not thinking mainly of reparations, and that she had in mind the making of a new peace with Germany which should supersede the Treaty of Versailles. He saw great difficulty in reconciling the British point of view and the British sense of right with the policy now advocated by France. He therefore asked the Government first to consult with the Dominions, which had also been parties to the Treaty of Versailles, and secondly to be ready with some declaration on behalf of the British Empire within a few weeks.

Mr. Asquith called attention to a speech delivered the day before by the German Foreign Minister, Dr. Von Rosenberg, in which he stated Germany's willingness to submit the question of reparations to an international commission of experts, and abide by their decision. He wished to know whether the Government, after this expression of German views, was still going to adhere to its policy of what he called "benevolent impotence." Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who followed, stated that the speech of the German Foreign Minister referred to, which made clear for the first time since the French occupation of the Ruhr the German attitude in regard to that step, was the direct result of representations made by a Conference of Labour members of the Parliaments of England, France, Italy, and Belgium. He then proceeded to deliver a vigorous attack on the Government. The question, he said, was asked on all sides, "Why does not the British Government say where it stands?" Silence served neither side. It deprived the silent country of all credit and respect, and did nothing whatever to protect its interests. The Government could have spoken quite definitely about trade. It had never said quite clearly that we were not going to allow our trade to be hampered, and that we stood for the same conditions after the occupation as existed before. The Government ought to have insisted before now on some clear statement of French intentions. It should insist on the fact that the French occupation did not give France any additional rights under the Treaty, nor destroy Britain's rights under the Treaty. We had responsibilities and could not relinquish them.

Mr. Bonar Law being unable to speak owing to a cold, the reply for the Government was made by Mr. Baldwin, Chancellor of the Exchequer. He assured the House that the Government was keeping in close touch in this matter with the Dominions, and intended further to do so. He compared the position in

Europe to the beginning of a grave and extended strike in which both sides are determined not to yield, and he reminded the House that in such a state of things premature interference may lead to disaster. He believed that, owing to the course which they had pursued during the past few weeks, they had preserved the friendship of their Allies and their confidence and trust, and that they would be accepted by Germany as an honest negotiation when the time came. In regard to British trade in the Ruhr, the President of the Board of Trade explained that, in response to the Government's representations, the French had agreed that such trade during the occupation should be subjected only to the same obligations as regards licence and duty as had existed under the German administration. The German Government, however, had warned their nationals that if they traded in goods in respect of which the French issued licences or charged duties, they would be liable to five years' imprisonment, and when approached by the British Government on this point had refused to make any concessions. Consequently, he maintained, the onus of obstructing British trade in the Ruhr rested solely on the Germans.

This debate fitly closed a session in which foreign affairs, and especially the Ruhr situation, had occupied the attention of Parliament to a preponderating extent. In spite of the best efforts of the Government, it was felt that England and France had drifted appreciably further apart, and the rift would go on widening if France persisted in her policy. Trade fortunately had shown considerable improvement in the first quarter of the year, and this helped to counteract the anxiety caused by the unpromising outlook in foreign affairs.

CHAPTER II

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN DIFFICULTIES.

THE lull in the political field caused by the Easter adjournment (March 29) allowed public attention to be concentrated on the Labour situation, which just at this time assumed a very disturbed aspect. After a welcome respite of some months, the country found itself threatened with a recrudescence of labour disputes. Unrest was rife in several industries—in agriculture, in the building trade, in coal-mining, in the jute industry, in the shipbuilding trade, and among the railway workers—and during the whole of April the air was full of threats of strikes and lock-outs on a large scale. Only in a few cases, however, did the trouble reach serious dimensions.

The most notable of the strikes which took place about this time was that of the farm labourers in Norfolk. The farmers in this district declared themselves unable to pay the men 305. a week, which the latter considered a living wage, and accordingly the Union men went out on strike towards the

end of March. A number of non-Union men remained at work, **and** there was considerable friction between these and the Union men in the succeeding weeks. The strike caused a serious set-back to farming in Norfolk, but fortunately spread very little beyond the borders of that country, and was settled—largely through the mediation of Mr. Eamsay Macdonald—in time (April 21) to save the harvest.

The other threatened strikes were either averted, or ran their course without causing serious dislocation. On April 5 about 50,000 miners ceased working in South Wales without allowing their notices to run out, but they came back to work as suddenly as they had left it a few days later. On April 8 the building employers posted lock-out notices on account of the refusal of the men to accept a reduction in wages. It seemed for a time as if there would be a set-back in the erection of new houses, a matter in which the general public was so vitally interested. Fortunately, through the intervention of the Ministry of Labour and Mr. Eamsay Macdonald, the two sides were induced to submit the questions in dispute to arbitration before the notices expired, and building activity was not interrupted. The arbitrator's award was not delivered till August, but meanwhile building activity went on apace.

One effect of the Norfolk farm strike had been to focus public attention on the condition of agriculture in England. After a brief spell of comparative prosperity during the war and subsequently, this industry was rapidly relapsing into its former unsatisfactory condition. The Government was loudly called upon to assist it, and a deputation had waited on the Prime Minister on March 16 to lay its grievances before him. It asked for a definite statement of the Government's intentions on two issues. The first was as to the permanent policy of the Government—whether it desired to see the industry conducted on a political and social basis or on a purely economic basis, in which case the farmers would largely have to give up trying to grow cereals; the second was as to the immediate action contemplated by the Government to arrest the growing chaos in the industry. On the latter point the Prime Minister was unable to give any definite promise, and in regard to permanent policy he said that the only way to give agriculture its desired place in the economy of the nation was either by a subsidy, which the country could not afford, or by protection, which it would not have. He therefore thought that the only course open to the farmers was to adjust the industry, if possible, to a profit-paying basis on existing economic conditions. However, the matter was not allowed altogether to rest there. On April 5 the Tribunal of Economists, which had been appointed in December to consider how agriculture might be helped, issued an interim report. It described its proposals as "a cautious use of the power of the State to obtain for agriculture a somewhat greater measure of security than it had enjoyed for the past half century." Its chief

recommendations were that, while the importation of wheat should be left free, importers should be required to import 25 per cent, of offals to 75 per cent, of wheat; that duties should be imposed on imported barley and hops; that imports of potatoes should be permitted only under licence of the Board of Trade; that railway rates should be reduced; and that Agricultural Wages Boards—the abolition of which by the late Government was deeply resented by the men—should be re-established in a new form, by dividing the country into some six areas, each governed by an independent Wages Board, the duty of which should be to lay down a minimum wage for its area and see that the standard of pay was not fixed by the inefficient farmer.

On April 11 the Government issued a statement to the effect that it was not prepared to accept the Tribunal's recommendation in regard to hops, as the hop-growers* case might be met by an increase in the consumption of beer. With regard to railway rates, the Government was of opinion that these could be drastically reduced, and advised the industry to avail itself of the machinery of the Bailway Rates Tribunal. The Government further announced its decision to devote the Boad Fund surplus, amounting probably to over 1,250,000Z. to the relief of rates for the upkeep of rural roads, a step which, it was hoped, would go far towards helping the recovery of agriculture, and to settle the Norfolk dispute. At the same time the Cabinet set up a special sub-committee, with Sir Robert Sanders, the Minister for Agriculture, as a member, to go carefully into the recommendations of the Tribunal which had not yet been dealt with.

During the Easter recess considerable interest had been aroused by the visit to London of M. Loucheur, the prominent French industrialist and politician. Although this visit was professedly private, political importance was attached to it in view of M. Loucheur's position in French politics, and the fact that he interviewed the Prime Minister and other leading British statesmen. In answer to questions in Parliament, the Prime Minister on April 9 stated that the visit had been entirely unofficial, and that only general conversations had taken place. It transpired, however, on M. Loucheur's return to Paris, that he had come to London with the express consent of M. Poincaré, and hopes were for a time entertained that this betokened a willingness on the part of the French Premier to come more into line with the British point of view. These hopes, however, were dashed to the ground by a speech of M. Poincaré at Dunkirk on April 15, in which he showed himself as uncompromising as ever in regard to Germany. In this speech he asserted that M. Loucheur had found evidence of a change of public opinion in England in favour of France—a statement which was emphatically repudiated by representative organs of the British Press, though Lord Bothermere's organs continued to support France with might and main.

Parliament met after the Easter recess on April 9. On the same day the Prime Minister announced that arrangements had been made to hold this year an Imperial Conference similar to that of 1921 and also concurrently an Imperial Economic Conference, to deal with all economic questions affecting the British Empire, the two Conferences to open on October 1.

On the next day, on the motion to go into Committee of Supply, Viscount Ednam, a Unionist member, moved an amendment "that this House, while fully desirous of promoting the re-establishment of our relations with European countries on the basis of mutual advantage, urges the Government to take immediate steps to bring about the fullest possible extension of trade within the Empire and the development of the resources of the Empire in close co-operation with the authorities of the overseas portions of the Empire/' He complained that schemes for the development of Imperial resources which had been outlined by Colonial and Dominion Governments were held up in the absence of a settled policy on the part of the Imperial Government. It was far better, he said, that the Imperial Government should refuse to accept the resolutions passed at Imperial Conferences than that, having accepted them, it should neglect to act upon them because it was politically inconvenient to do so. The President of the Board of Trade in reply said that the Amendment set out what was the whole purpose of the Economic Conference next October, and he agreed at once on behalf of the Government that this should be a Conference not devoted to pious resolutions but conducted on business lines. He pointed out that Parliament had already given wide powers to the Colonial Office, and that under the Empire Settlement Act up to 3,000,000Z. a year could be spent on any approved scheme, and he promised that at the Conference the whole question of co-operation with the Dominions for the development of their resources would be taken up.

The next few days were marked by a series of Parliamentary sensations, which nearly involved the downfall of the Government. On April 11 a discussion took place of the position of ex-Service men in the Civil Service. The attitude of the Government was unsympathetic to the claims of these men, and caused considerable dissatisfaction not only among the Opposition, but among their own followers. The sequel was startling. The debate on the ex-Service men being concluded, it was moved in the time-honoured formula "that the Speaker do now leave the Chair/' as a preliminary to the House going into Committee of Supply. The Opposition, in order to express their sense of grievance, took the unusual course of challenging a division, and on the votes being counted it was found to the general astonishment that the Government had been defeated by 145 votes to 138. The majority comprised all members of the Opposition parties present (except one National Liberal), and a few supporters of the Government.

The senior Minister present was Mr. Neville Chamberlain, and he at once moved the adjournment of the House. This was agreed to, and the Cabinet met to consider the situation. The rejection of the motion for the Speaker to leave the Chair made it impossible for the House to go into Committee of Supply, which was necessary for the introduction of the Budget; and it was a constitutional question of great nicety whether the motion, once rejected, could be brought forward again in the current Session. It was suggested that the emphasising of the word "now" in the motion when reintroduced might be held to make it different in substance, though couched in the same terms as before. A solution was eventually found on these lines, but not before Parliament had been thrown into an uproar and the Government had been subjected to further humiliation.

The events of the next day (April 12) bore a close resemblance to those which had followed the defeat of Mr. Asquith's Ministry in 1912 on an amendment to a financial resolution dealing with the Home Eule Bill. On that occasion the Unionist leaders insisted on the Government finding a way out of the difficulty which should be Parliamentary and constitutional, and, failing to obtain satisfaction, instructed their followers to shout down all members who tried to speak, with the result that the Speaker was forced to adjourn the House without question put. Similar tactics were now adopted by the Labour leaders. On the House meeting, it was found that a motion had been placed on the Order Paper by the Prime Minister that the House should go into Committee of Supply on the following day. Mr. Bamsay Macdonald urged that, before the motion was put, the Government should give a pledge on the question of the treatment of ex-Service men, its attitude on which had been the cause of its defeat on the previous day. Mr. Baldwin, however, speaking for the Government, while professing sympathy with the ex-Service men, declined to anticipate the statement which the Government intended to make when the subject was again brought up in the regular course of debate. This reply made the Labour members restive, and, on Mr. Lees Smith recalling to them the action of the Unionists in 1912 mentioned above, they began to grow disorderly. On Mr. Baldwin moving that the question be put, a storm of protest broke out. When the Speaker put the motion, the Labour members, instead of dividing, remained in their places singing the "Bed Flag." On the Speaker declaring that the Ayes had it, the House broke into an uproar. Mr. Pretyman rose to begin the debate on the agricultural situation which, in view of the farm strike in Norfolk, was awaited both in and out of the House with profound interest, but he was shouted down by the Labour Party. Eventually the Speaker adjourned the House for an hour. During this interval Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Clynes, and Mr. Henderson interviewed the Prime Minister in order to persuade him, if possible, to make an announcement in the sense they desired, but they

did not succeed. They accordingly decided that the demonstration should be renewed when the House met again, save for the singing of the "Red Flag," to which Mr. Macdonald took objection. The position was intimated to the Speaker, and he decided to adjourn the House forthwith, in order to avoid the possibility of unpleasant incidents.

The next morning a meeting of the Cabinet was held, and the Government decided to give way. When the House resumed in the afternoon, an announcement was made that the grievance of the ex-Service men in question would be considered by the Anderson Committee which was being appointed for going into the question of pay in the Civil Service, and the terms of reference of which would be amended for this purpose. This announcement satisfied the House, and business was resumed. The week, however, was not to end without yet another Parliamentary sensation. The subject before the House was the Army and Navy (Annual) Discipline Bill, which came up for its annual renewal. Usually the Bill was assented to without discussion, but on this occasion members of the Labour Party took strong objection to several of its provisions, which they characterised as savouring of savagery, and, taking advantage of the suspension of the eleven o'clock rule, they adopted obstructionist tactics and continued the debate till midday the next day. One result of this proceeding was that no time was left for the consideration of a private member's Bill dealing with cotton-growing within the Empire, the discussion of which was awaited with keen interest in Lancashire, where the cotton industry still showed no signs of reviving.

After its disorderly ebullitions in the first week of the Session, the Labour Party sobered down, and threw itself wholeheartedly into Parliamentary work, so that before the end of the Session a large programme of business was carried through. The week-end, however, brought another political sensation in the shape of a categorical report in the Sunday Press of the impending resignation of Mr. Bonar Law on account of ill-health. The report was officially denied the next day, and reassuring statements were made with regard to Mr. Law's health. It was currently believed that the report was the fruit of a political intrigue on the part of the "Die Hard" section of the Conservative Party, but even if this was the case it merely anticipated events by a few weeks.

On April 17 Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced the Budget in a speech which threw a great deal of light on the financial and economic position of the country. Reviewing the financial year which had just ended, he said that it was one which got steadily better as it proceeded. Trade, both home and foreign, improved; unemployment, though still grievous, decreased; Government securities steadily appreciated. Whereas in the first three months of the previous year withdrawals from the Post Office Savings Bank had con-

siderably exceeded deposits, this year deposits had exceeded withdrawals by more than 1,250,000?. The year was remarkable for having produced a surplus which far exceeded the wildest hopes of his predecessor. The Budget in 1922 had been balanced at, in round figures, 910,750,000/. In the actual result the revenue total had exceeded the estimate by 3,250,000, while expenditure had been only 812,500,000²., so that there was a total surplus of 101,500,000².. This surplus was not, as some people imagined, at the disposal of the Government; it had been applied as it accrued to the redemption of debt according to a provision in the Finance Act of 1920. They must remember that they had hundreds of millions of Exchequer bonds maturing every year for a sequence of years, and they must consider themselves fortunate if by a series of events unforeseen and unforeseeable the revenue of last year had done something to mitigate this year an anxiety that was and must be constant and sustained.

Although the total revenue of the previous year had closely approximated to the estimate of his predecessor, there had been great divergence in the details. There had been an excess in Income Tax and Super Tax of 50,045,000Z. and a deficit in Excess Profits Duty of 25,796,000².. The yield of Income Tax and Super Tax was the most reliable index of the gradual emergence of industry and trade out of the 1920 and 1921 depression. The surplus under this head was due largely to the collection of arrears, which, strange to say, had not prevented a more rapid collection of the current account also. The saving in expenditure arose chiefly on Exchequer issues for Supply, and its chief items were 27,000,000².. on the Fighting Services, and 55,500,000².. on Civil Votes. The causes of this large reduction were various, but one which he might mention was the continued drop in prices and in wages and bonus.

The position of the Debt, as the result of last year's financing, was that on March 31 it stood, as nearly as he could estimate it, at 7,773,000,000².. as against 7,676,000,000².. twelve months previously. This face-value increase by no means meant that there had been an increase in the burden of the Debt. It was due in the first place to the conversion of 5 per cent. War Bonds and Exchequer Bonds, and 5½ per cent. Treasury Bonds into 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan, which resulted in a nominal increase of about 135,500,000².; and in the second place, to the inclusion in the capital Debt of arrears of interest due on England's debt to the United States. Making allowance for these disturbing factors, the effective reduction had amounted to over 149,000,000².. face value.

Coming to the financial year before them, the Chancellor said that on the Supply Estimates he would only make one comment—that during the past two years there had been a drop of 247,000,000²., a sum exceeding the combined reductions recommended by the Departments in preparing the Estimates for 1922-23 and by the G-eddes Committee. He said he did

not intend to provide any special margin for Supplementary Estimates. If these were found to be necessary in some Departments, he thought it was time they reverted to the pre-war practice of providing them out of savings elsewhere, without upsetting the general Budget total. He proposed to include in the Finance Bill a clause providing a sinking fund of 40,000,000*. this year, increasing to 45,000,000*. in 1924-25 and 50,000,000*. as a maximum thereafter. He was of opinion that nothing would ease the finding of capital for industrial purposes so much as a steady and recognised policy of redeeming public debt. Apart from that, he firmly believed that unless they took proper steps to deal with the debt in time, they might find it an intolerable burden. During the next seven years they would have to reborrow a great portion of their debt, and he did not believe they could reborrow it satisfactorily unless they aided their credit by an avowed and sustained programme of debt reduction from revenue.

Coming to the actual Budget, he put the expenditure at 816,616,000*., made up of 380,470,000*. Consolidated Fund and 436,146,000*. Supply Services. On the revenue side the total was put down at 852,650,000*., of which 732,250,000*. was tax revenue, giving a surplus of 36,000,000*. After announcing that he would make more stringent the regulations dealing with Income Tax evasion, which had for a long time past been an increasingly serious problem, he said that, while he intended to press to the full the possibilities of reducing expenditure, he could not hide from himself that, apart from the extinction of the remnants of war services, savings were becoming increasingly difficult to make. He could see many directions in which it might be necessary to incur increased expenditure, but not so many in which he could be certain of reduction. It was very necessary to reduce taxation, but that would not help if they had to reimpose taxation next year. He had been greatly attracted by a proposal to tax bets. When so many necessities of life were subject to heavy taxation he did not see why betting should escape. He had not yet had time to consider the subject, and he therefore proposed to move for a Select Committee to be set up at once to consider the question in all its aspects.

The closing part of the speech contained, according to custom, the proposed changes in taxation. These were all in the downward direction, the chief of them being a reduction of the standard rate of Income Tax from 5s. to 4s. 6d. in the pound, and a rebate of excise of 1* per barrel of beer, which with 4s. contributed by the brewers, would enable beer to be sold at a penny a pint cheaper. Reductions were also announced in the corporation tax, and in postal and telephone rates, but the duties on tea and sugar were left unaltered.

The Budget had an excellent reception both in Parliament and the Press. It was recognised as an honest and able attempt to grapple with the financial problems of the country, though it

might be open to objection in detail. Criticism of Mr. Baldwin's speech was opened by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who said he was sorry that in reducing taxation the Chancellor had dealt more with property taxes than with life taxes. The working-classes were admittedly overtaxed, and their consumption was diminished on account of the large proportion of taxation that entered into their living expenses. He agreed that the best way to improve the lot of the working classes was by stimulating trade, but he believed the idea that all the money saved in Income Tax went into investments which stimulated trade was fallacious, and that as a matter of fact of the 6*d.* which it was proposed to take off the Income Tax, not more than a penny would go to stimulate trade, while *id.* or 5*d.* would be spent in unnecessary parasitical forms of luxury. The Labour Party took the view that debt reduction was the best highway to tax reduction, that the only way to stimulate trade was to increase the standard of livelihood of the people and to amplify the volume of the consumption of necessaries. The opposite view was expressed by Sir Alfred Mond, who said that the chief consideration in fixing the financial programme should be not the reduction of the debt, but the burden of taxation which the country could carry. He thought that until they had got to more normal conditions, they should not devote such large sums as were proposed for the mere reduction of debt. Mr. Asquith recalled the fact that when the last Budget had been presented he had described it as a gamble, but he had to admit now that the gamble had come off. He criticised the Chancellor for reducing the duty on beer instead of on sugar, which would have cost no more, and been far more beneficial to the country. Mr. Baldwin defended his action on the ground that owing to the state of the market for sugar, a reduction of duty at this juncture might not have produced the desired effect of cheapening the commodity for the consumer.

Meanwhile the Government had issued its new Housing Bill (on April 12). The chief provisions of this were that a subsidy not exceeding 6*l.* per house per year for twenty years should be granted on small working-class houses built before October 1, 1925, and that local authorities should have power to assist private enterprise by giving a lump sum to private builders or by providing the sums payable by individuals to a building society for furnishing them with houses, or by refunding a portion of the rates over a number of years. Although the second reading of the Bill was not to take place till April 24, the Labour Party immediately decided to hand in an amendment for its rejection on the ground that it was inadequate to deal with the present housing shortage and that it provided only for an unreasonably small type of house.

When the Bill was brought up for its second reading, the Minister of Health, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in explaining its provisions, gave some interesting details regarding housing

conditions in England. There was, he said, no question more urgent just then for the country than housing. Great masses of the people were to-day unable to find separate dwellings for themselves. The overcrowding constituted a perpetual danger to the physical and moral health of the community, and was responsible for much unrest and discontent, though its evils were for the most part borne with great patience and good humour. He found the origin of the house shortage not in the war conditions, but in the events of the historic year 1909, the year of Mr. Lloyd George's famous Budget. Previously to that year there had grown up an elaborate machinery which provided the financial resources necessary for the private builder. That machinery had been built up on the basis of confidence in the security of property as an investment. That confidence was first shaken and then shattered, not so much by the famous Budget itself as by the devastating eloquence with which Mr. Lloyd George had enlivened his campaign in favour of that measure. What they had to do therefore to-day was not merely to reinstate the small builder but to restore the financial machinery by which alone he was able to carry on his operations. Private enterprise was to-day beginning to function once more; during the last six months upwards of 12,000 houses had been completed without assistance from the State or from local authorities, and a further 16,000 were in course of erection. Most of these houses, it was true, were of a superior kind, and the problem was to get private enterprise to cover the whole field of housing, including the type of house which was desired to-day by the working class. The best way to attain this end seemed to him to be by providing a subsidy to local authorities who might use it either to give assistance to private enterprise or to provide houses themselves. The subsidy was to be 6l. per annum for houses of an approximate area of 900 sq. feet, containing a scullery, living room, parlour, and three bedrooms and a bathroom. It could be given either in a lump sum or by refunding a portion of the rates, either to private builders or to building societies. He had been told by the London County Council that 80 per cent, of the applications received by thepa were for houses of two or three rooms, because the applicants could not afford more. His desire was that these people should have separate dwellings the rent of which they could afford to pay.

On behalf of the Labour Party Mr. Wheatley moved the rejection of the Bill. The housing shortage, in his view, was due in the first instance to the operation of rings and combines in the building industry. The Bill did nothing either to increase the facilities of local authorities to obtain land for housing, or to prevent the operations of rings which controlled the manufacture of the building materials required. The houses proposed were miserably small; they would very soon be slums, and would stereotype poverty. Sir A. Mond criticised the dimensions of

the houses which it was proposed to subsidise; the type of parlour which could be got into such houses was not worth having, and he did not see why the dimensions could not be increased to 950 or 1,000 sq. feet. He was afraid that in this matter the Minister had merely bowed to popular clamour. Sir J. Simon criticised the limitation of the subsidy to a single flat rate of 6l. for twenty years; in the case of smaller local authorities it was a convenience to get the State contribution spread over sixty years. He warned the Government against the danger of lowering the standard of housing accommodation.

The Attorney-General, in winding up the debate, stated that not only had Manchester given its name to the scheme embodied in the Bill, but that the Manchester authorities had already assured the Government of their willingness and eagerness to co-operate in making the Bill a success. He promised that further consideration would be given in Committee to the question of the size of the houses. The second reading was carried on the division by 340 votes to 140.

On April 23 the Conference at Lausanne between the Allied Powers and the Turks was resumed. The British representative on this occasion was not Lord Curzon but Sir Horace Rumbold. The negotiations excited only languid interest in England, as practically all the points at issue between England and the Turks had been already settled at the previous session of the Conference.

On April 26 the Duke of York, the King's second son, was married to Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon amid scenes of great enthusiasm. The popularity of the royal house was demonstrated even more strikingly a couple of days later, when the King went to the new Stadium at Wembley, on the outskirts of London, which was thrown open for the first time for the final Cup Tie match of the Football Association. The Stadium is supposed to be the largest place of its kind in the world, being built to accommodate 120,000 people. The King received a remarkable ovation from a crowd which was estimated at not less than 200,000, huge numbers having forced their way into the ground after the turnstiles had been closed. The arrangements for keeping the crowd in hand broke down, and but for its own good humour and the tact of the police a catastrophe might have ensued. As it was, several persons suffered serious injuries, and the affair was the subject of searching questions in Parliament during the ensuing week.

On the same day Mr. Bonar Law left London in order to take a short sea-voyage. The Premier had returned to Parliament after the Easter recess suffering from a relaxed throat which prevented him from taking any effective part in debate; and the doctors now advised a sea-voyage as the most speedy method of effecting a cure. A short time previously the absence of the Premier, for however short a space, would have caused grave concern in the Conservative ranks, so little was the

confidence felt in the ability of his lieutenants; but the speeches of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Neville Chamberlain on the Budget and on the Housing Bill had created so favourable an impression that it was now felt that they could safely be left in charge.

On May 3 the Duke of Devonshire in the House of Lords and Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons read an announcement which had been made by Sir Percy Cox (High Commissioner of Iraq) in Bagdad, defining future relations between Britain and that country. It stated that since the Treaty of Alliance which had been signed on October 10, 1922, between the King of England and the King of Iraq, the Iraq Government had made great strides along the path of independent and stable existence, and had been able successfully to assume administrative responsibility. As Britain was anxious to terminate her commitments in respect of Iraq as soon as possible, it was now proposed that the Treaty, instead of running for twenty years, as originally intended, should terminate upon Iraq becoming a member of the League of Nations, and in any case not later than four years after the conclusion of peace with Turkey, and a protocol had been signed to this effect. Both Mr. Baldwin and the Duke of Devonshire expressed the thanks of the Government to Sir Percy Cox and his officers for their work in bringing about the conclusion of the Treaty; and Viscount Grey took the opportunity to express his sense of relief at the prospect that a definite term had now been fixed to an obligation on their part which in the long run might not have been popular in Mesopotamia.

On May 5 the King and Queen left London for Rome in order to spend a week's holiday in Italy. They were enthusiastically welcomed, and went through a round of State functions and sight-seeing. On May 9 they paid a visit to the Vatican, and were in private conversation with the Pope for twenty minutes. On May 12 they made a pilgrimage to the graves of English soldiers, and at the cemetery of Montecchio the King gave a touching address in which he expressed the hope that war would not henceforth be accepted as a burden recurrent and inevitable upon mankind. In England little political importance was attached to this Italian visit, but it was generally welcomed as likely to create an atmosphere favourable for the settlement of certain outstanding questions between the two countries—the chief of these related to Jubaland in Abyssinia—and also for promoting that closer co-operation in regard to Germany which the separate action of France seemed to render advisable.

Just about this time the reparations question again came into the political foreground. Contrary to the universal anticipation, the situation in the Ruhr dragged on from week to week without any appreciable change either for better or for worse, so that the critics of the Government found no occasion for raising the question again in Parliament. The Labour Party, however, was not inactive in the matter. On March 21 an official Labour

delegation had visited the Buhr district with a view to drawing up a report on the situation. Although the delegates returned after a few days, their report was not finally approved by the Labour Party and made public till April 18. It was highly critical of the Government's policy. A continuance of the present policy of inaction, it said, could not fail in the end to undermine the position of the British representatives in the occupied zone. This zone was dangerously near a powder magazine in the Euhr, and a policy of drift at such a crisis was incompatible with British dignity and British interests. In the opinion of the delegates, the actual situation could not be dealt with adequately by means of any machinery provided under the Treaty of Versailles, and a new instrument was required. Since British interests and honour were more directly involved than those of any other State except France, Belgium, and Germany, the initiative should be taken by the British Government in the form of a frank and definite statement of British policy, and no effort should be spared to keep in constant touch with both sides.

A couple of days later (April 20) Lord Buckmaster again raised the question in the House of Lords, urging the Government to withdraw the British Army of Occupation if it was no longer serving any useful purpose. Lord Curzon took the opportunity to define anew the Government's position. He declined to entertain the suggestion of withdrawing the British Army of Occupation from the Rhine, a step which, if announced, would, he said, create a feeling of dismay among their Allies. He held that the speeches of French Ministers showed conclusively that any intervention on their part up till then would have been premature, and would have done more harm than good. Their guiding consideration throughout had been that the Entente between France and Britain and their Allies should not be broken. Their policy was fundamentally based upon the Entente as the one solid and stable factor in a world of flux. That had been, and was, the underlying principle of their policy, whether in East or West. Consistently with that, the Government had observed an attitude of watchful and friendly neutrality. They had never given, and should not give the smallest encouragement to Germany to evade her liabilities. They had not receded from the proposals put forward by the Prime Minister in January, but that did not mean that these proposals were stereotyped and immutable in detail. As regards security, they were willing at any suitable time in the future to discuss plans or proposals, but this could not be carried out by the dismemberment of Germany or the setting out of a new and running sore in the heart of Europe. In regard to reparations, England had not abandoned, and would not abandon, its own claims; while in regard to the foreign debts due to themselves, they had already made an offer almost profuse in its generosity. They regarded the problem as an international problem which could only be

decided by united action, and not by isolated agreement by any two Powers or any small groups.

While in the main Lord Curzon's speech proceeded on familiar lines, some of its references to Germany seemed to strike a new note, and to indicate a willingness on the part of the Government to move from the absolute "non possumus" standpoint which it had hitherto adopted. He had said among other things that he could not help thinking that if Germany were to make a statement of her willingness and intention to pay, and to have the payments fixed by authorities properly charged with the duty, and if she were at the same time to offer specific guarantees for continued payment, an advance might be made. It was to the general interest that such an offer should be made, and in his judgment the sooner the better.

Lord Curzon's speech was interpreted in Germany as a plain hint that she could count on England's support if she made to France an offer which might by England be considered fair and reasonable. She lost no time in acting on the hint, and on May 2 her offer was in the hands of the Allied Governments. The Labour Party immediately issued a statement declaring that it believed the proposal of the German Government afforded a basis for negotiation between Germany and the Allied Governments, and calling on the British Government at once to confirm this view and to promote a conference between the parties concerned.

On May 5 France and Belgium issued their reply to the German offer without consulting England or the other Allies, though they informed them of the terms twenty-four hours previously. This action created a painful impression in England, where it was regarded as high-handed and disrespectful; and this feeling found expression in Parliament a few days later. On May 8 Lord Curzon in the House of Lords and Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons made an identical statement on the matter which was received with general approval. They said that as the German Note had been addressed not merely to the French and Belgian Governments but to the principal Allied Powers, it was the view of the Government that the best and most natural procedure would be to return a concerted reply (this statement was received with cheers) from the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, the more so as the German Note was in response to a suggestion which had been put forward publicly and officially by the Foreign Minister of the British Government, and as the problem involved was one in which all the Allied Powers, and not France and Belgium alone were concerned. The Government regretted what appeared to them to be the unnecessary precipitancy of the French step, as well as the loss of the opportunity which, in their opinion, had been presented of testifying once more by a joint communication to the solidarity of the Allied Entente. They did not, however, feel dispensed from the obligation of stating

their own views in reply to the German Note, and this they proposed to do with the least possible delay.

The Government's reply to the German Note was finally delivered to the German Ambassador in London on May 13, having, out of courtesy, been communicated twenty-four hours previously to the French Government. It was hardly so encouraging to Germany as ministerial utterances of the previous week might have led one to expect. It stated that the German proposals had come as a great disappointment, and that they had made an unfavourable impression which might have been foreseen and guarded against. Fault was found with them on two specific grounds: first, that the sum offered was far too small, and that even so its payment was made contingent on the issue of a series of international loans, the success of which in the conditions predicated must be largely speculative; secondly, that in the matter of guarantees the Allied Governments, instead of receiving concrete and substantial proposals, were confronted with vague assurances lacking in practical value. Germany therefore was advised in her own interest to reconsider and expand her proposals in such a way as to convert them into a feasible basis of further discussion, in which the British Government would at the suitable moment be ready to take part by the side of their Allies.

This reply failed to satisfy not merely the Government's critics, but its friends. So loyal a Government organ as *The Times* complained that there was no reference in the Government Note to the one practical proposal on the German side—the offer to abide by the decision of an expert International Commission—and, while welcoming the fact that the door had been kept open for further negotiations, asserted that very much more remained to be done before it could be said that the policy of Great Britain on this question (was being conducted in accordance either with its interests or its dignity). The Government's inconsistency was in truth due to a fact which gradually came more and more into light—namely, that there was a section of the Conservative Party and of the Cabinet itself which was not disposed to follow the Premier's lead, and to which he was repeatedly forced to make concessions.

On the next day (May 14) France came in for some very severe criticism in the House of Commons on account of a highly oppressive decree promulgated under French influence in the Saar Valley. Sir John Simon called attention to the action of the British representative on the League of Nations (Mr. E. Wood, the Minister of Education) in voting for the ratification of the decree complained of, which he described as a most astonishing abuse of legislative power. Mr. Wood explained that the decree was the act of a Commission of the League, which was responsible for the maintenance of public order in the Saar, and the Council of the League, of which he was a member, therefore hardly thought it wise to interfere. This

explanation by no means allayed the indignation of the House. Mr. Asquith denounced the decree in unmeasured terms, as being both an act of despotism in itself and in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. He asked why the Government representative had not received instructions to say: "So far as we are concerned, we will have no part or lot in this matter." This was by far the greatest blow yet struck against the honourable authority of the League of Nations, and he called on the Government to summon a special meeting of the League for the purpose of rescinding the decree.

Mr. Asquith was warmly supported by Lord Eobert Cecil, who had just returned from the United States where he had been lecturing on the League of Nations. He stigmatised the French action in getting this decree promulgated as worthy of Prussian militarism at its worst, and characterised the last French Note to Germany as deplorable both in tone and substance. It made it almost impossible for England to continue joint action with France and Belgium. The recent action of the French Government made so great a change in the situation that the time seemed really to have arrived when action of an international kind should be promoted, and he still thought the League of Nations offered the best hope. He suggested that the hour had arrived when they might properly say to the French Government: "You have taken your own line, we must take ours. You have made a new situation; we are forced to seek for ourselves a solution of the difficulty." Speaking for the National Liberals Mr. H. L. Fisher said it was particularly agreeable to him to discover that Lord E. Cecil was prepared to accept the course which they on those benches had pressed on the Government in an amendment to the Address. If this country was not prepared to exercise its friendly right to bring this situation before the notice of the Council of the League of Nations, then the Covenant of that body became indeed a scrap of paper. Whether their action was acceptable to the French Government or not, if they believed in the League at all, their Government ought to bring the matter of the Ruhr before the Council.

Mr. E. McNeill, replying for the Government, said that while there was not a single member of the House who would defend the decree on its merits, it did not follow that it would have been a wise thing for the British representative to have protested against it at once, till its working had been observed. As for the suggestion that a special meeting of the Council of the League of Nations should be summoned to denounce the decree, they had no guarantee that such a meeting, if summoned, would take this course. What the Government proposed to do was to ask the Council of the League to appoint representatives to hold an independent inquiry. As to the larger question of the Ruhr, he said that whatever the Government's reply might be or lead to, the bedrock of its policy remained the maintenance of the

alliance with France, apart from which they could see no prospect of peace in Europe, for, he remarked, re-echoing consciously or unconsciously the phrase of Lord Curzon, the Entente was the one stable structure in a world of flux.

While the tension between England and France was at its height—after the Government declaration on the German Note and before the issue of its actual reply—Lord Birkenhead again called attention in the House of Lords to the question of Air defence. Under pretext of inquiring for information regarding the construction of aircraft in Germany, he took occasion to refer pointedly to the Air menace from France. He admitted that if any Government was to blame for not maintaining a proper standard of Air strength for this country, it was the Government of which he himself had been a member. Those in authority could not justify themselves before the nation if they were compelled to say that there existed a power, however friendly, against whom we were in a position of inferiority so striking that a defence would be almost impossible. The maintenance of the maximum degree of friendship with the French nation was dear to the heart of every Englishman, but history had shown that enmities were not unappeasable and friendships were not unestrangleable. The disproportion in the strength of two neighbouring countries, however friendly, was so alarming that no Government could allow it to continue. On the other hand, he had reliable information that Germany had studiously complied with its obligations and limitations under the Treaty of Versailles, and that statements in a section of the Press about feverish construction of aircraft in Germany and Eussia were without foundation. The Marquess of Salisbury, in replying for the Government, deprecated the idea that there was any threat of aggression from France. At the same time the Government had come to the conclusion that a considerable increase in the Air Force would be necessary. The Air Estimates, he pointed out, provided for an increase of eighteen squadrons, and he assured the House that the whole question of Air defence was being diligently studied by the Committee which had been appointed for that purpose.

Meanwhile the Government was finding itself in serious trouble over the question of the Irish deportees who had been interned in Ireland in March and who claimed a trial in England. On May the 9th the Appeal Court issued its decision on the application of Mr. Art O'Brien, one of the deported, for a writ of habeas corpus. It reversed the judgment of the Divisional Court, which had refused the application, and thus declared illegal the action of the Government in carrying out the deportation. The Government immediately appealed to the House of Lords, but that body without hesitation declared that it had no competence in the matter. In consequence Mr. Art O'Brien was at once brought back to England, and was followed in a few days by all the other persons who had been deported with him.

This step by no means allayed the uneasiness which had been caused by the Government's original action in deporting persons without trial. Mr. O'Brien brought an action for damages against the Home Secretary, and in the House of Lords on May 16 Earl Russell moved "that there is no justification for the retention by the Executive of any powers of arrest without trial." Though the motion was eventually withdrawn, it was evident that it commanded a good deal of sympathy in the House. It was credibly reported that the Government intended to introduce an Indemnity Bill which, besides indemnifying the Home Secretary, should contain provisions regarding the future powers of the Executive. The effect of the protest in the House of Lords was seen the next day in the fact that the Bill introduced by the Government for protecting the Home Secretary from the action brought against him by Mr. O'Brien was purely an Indemnity Bill, and did not touch on the powers of the Executive, this question being submitted to an independent inquiry.

The Bill did not come up for its second reading till after the Whitsuntide holiday on May 28, when it was moved by Mr. Baldwin, who in the meanwhile had become Prime Minister. He said that its purpose was to indemnify a Minister of the Crown for having taken action *bona fide*, and acting under advice which was ultimately declared illegal in the Court of Appeal. The Home Secretary made a statement in which he said that he took the Attorney-General's advice because he thought it was right, and he assumed full responsibility for his action. He said that some weeks before the arrests were made he became aware of the existence of an organisation conducted on a quasi-military basis, which was contemplating immediate action that might have been disastrous both in Ireland and in this country, and therefore he was obliged to act and take the special powers which he believed he possessed under the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act. No sooner were these persons arrested than the Free State Government got into the ascendant in Ireland, and, as they had anticipated, the internment of these men had just enabled them to turn the tide. It was the wish of the Free State Government that they should be interned in Ireland, and it seemed to him to be their duty to support the Free State Government in every way they could. The difference between interning in England and interning in Ireland seemed to him only a technical point, and he considered that he had acted in the best interests of the country at his own personal risk. Having made his statement the Home Secretary left the House, and did not appear again during the debate.

The attack on the Government was opened by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who scouted the idea that the Home Secretary by his action had saved hundreds of lives in this country and broken rebellion in Ireland. The question, he said, was not only a legal one, but one of political common sense, fair play, and justice.

The Home Secretary, by his would-be illegal methods, and the irresponsible spirit he had displayed that afternoon, had done more damage to the nation than if any serious physical strife had broken out. It would have been perfectly simple for him to prosecute these people by the ordinary process of law. The House ought to censure him rather than give him an indemnity; in fact, they ought to censure every one concerned in the transaction. Mr. Lloyd George supported Mr. Macdonald. He was afraid that the Bill as it stood would create a dangerous precedent. The Government ought frankly to admit that they had interfered with one of the most fundamental rights and liberties of a British subject, and they should pay compensation in full. Sir John Simon also considered the assurances given as to respect for the liberty of the subject quite unsatisfactory.

The second reading of the Indemnity Bill was carried by 297 votes to 143, but in the Committee stage the Government modified it in such a way as to meet some of the principal objections of its critics. Provision was made for compensating the persons who were deported and interned, and the scope of the Bill was limited to this particular case. But the Government obstinately refused to insert the words "in good faith" in reference to the acts for which indemnity was sought, maintaining that when action was taken under the orders of a Government Department, "good faith" was statutorily assumed; and an amendment to procure the insertion of these words was defeated by 238 votes to 165. An interesting feature of the debate was that for the first time the National Liberals voted solidly with the Independent Liberals, so that for once there was a united opposition.

Owing to the concessions made by the Government in the Committee and Report stages, there was no serious opposition to the Bill when it came up for the third reading, and it was passed without a division. Mr. Bamsay Macdonald pointed the moral of the debate by remarking that it was an illustration of the fact that the British Parliament could not be worked without an opposition, and that when Coalitions came and weakened the benches on the Opposition side, it was not conducive to good legislation. The co-operation of the whole House with the Government had resulted in the production of a Bill far more satisfactory than the original draft.

The month of May was chiefly remarkable for an acute crisis in Anglo-Bussian relations, which for a time threw even the events in the Ruhr into the shade. During April considerable indignation had been aroused in England—especially in Church circles—by the judicial proceedings of the Soviet Government against certain dignitaries of the Bussian Church, and by the Soviet campaign against religion in general, commonly known as "the war on Heaven;" and feeling was still further inflamed by the insulting tone of the letters in which Russia replied to representations of the British Government on the subject. The British Foreign Office judged this a suitable occasion for

addressing to the Russian Government a memorandum couched in terms much more brusque and peremptory than are usually found in the communications addressed by one Great Power to another. The memorandum, which was handed in at Moscow on May 8, stated that it was now just over two years since His Majesty's Government had signed a Trade Agreement with the Soviet Government subject to the stipulation that both sides should refrain from hostile action or propaganda one against the other. This undertaking, it said, had been loyally and scrupulously observed by England, but had been from the start constantly and flagrantly violated by the Soviet Government. It then went on to detail the Russian breaches of the Agreement. These consisted first and foremost in using Persia, Afghanistan and the border of India as bases for anti-British propaganda. In the first two countries emissaries of the Russian Government had tried to stir up anti-British feeling, and in India they had supported the revolutionaries with funds. Outrages had been committed on British subjects and compensation refused, and British trawlers fishing near Russian waters had been illegally interfered with. British representations on the trial of Russian ecclesiastics had been treated with contumely. Such treatment was incompatible with the national dignity and with mutual respect, and consequently the Soviet Government was warned that, if it did not within ten days give satisfactory assurances with regard to the grievances mentioned in the Memorandum, England would declare the Trade Agreement at an end.

On May 10 two days after the delivery of the Memorandum, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs informed the House of Commons that another British trawler had been seized ten miles from the Murmansk coast, and that a British gunboat had been despatched to the Russian coast to protect British fishermen. The ire of Labour members was immediately aroused, and Mr. Macdonald made a grave speech, saying that if anything happened in the next day or two to make negotiations for a peaceful settlement impossible, it would be nothing short of criminal. He stated that the Labour Party had appealed to the Russian Government to do nothing which would make continued negotiations impossible. Mr. McNeill in reply said that the idea of war or conflict with Russia had never entered the Government's head. With regard to the fishing in Russian waters, their position was that three miles was the limit fixed by long and general usage, and they must insist on its observance until some fresh arrangement had been made.

The reply of the Soviet Government was received on May 14. It was conciliatory in tone, but dealt only indirectly with most of the points at issue. It asserted that certain of the documents on which the charge of anti-British propaganda in the East was based were falsified, and claimed liberty for Russia to pursue her own policy in those regions. It repeated the

offer of a previous Note to have the question of the fishing limit decided at a Conference. It denied that there was religious persecution in Russia, and offered compensation to British subjects who had been imprisoned in Bussia, provided compensation were given to Russians who had been imprisoned in the British Empire, and it proposed a general conference to settle all questions in dispute. In addition to despatching the reply, the Russian Government sent M. Krassin to London by air, and he arrived in time to be present at the debate in the House of Commons on May 15.

On that date Mr. Ramsay Macdonald expressed the disapproval of the Labour Party with the Government's step by moving a reduction in the Foreign Office Vote. He maintained that the Government should continue their relations with Bussia, and indeed make them more effective than they had hitherto been. It was time for the House and the Government to accept the facts of the Bussian situation, and to recognise the present Bussian Government, though of course it need not associate itself with everything that was done in Bussia. Grievances against Bussia had been allowed to accumulate which, if England had a proper diplomatic agent in Moscow, and Moscow had one in London, would have been cleared off as they arose. He cautioned the Government against breaking off relations with Bussia. If the present Trade Agreement were torn up, there was no doubt that a state of incipient war would be created in Eastern Europe, as all the small countries bordering on Bussia would be encouraged to pursue hostile tactics, and the whole problem of military operations in Europe would be changed for the worse.

Mr. McNeill, in replying for the Government, scouted the idea that the Government's action could involve any danger of war. The Government was not proposing to tear up the Trade Agreement, but only to see that it was observed. The Bussian Note appeared to him entirely unsatisfactory; it gave no assurances that the actions complained of would not be repeated. The Government had negotiated till it was sick of negotiating, and would now be satisfied with nothing less than complete compliance with their demands.

Mr. Macdonald was powerfully supported both by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith. Mr. Lloyd George maintained that the proper cure for propaganda was to come to an understanding with Bussia. He pointed out that up to 1904 Bussia had spent large sums on her secret service in order to carry on propaganda in the East against British interests, but this propaganda had ceased the moment a new understanding was established with Bussia. The Bussians were difficult people to negotiate with, and in this respect it made no difference whether they were Bolshevik or Imperialist. The condition of the world was very grave. It was not a world to drop matches in. He begged the Government not to add to the troubles of

to forgo part of their prejudices and their righteous wrath. He hoped that when they entered this proposed Conference they would do so with a full consciousness of what the dangers were, and would see to it that real peace was established with Russia. Mr. Asquith said he associated himself most emphatically with everything that had been said by Mr. Lloyd George. He did not wish to be the apologist of the Soviet Government; he thought their behaviour throughout had been as reprehensible as it was foolish. But he questioned the wisdom of cutting off the only cord of friendly communication which existed between this country and Russia at the present moment.

The debate unfortunately came to a premature and undignified termination. While Sir P. Lloyd-Greame, the President of the Board of Trade, was replying on behalf of the Government, the Communist member, Mr. Newbold, interjected a remark in which he levelled the epithet " bourgeois " at the acting chairman, Captain Fitzroy. He was asked by the Chairman to leave the House without being afforded an opportunity of justifying himself, and immediately some Labour members protested, and a scene ensued which lasted till after 11 o'clock, Mr. Newbold finally withdrawing after the House had divided on the question and voted against him by a large majority. Owing to continued obstruction by the Labour members, the House adjourned without voting on Mr. Macdonald's motion for a reduction of the Vote. Sir P. Lloyd-Greame issued a statement the next day in which he gave his opinion that the removal of the quasi-political status of the Trade Delegation would have little effect on the trade done between England and Russia.

The matter was not allowed to rest there. On the next day Sir E. Grigg tried to obtain from the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs a promise that the Government would not break off relations with Russia without first obtaining the consent of Parliament. Mr. McNeill refused to give any such assurance, maintaining that the Government had sufficiently consulted the House by allowing the debate on the previous day. Other members appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer as Leader of the House, but he was equally obdurate, stating that the Government must retain liberty of action, and that its action could subsequently be either approved or censured by the House. With matters in this posture the House adjourned for the Whitsuntide holiday till May 28.

The Labour unrest had continued throughout April, and it was not till the middle of May that the Labour sky became comparatively clear again. By that time the only serious dispute outstanding was in the shipbuilding trade, in which the boiler-makers had refused to accept an agreement made on March 22 by the Federation of Shipbuilding Trades Unions, and had been accordingly locked out, with the result that a great part of the shipbuilding trade was thrown into idleness. Apart from this comparative peace reigned in the Labour world, and the Minister

of Labour was then able to make the gratifying announcement in the House of Commons that the number of unemployed on the registers had diminished from nearly 2,000,000 to about 1,250,000. It was, however, pointed out by Mr. Lansbury that this figure was not an absolutely trustworthy index, because large numbers of unemployed were ceasing to register. Certainly the state of trade did not justify optimism. The export returns for the first quarter of the year showed, it is true, an increase of some 6,000,000Z. over the corresponding quarter of the previous year; but this was due purely to the fact that Germany had bought 10,000,000Z. worth of coal from England to make up for the Ruhr supplies from which she had been cut off. Apart from this quite exceptional item, exports showed a distinct falling off, and owing to the unsettled state of Europe there was no prospect of an improvement. Sir Eric Geddes in a speech delivered early in May took a gloomy view of the situation, and in this reflected the sentiments of the business community.

On May 23 M. Krassin handed to Lord Curzon a new Note from Moscow which marked a considerable advance on the previous Eussian communication, though it was still far removed from that unconditional acceptance of British terms which Lord Curzon demanded. After stating that the Eussian Government was seriously perturbed over the consequences to the general peace which might arise from a break between England and Russia, it offered at once to conclude a convention granting to English citizens the right of fishing outside the three-mile limit pending the settlement of the question in the shortest possible time at an international conference, and to pay compensation for the trawlers which had been seized. It also offered to give compensation for the execution of Mr. Davison and the arrest of Mrs. Stan Harding—two matters which had been mentioned in the British Memorandum—and to withdraw the letters on the religious trials which had given so much umbrage. But in respect of propaganda in the East it declined to admit any infringement of the Agreement on its part, and suggested a detailed discussion of the points at issue by specially delegated representatives of both Governments. Lord Curzon's reply was non-committal, and no definite step was taken by the Government in the matter until Parliament reassembled on May 28.

Meanwhile negotiations between Lord Curzon and M. Krassin had continued, and their result appeared in a Memorandum sent by the British Government to Moscow on May 29 in answer to M. Krassin's Note of the 23rd. The language of the Memorandum was less peremptory than that of the first Foreign Office Note, and no time-limit was fixed for a reply, but the threat of a rupture was still put forward prominently. The Eussian assurances with regard to the three-mile limit and some other points were accepted, but the reply with regard to

propaganda in the East was declared to be wholly unsatisfactory, and the demand was reiterated that the offending Bussian ambassadors should be withdrawn from their posts. Annexed to the Memorandum was a "no propaganda pledge*" which the Government proposed should be signed by both parties with a view to confirming the undertakings given in the Trade Agreement.

The Eussian reply to the British Memorandum was received on June 11. It amounted practically to an acceptance of the British terms. It pointed out that the draft declaration of non-interference suggested in the British Memorandum introduced radical changes into the Agreement, both by increasing the number of territories involved and by directly altering its contents. Nevertheless the Soviet Government expressed its readiness to accept this new enlarged and revised text, as a basis of mutual undertakings, provided only that the reciprocal character of the arrangement was more clearly defined, so as to exclude beyond doubt all possibility of assistance being given by Britain or her dependencies to any monarchic "White Guard" or similar body. As at the same time the Russian Government, without specifically calling attention to the matter, and as part of its diplomatic routine, took steps to remove the officials at Kabul and Teheran against whom particular complaint had been lodged, the Foreign Office considered the reply satisfactory, and agreed to add to its suggested pledge the words "and on its side undertakes, on its own behalf and on behalf of the Governments of the British Dominions, Colonies, Protectorates and mandated territories, not to assist any hostile designs against the Soviet Government or the republics associated with it which may be entertained by Eussians who have emigrated from Bussia." This closed the exchange of Notes, and Anglo-Eussian relations were left on a firmer basis than before. In appearance the result was a distinct success for Lord Curzon's diplomacy, as Eussia had given way on all the main points. But if the object of his first Note had been, as was widely believed and as its tone seemed to indicate, to provoke a rupture, it was rather the critics of the Government who had reason to congratulate themselves.

On May 14 the Finance Bill came up for its second reading. Mr. Snowden moved its rejection, chiefly on the ground that it gave relief from taxation in disproportion to the ability to pay. Sir Alfred Mond, on behalf of the National Liberal Party, also moved the rejection of the Bill, but on quite different grounds. The debate, in fact, was chiefly interesting in showing up the mutual contradictions among the Opposition. The Labour Party opposed the Bill because they wanted to introduce a levy on capital instead of continuing taxation on ordinary lines; the Independent Liberals because they wanted the pace of debt redemption quickened by means of taxation; and the National Liberals because they wanted taxation to be reduced,

The second reading was ultimately carried by a majority of over 100.

The question of party groupings was about this time brought prominently before the public at a number of important gatherings. The first of these was a large and enthusiastic meeting addressed by Mr. Lloyd George at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester on April 29. The public meeting had been preceded by a private gathering at the Manchester Reform Club at which Liberal Reunion had been advocated on the basis of a single organisation, a Free Trade policy, and no alliance either with the Conservatives or with Labour. Mr. Lloyd George in his public speech proclaimed the watchword of Liberalism to be liberty, which he said was at present threatened with three dangers—Protection, Socialism, and Fascism. He called on Liberals to clear the decks, and go forward as a united party.

"Whatever hopes of Liberal reunion may have been raised by Mr. Lloyd George's reception at Manchester were dispelled a few days later by Mr. Asquith in a speech delivered at Bournemouth (May 4). Dealing with Liberal reunion, he pointed out that however desirable in theory, it could not be carried out in practice, if National Liberals were still voting with the Government and against the Independent Liberals. Apart from this, there were grounds for suspecting that the Liberal reunion was intended by some of its advocates to pave the way for the formation of a Centre Party of men of widely differing political principles, the sole purpose of which should be to oppose Socialism. He refused himself to take any part in such a policy or to recommend his followers to do so; Liberal reunion meant to him the reunion of Liberals for Liberal purposes and policies—nothing less and nothing more. He went on to deny that there was any inherent opposition between Liberalism and Labour, pointing out that the Liberal Party had initiated numbers of social reforms on the lines now advocated by Labour, that it was in fact Liberalism which had given Labour its charter and unblocked the avenues to the powers and opportunities which it now possessed. He repeated the definition of Liberal industrial policy approved by the National Liberal Federation in 1921 as consisting in partnership in the industrial enterprise, security of livelihood for the worker, and public advantage before private profit.

That Mr. Asquith was not beside the mark in his allusion to the Centre Party was shown by a speech delivered on the same day by Mr. Winston Churchill at the Aldwych Club—his first political address since the General Election. Although Mr. Churchill held no official position, there could be little doubt that he voiced the opinions of several supporters of the National Liberal Party. He was, he said, at a loss to see what the older parties were quarrelling about. The present Government was singularly unaggressive and unprovocative. They had promised, he believed quite sincerely, not to raise any of the old flags of fierce political

controversy. Free Trade was not to be further interfered with. The attempts to restore the veto of the House of Lords and to repeal the Parliament Act had been relegated to the remote and nebulous future. The Home Rule settlement was being loyally and skilfully carried out by this Unionist and Die-Hard Administration. As for taxation, there was no great country in the world where it was raised upon a more democratic basis, nor was there any Government which to-day made more severe demands upon the owners of property than this High Tory Government. How little difference there was on crucial questions between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Bonar Law was shown by the fact that on the two most important measures now before Parliament, the Budget and the Housing Bill, the attitude of the Independent Liberals and their leaders had been more friendly than that of the National Liberals and the Independent Conservatives. The real cleavage in the national life to-day was between the opponents and the supporters of Socialism. While the former were busy quarrelling among themselves, the latter were making steady progress. He did not wish to exaggerate the consequences of a Socialist Government coming into power, but he was sure it would involve a vast and revolutionary change in their whole economic, financial, and industrial system, and a complete reversal of their foreign policy and a decisive repudiation of the course they took in the Great War. Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Manchester had contained a programme designed with the clear purpose of rallying the greatest number of persons of all classes in the country to the defence of the existing social institutions; and it had been received with derision in certain quarters. The danger was not visionary. The Government had declined greatly in public esteem during its six months of office, and might collapse in two years, perhaps in less. When the day came it might be said: "The Coalition was tried; it was unpopular. The Tories have tried; they have failed. The Liberals are still quarrelling among themselves. Now it is the turn of the Labour Party. Let them have their chance." And millions of voters would respond to this argument, so that, without any real battle or strong political contest, a Socialist Government would be installed in power in a single day.

A few weeks later (on June 13) Lord Birkenhead made a speech on similar lines in the House of Lords, in asking the Government whether they proposed to take any steps to modify by legislation the power of trade unions to make compulsory levies for political purposes. He too conjured up a Socialist bogey, and called on the parties which did not believe in the suppression of individual effort to unite to combat it. He failed, however, to receive the slightest support. Lord Peel, on behalf of the Government, expressed the conviction that the Labour Party had definitely orientated itself in the direction of constitutional action, and stated that later in the year the Government

hoped to consult with the trade union leaders, and come to some arrangement that might be fair and equitable to all parties.

The efforts of the National Liberals to secure reunion with the main body were finally repulsed—for the time being—at the annual conference of the National Liberal Federation held at Buxton on May 30. Sir Donald Maclean was elected president in succession to Mr. J. M. Robertson. In National Liberal quarters hopes had been entertained that the Conference might pave the way to Liberal reunion, for which many of them had been labouring unremittingly, but they were disappointed. The majority of the delegates showed themselves unmistakably opposed to reconciliation with Mr. Lloyd George and his followers unless it was preceded by repentance and an admission of mistakes. A resolution was moved declaring unabated confidence in Mr. Asquith and recording the conviction that either alliance with the Conservatives or the formation of a Centre Party would be disastrous to Liberalism, though at the same time expressing satisfaction at the growing desire for party union. Mr. Pringle, the mover, pointed out that the position of many National Liberals was still somewhat equivocal, and it was not certain that Mr. Lloyd George could carry all his followers with him if he decided on more formal association with the Independent Liberals. He referred somewhat sarcastically to Mr. Winston Churchill and his obsession of a "red spectre" which could only be combated by a Centre Party. Sir A. Mond, who supported the resolution on behalf of the National Liberals, received a sympathetic hearing. But when Mr. J. M. Hogge began to make some practical suggestions with regard to reunion, he was subjected to a good deal of interruption, and an amendment to include in the motion a recommendation that the leaders of the two wings should discuss the best means of promoting party unity was defeated by a four to one majority, the resolution in its original form being carried with two dissentients.

On May 18 Parliament adjourned for the Whitsuntide recess, but scarcely had Ministers left London to take advantage of the holiday when they were recalled to deal with a new emergency of the first importance. On the afternoon of Sunday, May 20, Mr. Bonar Law, acting on the advice of his doctors, sent in his resignation to the King. His sea voyage had not produced the desired result, and he found it necessary to undergo an operation on his throat; while his medical advisers pronounced his general health not good and were unable to promise improvement within a reasonable time. Thus Mr. Law's presentiment that his tenure of office would be short-lived received fulfilment. He had been Premier for two hundred and nine days. His withdrawal from politics was equally lamented by all parties, as there was no man more popular in the House of Commons.

On Whit-Monday the King was at Aldershot reviewing troops, but on the next day, May 22, he sent for Mr. Stanley

Baldwin, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and asked him to form a Ministry. Mr. Baldwin undertook the task, and within three days had formed his Ministry. He secured the loyal co-operation of all his colleagues, including the Marquis Curzon, who previously had been looked upon in many quarters as the natural successor of Mr. Law. On the score of political experience and record of public service his claims to the Premiership were far superior to those of Mr. Baldwin, and his failure to secure the office was generally put down to the fact of his being in the House of Lords, where the Labour Party, the official Opposition, was unrepresented. Mr. Baldwin had entered the Ministry a comparatively unknown man, and his rise to the highest position in less than six months was without precedent in modern British history. The only new member brought into the Cabinet was Lord Robert Cecil, who took the office of Lord Privy Seal, with a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Baldwin desired to transfer his own office of Chancellor of the Exchequer either to Sir Robert Home or Mr. McKenna, both ex-Chancellors, but neither saw his way to accept it for the time being, though Mr. McKenna promised to do so after a few months. Accordingly Mr. Baldwin decided to retain the office himself, at any rate until the Finance Bill had been piloted through Parliament. There was a certain reshuffling of posts, the principal change being that Sir William Joynson-Hicks became Financial Secretary to the Treasury with a seat in the Cabinet, being succeeded at the Post Office by Sir L. Worthington-Evans. Sir Samuel Hoare, the Air Minister, also entered the Cabinet.

Considerable disappointment was felt in many quarters—not only Conservative—that a place had not been found for Mr. Austen Chamberlain in the reconstituted Ministry. Mr. Chamberlain explained his position in a letter which he addressed to his constituents in West Birmingham on May 26. He said that when the news of Mr. Bonar Law's resignation was announced, he was just completing a cure at Vernet-les-Bains, and he came immediately to Paris in order to be at hand if any consultation with him was desired. He had, he said, been led to think that it was the desire of the new Prime Minister to heal the differences which had arisen in the Conservative Party, and to secure its complete reunion. Had his help been asked, it would have been given, but certain forces intervened with the result that no communication was made to him till after the Prime Minister had formed his Ministry. The "forces" to which Mr. Chamberlain referred were certain sections of the Conservative Party, including members of the Cabinet itself, who were not yet inclined to forgive him for his close co-operation with Mr. Lloyd George, and who threatened to make trouble for the Government if he were given a post.

On May 28 at one o'clock, a meeting of the Conservative Party was held in the Hotel Cecil to elect Mr. Baldwin formally Leader of the Party. Lord Curzon presided. A letter was read

from Lord Balfour apologising for his absence on the ground of ill-health. Motions were carried regretting the resignation of Mr. Bonar Law and pledging the meeting to give whole-hearted support to the new Premier. The scene at the meeting was to some extent repeated a few hours later in the House of Commons, when tributes were paid to the retiring Premier by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain. Every speaker laid stress upon Mr. Law's sincerity and unaffected simplicity, and his exceptional power of gaining the affection of all who came in contact with him.

The new Premier, a few days later, as the guest of the Canning and Chatham Clubs at Oxford, made a speech in which he took occasion to define his conception of the function of Conservatism in England in the circumstances of the present day. He said that the break-up of the Coalition came only just in time to save as one homogeneous entity what they knew as the Conservative Party, which otherwise might have suffered a collapse no less grave than that which had occurred to the Liberals. The result was that to-day that party was in power maintaining the whole system of democratic government in England until such time as fluid opinion in the country could crystallise and they could see more clearly what were going to be the main lines of demarcation between parties in the future. The Conservative Party was a party with great traditions, and stood to-day as a link with the past, connecting to-day with yesterday, and at the same time looking ahead into the future. In looking to the past for inspiration they could not do better than go back to Disraeli, who, in addition to his other great qualities, was a great prophet, and saw more clearly than any other statesman of his day the dangers that were inseparable from the growth of industrialism. They could not do better than follow him and amplify his views, fitting them to the times they lived in, both in imperial and domestic policy. Imperialism to the modern Conservative had nothing to do with painting the map red, as it was called, but meant the endeavour to develop the less thickly populated parts of the Empire so that the population of the whole might be more evenly spread, and an increasing trade created for the people of the British Isles, who must either have such a trade or starve. In domestic affairs the two danger spots were the decay of their agricultural position, and the unhealthy congestion of the workers in industrial districts. They would do what they could to remedy these evils, but always with due regard to the preservation of those industries on which all in this country, rich and poor, directly or indirectly, subsisted. This was the great difference between them and the Labour Party, who still pinned their faith to academic rather than practical remedies, and were prepared to legislate on lines which before they could improve the lot of the worker would destroy the work on which he lived.

CHAPTER III.

A STRENUOUS PARLIAMENTARY SESSION.

SHORTLY after Parliament reassembled at the close of the Whitsuntide recess the Government's Agricultural Credits Bill was introduced by the Minister for Agriculture, Sir R. Sanders (May 29). He said that for a great many years past the ownership of land had been less an investment than a luxury. Much had been said about settling men on the land, but a man put on the most fertile land would starve before he got any produce, unless he had capital or credit to carry him through the intervening period. All over the country land was largely held on credit, and the banks had now got 20,000,000*l.* in overdrafts lent to farmers, and there were also large sums due to tradesmen and dealers. The Government's Bill was intended to enable farmers who had bought their farms between 1917 and 1921, in the faith that the Corn Production Acts were going on, to procure mortgages, and to promote the formation of co-operative credit societies, both among small holders and agricultural labourers. On the Report stage of the Bill, on June 30, an amendment was moved to limit to 5,000,000*l.* the loans provided for in the Bill, but it was defeated, and the Bill passed its third reading unaltered.

In the first week of June the Education Estimates were presented by Mr. Wood, the Minister of Education. He stated that the total amount of the burden for education was 75,000,000*l.*, of which 43,000,000*l.* fell on the taxes in England and Wales, and 32,000,000*l.* on the rates. He paid a tribute to the action of the teachers in consenting to a 5 per cent, abatement in their remuneration, and declared that this was a helpful factor in allowing the present estimate to show a decrease of 3,250,000*l.* as compared with last year, and 9,000,000*l.* as compared with the year before. Another contributing factor to the economy had been the birth-rate, there being 231,000 fewer children in the schools. He said that the Geddes Committee had suggested the adoption of a scale which in elementary schools would raise the average number of children per teacher from about 32 to 50, and make possible a saving of over 8,000,000*l.* on salaries by the elimination of some 34,000 teachers; but the Government had no intention of adopting that suggestion.

On May 31 the text of the Government's long expected Rent Control Bill was published, and on June 6 Mr. Neville Chamberlain, as Minister of Health, introduced it to the House of Commons. He said that the subject was closely interlocked with the question of the provision of new houses. The prolonged existence of restrictions on the raising of rent had a tendency to scare off investors from property. On the other hand, the very fact that houses were not being built and that there was a serious shortage of housing accommodation made

the continuance of restrictions necessary. Thus they were in a kind of vicious circle, and the problem was how to break through the circle with the least disturbance and hardship to those concerned. The Government plan was a mean between the two extremes of keeping on control indefinitely and abolishing it at one sweep. The Bill contemplated a period of seven years during which control in some form or another would be retained. The existing Act was to be continued for two years subject to certain modifications, and it was to be followed by a longer period during which the tenant would be protected against the danger of eviction at the whim of an unconscionable landlord. The modifications referred to were intended to make relations between landlord and tenant somewhat more elastic.

The Bill was opposed by the Labour Party on the ground that it excluded immediately from the application of the Act a very large number of dwelling houses, failed to provide for a reduction in the permitted increases of rent, gave further power to the landlord to coerce the tenant, was calculated to give rise to vexatious litigation, and was not in harmony with the expressed wish of the electorate. Even among Ministerialists there was some criticism of its provisions, and though it passed its second reading without difficulty, it was considerably modified in Committee.

Meanwhile in the House of Commons the Government's Bill to exonerate those landlords who had been illegally exacting rents for some months past was meeting with severe criticism. Mr. Macdonald on the third reading, moved "that this House cannot assent to the third reading of a Bill which is a specially objectionable example of retrospective legislation, is inequitable both in its relief and its penalties, and is calculated to undermine public confidence." He said the Government was setting a most reprehensible precedent in the Bill, and members opposite would have no right to complain if hereafter the Labour Party applied the ideas of the Bill for their own ends. The opposition came mainly from Labour and Independent Liberal members, but among the severest critics of the Bill was Sir A. Mond, who said that if they were going to begin a system of relegislating instead of accepting the decisions of the Law Courts, they would produce immense insecurity in law. The Attorney-General, Sir D. Hogg, in replying for the Government, maintained that the meaning of the 1920 Act was not so clear as Mr. Macdonald thought; two of the five Law Lords had held that a notice to quit was not necessary under the Act, while a third, though agreeing that such a notice was necessary, had characterised the language of the Act as "misleading." The Bill, therefore, he held, did not infringe the canons by which Parliament should be guided in the matter of retrospective legislation.

On the India Office Vote being taken on June 14 a reduction was moved by the Labour Party to express disapproval of the Viceroy, Lord Reading's, action in using his emergency powers

to double the salt tax against the decision of the Legislative Assembly. Lord Beading's action was defended by the Under-Secretary for India, Earl Winterton, who took occasion to define the Government's policy towards that country. He said that after Mr. Montagu's retirement there were some people who thought that the reformed constitution associated with his name and that of Lord Chelmsford would be withdrawn, or at least not put into practice. There was no foundation for this idea. The process of associating Indians with the Government of their own country had been going on for years, and there was nothing incompatible with Conservative principles in this development. The far-reaching changes which had been made in the method of Government in India had caused a certain amount of discontent among members of the Civil Service who had become accustomed to the old conditions, and the Government had appointed a Royal Commission to consider how the structure of government in India could be adjusted to the new conditions, so that the Civil Service there could offer as attractive a career as formerly to applicants from this country.

Meanwhile the reparations question had again come to the front. The new Prime Minister had no sooner disposed of the question of indemnifying the Home Secretary, which he had found awaiting him, than he turned his attention to the European situation. At the meeting at which he accepted the leadership of the Conservative Party he had said: "If we allow Europe to collapse before our eyes, nothing can save this country from the continuance of appalling trade conditions or from social reactions that may be beyond the power of statesmanship to cope with;" and he tried to suit his policy to these sentiments. During his first week of office he had conversations at Downing Street with M. Philippe Millet, as a result of which he sent at the end of the week a message to France which was published in the French Press. In this message he expressed the hope of finding some early opportunity of discussing the main problems with his French colleagues, and though he recognised that to find a solution would not be easy, he refused to regard the task as impossible. This message led to no tangible result, but it paved the way for England's new departure in regard to the reparations question in the ensuing month.

On June 7 the German Government had delivered to the Allies a Note containing important modifications of its previous offer which had been so unceremoniously rejected. Opinion in England, as reflected in the Press, was almost unanimous that this Note afforded at least a reasonable basis for discussion. The Government was most anxious that a joint reply to it should be framed by all the Allies. France deferred to British opinion so far as not to send a separate reply immediately, as on the previous occasion. But she insisted that before the German offer should be even considered, the German Government should surrender or capitulate to France by calling off

passive resistance in the Ruhr; and in a statement presented at the Foreign Office on June 11, she called on the British Government to give her at least moral support in this demand. For several days the Cabinet deliberated on the situation most earnestly, and at its request members in both Houses of Parliament refrained from putting questions on the subject until it should have taken its decision. On June 14 the first fruits of its labours appeared in a "questionnaire" which it addressed to the French Government, with a view to finding out exactly what France meant by "surrender" on the part of Germany, and what was the next step she proposed to take if Germany gave her satisfaction on this point.

Any hopes cherished by the Government that its "questionnaire" would ease or clear up the situation were doomed to disappointment. The French Government countered the British move by a masterly inactivity. For some ten days it found a valid excuse for not replying in the fact that Belgium, owing to an internal crisis, was without a Ministry, and therefore could not be officially consulted. When at last M. Theunis resumed office with his old Cabinet, M. Poincare still refused to commit his reply to writing, though it was obvious that merely oral replies could not satisfy the British requirements. Numerous interviews took place between the French Ambassador in London and the Foreign Minister, but no definite result was reached. Meanwhile the economic symptoms in Germany became almost daily more alarming. Within a few weeks the mark fell from a hundred thousand to nearly a million to the pound sterling, and the consequent rise in prices created a grave ferment among the working classes. In the Ruhr district sabotage was on the increase, and indications were not wanting that if passive resistance came to an end it would be succeeded not by surrender but by a period of active resistance. Neither the Government nor the public of England could view these phenomena without the gravest anxiety, and it was generally felt that the time had come for England to act, whether with or without French co-operation. For the moment, however, the French were allowed to go their own way undisturbed.

The situation in the coal-mining industry threatened at this time to give the Government trouble. There had been recently a strong movement among the workers to terminate the national wages agreement in the industry on the ground that large numbers of miners were under it receiving only the minimum, which was not a living wage. A Conference of miners had been called to meet at Blackpool on May 30, and its decision on this important point was awaited with considerable anxiety. On the day before the Conference a deputation of Labour leaders, headed by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, waited on the Prime Minister to ask him to give facilities for a discussion in the House of Commons of a Bill dealing with wages in the mining industry, which had been introduced by Mr. Adamson at the beginning of

May. Mr. Baldwin consented on condition that the Labour Party would forgo one of its allotted Supply days. This reply was well received by the Conference, which then decided to adjourn further discussion of the subject till the Miners' Annual Conference on July 10.

On June 21 the Labour Party, as arranged, gave up one of its Supply days in order to secure a discussion of Mr. Adamson's Bill to amend the Miners' Minimum Wage Act. A couple of days previously, a deputation of Labour members accompanied by some miners' leaders had waited on the Prime Minister with a request that the Government, if it could not see its way to support the Bill, should at least agree to remove its Whips when the division was taken. It was urged that the Government had now a great opportunity of assisting the coal industry, and that if it helped to defeat the Bill the National Agreement made in the industry after the great strike of 1921 would probably be scrapped, and confusion would again ensue. The Prime Minister, however, refused to give such an undertaking, and the rejection of the Bill was therefore assured beforehand.

In moving the second reading, Mr. Adamson said that the object of the Bill was to amend the Coal Mines Minimum "Wage Act of 1912, so as to provide a minimum wage which would be in accordance with the increased cost of living to-day as compared with the cost in July, 1914, and to extend the principle to workers who were excluded from the benefit of the original Act. The reason for bringing in such a Bill was to be found in the conditions of the mining industry, which he characterised as appalling. For a considerable part of the last two years the wages of miners had been down at the minimum provided for in the agreement of 1921—20 per cent, over the 1914 wage—while during the same period the cost of living had been between 70 and 80 per cent, over that of 1914. This meant that a large section of the mining population had been living below the poverty line. Unless conditions were changed quickly, he said, they were courting a far greater disaster than had ever yet befallen either the industry or the nation. He had no doubt that the mine-owners would be able to find the money if they were forced to do so. If the industry was properly organised and the middlemen eliminated, the industry could be put on a basis that would enable it to pay a better wage than had ever been paid before, without increasing the price of coal to the consumer. Dealing with the suggestion that the miners should go back to the eight-hour day, he pointed out that with the present hours they were producing almost as much as in the old working day; for the quarter ended March, 1913, the output had been 71,682,000 tons, while for the quarter ended March, 1923, it had been 71,043,000 tons, although there had been short time in some districts owing to bad trade. He concluded by asserting that with present wages there was no hope of peace in the coal industry, and therefore no prospect of an industrial revival.

In opposing the Bill on behalf of the mine-owners, Mr. Gould, a member for Cardiff, maintained that the Act of 1912 was wisely conceived, but there had never yet been an opportunity of observing its working under normal conditions. There were only two ways of getting the increased wage proposed in the Bill. One was by a subsidy, which the House of Commons would not accept. The other was by passing it on to the consumers, which was not fair, as many of them were getting less wages even than the coal-miners. He could not see that there was any need for the Government "to interfere, as the machinery of the Agreement provided for the discussion of any difficulties which arose between owners and men. The Government view, as stated by Sir P. Lloyd-Greame and Mr. Baldwin, was that the Bill would practically do away with the Agreement of 1921. The effect of the Agreement had been an increasing output and greater efficiency in management, and its scrapping would probably result in greater unemployment in the mining industry. Sir P. Lloyd-Greame quoted from a speech of Mr. Frank Hodges, secretary of the Miners' Federation, the words: "It might be said that the districts favourably situated might secure better terms at the termination of the Agreement than now, but the majority of the districts would undoubtedly after a struggle obtain worse terms." It was pointed out by the opponents of the Bill that conditions in the mining industry were not so bad as in many others, and that they seemed to be on the eve of an improvement. On a division being taken the Bill was rejected by 230 votes to 154.

On June 22 the House of Commons passed the second reading of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Bill, which had already gone through the Lords. This Bill was to provide means for putting into effect the recommendations of a Royal Commission presided over by Mr. Asquith which had been inquiring how far the Universities could out of their own resources make provision to meet the altered circumstances of the day. While the Commission was sitting the Treasury had been able to give interim assistance to the Universities to the extent of 30,000l. a year, and the Commissioners recommended that a further 70,000l. a year should be given to each University. Mr. Asquith, in supporting the Bill, said he hoped the Report of the Commission would finally dispel the fiction that Oxford and Cambridge were places where the children of the well-to-do were offered a fossilised curriculum in more or less obsolete subjects in the intervals of boating, cricket, and other forms of recreation. The fact was that they were constantly being made more accessible to all classes of people, and if the recommendations of the Commission were carried out these Universities would become in every sense of the word national institutions even to a greater extent than at present. The minimum which ought to be provided to enable them to do their work was really 150,000l., and it was only in view of the financial exigencies of

the country that the Commission had confined their recommendation to 100,000l. He hoped that private benefactors would fill up the gap, and emulate the activity of American millionaires in this sphere.

The Annual Conference of the Labour Party opened on June 26, being held for the first time in ten years in London. The presidential address was delivered by the veteran Fabian leader, Mr. Sidney Webb. He pointed with pride to the progress made by the Labour Party since 1913, when it had only been able to contest one-tenth of the constituencies and to obtain 250,000 votes, whereas at the last election it had contested over 400 Parliamentary divisions and secured 4,250,000 votes. From the rising curve of Labour votes it might be computed that they would obtain a clear majority of votes somewhere about 1926; that was a forecast they had to make good. The party, therefore, had to realise its increasing responsibility, and to speak and work from now onward under the sense of liability, at any moment, to be charged with putting their plans and projects into operation. He denounced violence, saying that it was and must be always accursed, and he reminded his hearers that the founder of British Socialism was not Karl Marx, but Robert Owen, who preached not class war but human brotherhood. That Mr. Webb faithfully interpreted the sentiments of the mass of his party was shown soon afterwards when a renewed request of the Communist Party for affiliation was discussed. More than one speaker declared that it was impossible for a Communist to be loyal both to Moscow and to the Labour Party, and the request was defeated on a card vote by 2,880,000 votes to 366,000. On the second day of the Conference a motion was brought forward that the Party Whips should be sent to Mr. Newbold, the one Communist member of the House, but it was rejected by 2,227,000 votes to 219,000.

While the Conference was declaring its loyalty to the principle of Parliamentary government, a section of the Labour Party in the House of Commons was behaving in a way which was hardly compatible with the acceptance of that standpoint. Intense feeling had been aroused among the poorer classes in Glasgow by the issue of an order in 1922 by the Scottish Board of Health cancelling, on the ground of economy, a grant for maternity and child welfare. On the Vote for this Department being brought up on June 27, a Scottish Labour member, Mr. Sullivan, moved a reduction of 100l. In supporting him Mr. Maxton, a member for Glasgow of advanced Socialist views, characterised as "murderers" those members of Parliament who had gone into the division lobby in support of the policy of the Scottish Board of Health. On a point of order being raised, the Deputy Chairman of Committees, who was in the Chair, asked him to withdraw the expression, but he obstinately refused, and before long the House was in a tumult which recalled the wildest "Irish nights" of previous Parliaments. Other members from

Glasgow associated themselves with Mr. Maxton, and though Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who was present, expostulated earnestly with them, they paid no more respect to the authority of their party leader than to that of the Chairman of the House. Order was not finally restored till the Speaker had been called in and four members suspended by votes of the House.

At its third day's sitting the Labour Conference discussed the question of disarmament, with special reference to the Prime Minister's announcement regarding the Air Force. A resolution was passed declaring that the proposed increase in the British Air Force in competition with France was the preface to a new era of war, and calling upon the Parliamentary Labour Party to offer every resistance to the measure. A resolution was also passed calling on the Government to call an International Conference to consider proposals for immediate universal disarmament; but a further resolution brought forward by the Independent Labour Party expressing the opinion that it should be the policy of the Labour Party in Parliament to vote against all military and naval estimates was defeated by 2,924,000 votes to 808,000.

On June 26 the Prime Minister made his anxiously awaited statement on British Air Power. The Government, he said, had come to the conclusion that, in addition to meeting the essential air power requirements of the Navy, Army, Indian and Overseas commitments, British Air Power must include a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength adequately to protect the country against air attack by the strongest Air Force within striking distance. It should be organised in part on a regular and permanent military basis, and in part, on a territorial or reserve basis, but so arranged as to ensure that sufficient strength should be immediately available for purposes of defence. It was, therefore, proposed to add thirty-four squadrons to the present strength of the Royal Air Force, so as to bring the total strength up to fifty-two squadrons. The Premier's statement concluded with the remark that the Government, in conformity with its obligation as a member of the League of Nations, would gladly co-operate with other Governments in limiting the strength of air armaments on lines similar to those laid down for the Navy in the Treaty of Washington. In answer to questions the Air Minister stated that an immediate additional expenditure of 500,000*l.* would be involved, rising within the next three years to 5,500,000*l.* annually.

On June 27 the question of Palestine was again raised in the House of Lords by Lord Islington, who asked if the Government, in view of recent events in that country, were prepared to reconsider their present policy. He said—referring to the boycott of the elections by the Arabs—that since the last debate on the subject in that House on March 27 it had been made clear that the hostility of the people of Palestine to Zionist policy in that country had definitely developed in power, and unless the

Government were prepared to modify the present system they would find themselves faced with the responsibility of forcing on a native community a form of government which they greatly disliked, with all the consequences that inevitably ensued from such attempts at the present day. The Duke of Devonshire, replying for the Government, said that the British mandate for Palestine was sometimes discussed as if it was something that they could take up or lay aside at their own convenience. This was not the case. The mandate was not merely a national but an international obligation, approved by the Council of the League of Nations. No doubt it would be possible for the Government to go to the League of Nations with a view to revising the mandate. But by doing so they would lay down the whole of the mandate; it was not possible to reserve parts of it. As regards the means by which the mandate was to be carried out, obviously the Government needed to have a very wide discretion. The late Government had, he thought wisely, concluded that the most satisfactory method was to establish various degrees of self-government by successive stages, and the present Government had done their best to carry that policy into effect. He denied that there was anything in the country in the nature of Jewish domination or oppression, and he appealed to those who took an active interest in Palestine to urge upon their friends there to act in a constitutional manner.

After being vigorously discussed for three days, the Finance Bill (on June 19) emerged from the Committee stage without substantial alteration, though no fewer than thirty-four pages of amendments had been put down by the Opposition. The chief subjects of attack were the sugar tax, the entertainments tax, and the incidence of the income tax, but on all three points the Government held its ground. The only modifications of importance introduced into the Bill were for the relief of property owners. Owners of house property throughout the country had been thrown into some alarm by the announcement that the quinquennial reassessment which was due this year would be made on the inflated values ruling during the period. A number of concessions were made to them in the Finance Bill which it was estimated would cost the Treasury 1,500,000/. Another modification was contained in a clause repealing those sections of the Finance Act of 1910 which prescribed the registration of land and property values in every transfer of land and property. This was the last relic of Mr. Lloyd George's famous Budget of 1909, and its introduction into the debate reawakened some of the animus which had been rife at that period. The clause was carried by the Conservative rank and file in spite of the somewhat half-hearted dissuasion of the Government.

The opponents of the new clause refused to accept their defeat in Committee as final, and during the Report stage of the Finance Bill, on July 3, Sir Godfrey Collins moved that it should

be deleted. He was supported not only by Mr. Lloyd George, who naturally championed his own creation, but also by Mr. Asquith, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. Mr. Lloyd George, while admitting that the land taxes of his 1909 budget had been disappointing, said that the reason was that he had been forced to compromise by introducing qualifications before ever the taxes were laid before the House of Commons. Along with other supporters of the motion, he looked forward to the time when the scheme would be reintroduced in its purity. The Government, though at first it had accepted the new clause as a kind of afterthought, now insisted on its retention. Its standpoint was that as the duties themselves had been abolished in 1920 it was idle to retain the machinery for collecting them. It pointed to the support given to this view by the overwhelming majority of the legal faculty in the country. At the same time it reassured the opponents of the clause by declaring that it had no intention of abolishing the Land Valuation Department itself, which it acknowledged was doing highly useful work. It was confident that the Department could carry on the work efficiently even without the assistance of the records which they were abolishing.

About this time the Government became engaged in a somewhat serious controversy with the Government of the United States regarding the application of the liquor laws of that country. On April 30 the Supreme Court had decided that under the Volstead Act enforcing prohibition foreign vessels could not be allowed to bring alcoholic liquors, even under seal, except so much as was required for medicinal purposes, within the territorial waters of the United States. Several countries, including England, protested against this ruling, and on the matter being brought up in the House of Lords on June 28, Lord Curzon gave a full explanation of the situation. He said that the question whether the Volstead Act applied to foreign merchant vessels in U.S. territorial waters had first been heard of by the British Government in the previous October, when the Attorney-General of the United States gave a ruling that it did so apply. The British Government had made representations on the matter even then, and it addressed a further Note to the U.S. Government in May, after the Supreme Court had given its decision. In this Note it did not dispute the legality of the decision, but pointed out that it conflicted with certain important considerations of international intercourse, and might lead to retaliation on the ships of the United States when in the waters of other nations. The United States on its side undertook to modify the Prohibition Act and allow alcoholic liquors to be brought into its territorial waters and kept there under seal, provided that the British Government on its side would consent to the right of search and seizure being exercised within a limit not of three miles, as hitherto, but of twelve miles. Lord Curzon went on to say that a Committee had been appointed to consider the

proposal, and that, whatever might be the result of their labours, it was certain that under no circumstances would a twelve mile limit be accepted.

At the beginning of July a strike broke out among the dock workers which for a time assumed national dimensions, and seriously threatened the trade of the country. It arose out of an attempt on the part of employers to enforce a wage agreement. Earlier in the year the Transport Workers' Federation had made a number of agreements under which the wages of dock workers were to be regulated in accordance with the official index figure of the cost of living. At the beginning of July this figure registered a fall of ten points from the time when the wage was last fixed, and accordingly the employers reduced wages by one shilling a day. The dockers at Hull immediately came out on strike, asserting that in spite of the index there had been no real fall in the cost of living, and their example was followed in the course of a few days by large numbers of workers at Grimsby, Manchester, London, and other places, where work was practically brought to a standstill. The strike was denounced in the most emphatic terms by the officials of the Union and other Labour leaders, who called on the men to carry out loyally agreements made in their name and signed on their behalf. The men, however, for a time refused to listen, and succeeded in forming a tolerable organisation under leaders from their own ranks.

The insubordination of the men to their official leaders was viewed with disquietude in Trade Union circles, and was put down to the influence of Communist agitators. The employers steadily refused to negotiate with the unofficial leaders, and their firmness rendered the strike abortive. Nevertheless a fortnight elapsed before the men commenced to return to their allegiance to the Trade Union leaders. Even then the resumption of work was piecemeal; it commenced at Grimsby, the example of which was immediately followed at Cardiff and Bristol. When the Manchester dockers decided on July 20 to return to work on the following Monday, it was thought that the strike was over, but in Hull and London the men continued to hold aloof. At the former port work was resumed at the end of the month, but in London the strike went on for several weeks longer, against the advice not only of the Trade Union officials but of the dockers' leaders themselves. At one time there were over two hundred vessels in the docks waiting to be discharged. Fears were entertained for London's food supply, but these fortunately proved groundless, and even prices of foodstuffs were unaffected. The obstinacy of the dockers remained a puzzle to the public until it was discovered that they were receiving relief from the Poplar and Bermondsey Boards of Guardians on a scale which for many of them meant more money than they could normally earn by working, owing to the great slackness of trade. At length some ratepayers threatened to take action to prevent the

men receiving support from the rates, and almost immediately after—whether on this account or for some other reason—the men returned to work (August 20), having been idle for seven weeks.

Early in July, after a short period of quiescence, the Government again commenced to bestir itself over the reparations problem. The first hint of its intentions was given by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who, speaking at Birmingham on July 7, said in relation to the Ruhr that the time had actually come for the Government to embark on more definite steps. On the following Monday the Prime Minister announced that he hoped to be able to make a statement on the subject on the Thursday (July 12). He did not disappoint the House, and the fulness of his statement—which was made in identical terms by Lord Curzon in the House of Lords—was some compensation for the strain he had put upon its patience.

He commenced by laying down that the Allies were in agreement upon the ends to be reached, namely, payment of reparations and the recovered security of Europe; and the sole ground of possible divergence between them was as to the most effective means of reaching those ends. England was as determined as any of her Allies that Germany should make reparation for the damages done in the Great War up to the fullest extent of her capacity. But as a business nation they were conscious that if they tried to make Germany pay in excess of her capacity they would not succeed. They and their Allies would be the main sufferers, and they were firmly convinced that methods which could only result in the ruin of Germany would be fatal to England, to her Allies, and to the whole of Europe. They had made it clear from the beginning that in their opinion the occupation of the Ruhr was not calculated to produce the maximum amount of reparation payment for the Allies, and many of the consequences they had anticipated were in course of fulfilment. The Allies were receiving less reparation than they did before the occupation, and what reparation they were receiving was being exacted at the price of the growing dislocation of the German economic system, and perhaps its total collapse in the not distant future.

In these circumstances the necessity for action had been increasingly impressed upon His Majesty's Government. As a basis for such action the following propositions might be formulated: that the period of conflict should as soon as possible be terminated; that the indefinite occupation by one country of the territory of another in a time of peace was a phenomenon, rare and regrettable in itself, to which an honourable end should as soon as possible be found; that the debtor should not merely be called upon to pay his debts, but should be placed in a position where he could do so; that his capacity, where in doubt, should be tested and determined; and that united efforts should be made to accomplish these ends. Now the German Note of June 7

contained suggestions which, whether adequate or not, should, in their opinion, not be ignored. They could not agree that proposals which might be found to contain the germs of a possible settlement should be treated with indifference, but held that they should be examined and explored with a view to discovering whether there lay within them the possibility of progress. Understanding that the French and Belgian Governments were not disposed to take the initiative in suggesting a reply, they had informed those Governments, as also the Italian Government, that they were willing to assume the responsibility of preparing a draft reply themselves. Adhering, however, to the view that united action was better than separate or isolated action, they would submit the reply with the least possible delay to their Allies for their consideration and remarks, and they indulged the hope that they might be able to arrive at an agreement with them as to the terms.

As soon as the Prime Minister had finished his statement, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald inquired whether an opportunity would be given for discussing the subject before the recess, and received a reply in the affirmative. In the House of Lords, Lord Grey and Lord Birkenhead took the somewhat irregular course of making speeches forthwith on Lord Curzon's statement. Lord Grey had on the previous day in the House of Lords delivered an impressive address on the peril of a new era of militarism, and he now took the opportunity to elaborate his warning with special reference to France. He excused himself for speaking at once on the ground that, if the situation continued to develop as it was doing, it might become useless, perhaps irrelevant to say the things he desired to say. His own association and friendship with France, he said, had been so close that to him the idea of the British Government ever indulging in separate negotiations with any other Power at the expense of France was inconceivable. The aims of the two countries were the same, and it was because His Majesty's Government believed, and public opinion generally in the country believed, that the means adopted by France to secure those aims were calculated to defeat them that the two countries were not acting together. He warned France against trying to base her security on militarism. If France and England came together on the lines indicated by Lord Curzon, they would save Europe. But if they fell apart he saw nothing for the future but the growth of suspicion and distrust—groups of nations attempting to make themselves secure by armaments, and finally another war which must be more terrible and devastating than the last.

The Earl of Birkenhead spoke in a very different strain, which undoubtedly reflected more accurately the public attitude towards France. Nothing said or written in France, he said, showed that she was ready to listen to any admonitions of any kind coming from this side of the Channel unless they fitted into the scheme of unilateral action on which that country was

evidently inflexibly determined, **and from** which their own Government had with the utmost formality dissented. What attitude would the Government adopt if France said, as she certainly would, that Britain's proposed policy was inconsistent with their Ruhr policy? He was of opinion that the best prospect of maintaining the alliance with France lay in the fullest candour and frankness of speech consistent with methods of international courtesy. They should attain an understanding with France not by permitting or encouraging her to ignore the considerations which were moving their minds and influencing opinion in this country, but by complete frankness in explaining what each country expected and thought fair.

The reception accorded to the Premier's statement in the Press left no doubt that he had the bulk of the nation behind him in his proposed policy, though there was still a party which was for active co-operation with France on her own terms. On July 14 a striking letter appeared in *The Times* signed by the Bishops of Winchester, Lichfield, St. Albans, Peterborough, and Manchester, pleading for a settlement based on the Christian spirit of forgiveness and fellowship. It pointed out that any policy which aimed at or involved the subjection of one civilised country to another was tainted with precisely the evil against which for over four years they had fought, and warned France that there was no peace for the world to be reached by way of domination. It called on France to accept Christian principles as a basis of action, and urged that, should France refuse, British policy should be based on them none the less.

More than a week elapsed before the Government's draft reply to the German Note was forwarded, along with a covering Note, to the allied Governments, as foreshadowed in Mr. Baldwin's statements. M. Poincaré, as before, proceeded with studied deliberation, and once more the country was called upon to possess its soul in patience while the economic deterioration of Germany made the prospect of reparations or trade revival daily more remote. Not a voice was raised in Parliament or the country while British interests were being visibly sacrificed and British influence on the Continent fading away.

On July 10 the Miners' Annual Conference met at Folkestone. Its chief business was to discuss the termination of the national agreement. The feeling against the agreement was much less strong than it had been a few months previously, because there had been an improvement in trade in several districts, with an ensuing automatic rise in wages. The president, Mr. Herbert Smith, said the past year had been a black one, but the situation was now not so bad as at the last annual Conference, chiefly because of a small decrease in the cost of living. Still there were scores of thousands of men in many districts whose day wages were not more than 20 per cent, above the 1914 wage, while the cost of living was 69 per cent, above pre-war. Whenever they stated their claim for a living wage, they

were, he said, met with the proposal for an extension of the working day. This, however, was not to be thought of. The reduction of the miners' working hours from eight to seven per day was one of the greatest blessings ever conferred upon them, and under no circumstances would they go back upon it. He believed in giving the national agreement a further trial, but wanted to see some of the clauses modified.

The opposition to the agreement came chiefly from Lancashire where the industry was at a low ebb, and wages at a minimum without prospect of improvement. After a long debate and a day's adjournment, the Executive brought in a recommendation that the Conference should take no vote on terminating or continuing the agreement, but that the Executive should be empowered to submit to the National Board proposals for improving the agreement in certain of its clauses, particularly (1) revision of the ratios of profits and wages, (2) revision of the minimum, (3) fuller information as to "other costs." This was carried by 479,000 votes to 277,000, the minority being formed by the Lancashire, South Wales, and Scottish coal-fields.

Owing to the good progress made with public business, the Government was able on July 16 to allow the continuation of the debate on Socialism which had been opened several months previously by Mr. Philip Snowden, and for which, in view of the large number of members who wished to take part, a single day had proved wholly insufficient. The discussion again attracted a very large number both of members and visitors. The chief speaker against Socialism was Sir John Simon, who pointed out that if Socialism meant anything it meant the nationalisation of *all* means of production and distribution, and maintained that such a system would be destructive of enterprise and liberty. Mr. Lloyd George's contribution to the debate was looked forward to with great interest, as he was expected to announce a new policy, but it proved rather disappointing, being discursive and largely irrelevant; it was remarkable chiefly for a somewhat caustic reference to the Ruhr and M. Poincare. The Government view was presented by Mr. Amery, who quoted from a work of Mr. Snowden to the effect that between 1830 and 1900 nominal wages rose by 78 per cent, and prices fell by 11 per cent., the combined effect of the two being a rise in real wages of over 90 per cent. He did not underestimate the evils of the present system, nor were his party complacent or less concerned with reform than members of the Labour Party, but he held that the fact of great improvement having taken place was a justification for the belief that with good will even greater improvement could still take place.

On July 18 the discussion on the vote for the Board of Trade elicited an interesting statement from the President of that Department on trade conditions in the country and the effect on them of the Ruhr occupation. From the Labour benches a

reduction of 100l. in the vote was moved as a protest against the absence of any statement from the President of the Board which would enable a confident judgment to be formed as to the position of trade in the country. In the course of the discussion the Government was particularly criticised for its policy with regard to the British dye industry. Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame in replying said that while he had always tried to feel whatever optimism was possible in the situation, he had never failed to make it clear that a really optimistic forecast was impossible unless stable conditions throughout the world were likely to develop and be maintained. During the year 1922 there had been a certain improvement in the export trade of Great Britain, and by the beginning of this year the deficit, as compared with pre-war value, had fallen from 35 per cent, to 20 per cent. But in the last month the export returns had shown a deficit as compared with those of the preceding month, and he was greatly afraid that these returns were no measure of the amount of trade likely to be shown six months hence. He had been in touch with authorities so as to form the best possible estimate—with manufacturers, with merchants, with bankers and with others, and almost unanimously they told the same story. Orders were not coming in, and the reason was the general uncertainty caused by the failure to obtain a settlement throughout the world. The prospects throughout all the greater industries in the country were not nearly as good as they had been in December or January. In regard to the dye industry, he defended the Government's administration of the Dyestuffs Act, denying that there was any undue delay in the granting of licences. He maintained that the quality of the dyes was steadily improving, and said that without the British dye industry the textile trade of Lancashire and Yorkshire would be in a very anxious position.

Commenting on the Minister's speech, Sir Godfrey Collins pointed out that it was entirely different in tone from some which he had delivered in the early months of the year, when he had turned a deaf ear to the warnings of members regarding the handicap to British trade resulting from conditions in the Ruhr Valley. It was in effect a confession that the Minister had neglected British trade, and that there was to-day unemployment up and down the country because he had not brought the whole force of his department to bear upon the French authorities in the Ruhr in regard to the vital necessities of British trade.

The motion for the reduction of the vote was rejected by 214 votes to 145.

The debate on the Navy Estimates on July 19 gave the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Amery, an opportunity of vindicating the Government's decision to establish a naval base at Singapore. Since the decision had first been taken, it had been the subject of frequent attack in both Houses of Parliament on various grounds—that the expenditure was unnecessary, that it would

be better devoted to strengthening the Air Force, that the construction of such a base would initiate a new race in armaments, and that it was an infringement of the spirit if not the letter of the Washington Treaty. Mr. Amery dealt chiefly with the last-mentioned point. He said that the country had every reason to be proud of its part in connexion with the Washington Agreement—of what it had done before the Agreement, what it had done at Washington, and what it had done since. By the enormous reductions which they, first of all nations, made in naval armaments, they had given a lead to the world. The moment the Agreement was signed, though no action under it had to be taken till ratification, and no one else had taken action pending ratification, they had acted at once. The Agreement established a zone of non-fortification, or at any rate a limitation of fortifications, in the Pacific which should be a guarantee to each of the Powers concerned, and not least to Japan, that a policy of aggression across that zone should be impossible. The meridian of 110 degrees was chosen for one reason only—to make it clear that Singapore was not in the zone of non-action. Immediately north of this area of tranquillity lay the main islands of Japan, and the Japanese were at that moment engaged in carrying out a policy of dockyard and naval base extension which had been decided on before the Washington Agreement. The United States to the east and south of the zone were strengthening their fortifications. In no case had these operations any offensive object. The distance from Singapore to Yokohama was about the same as from Gibraltar to Boston. It was therefore absurd to suppose that they had any menacing or aggressive designs against Japan. The sole purpose of the new base was to enable the British Navy to come more rapidly to the assistance of the Dominions, if necessary, and strengthen the defences of the Empire as a whole.

A motion to reduce the Vote was defeated by 217 votes to 130.

In the House of Lords the same subject had been debated a week previously (July 11), when Lord Wimborne, in moving that the contemplated expenditure in the Naval and Air Estimates respectively was disproportionate, particularly attacked what he called the "grandiose conception" of the naval base at Singapore. The spokesman of the Government on this occasion was the Marquess of Linlithgow, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, who laid stress on the fact that public opinion in the Dominions and Colonies was favourable to the scheme. The New Zealand Government had asked its Parliament for 100,000Z. for the purpose, and the Government of the Straits Settlements had decided to make a free gift of the land required, viz., 2,250 acres for the naval base and 597 acres for the aerodrome. In answer to critics the Minister said that the battleship was still considered to be the supreme unit of naval power. Submarine defence, he pointed out, had developed since the war, and was now developing much faster than the effectiveness of the sub-

marine as an offensive weapon. He paid a tribute to the Government's naval staff, which he considered the most competent that had ever advised the Minister responsible for the British Navy. In conclusion he said it was a mistake to think that air power was alternative to naval power; it was only complementary.

On July 20 in the debate on the Eeport stage of the Bill to make further provision for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, an attempt was made to secure by Parliamentary action the admission of women to the University of Cambridge. One of the members for that University, Mr. J. M. Butler, moved that the Commissioners who had been appointed by Parliament to carry out changes in the University and Colleges statutes should take into consideration the recommendations made in favour of the admission of women. The debate did not fail to elicit protests from those who, in the words of one speaker, thought it was desirable to keep one men's university under the control of men alone; but this was obviously not the view of the great majority of the House. The ground on which the proposal was principally opposed was that it involved an infringement on the autonomy of the University. The Government left the matter to the free vote of the House, but, speaking on its behalf, the President of the Board of Education clearly indicated to which view it inclined. He pointed out that while the Commissioners were unanimous as to the desirability of admitting women to membership of the University, they were equally divided on the question of the best method of bringing this about; also, he said, there was a great difference between appointing a Commission to assist the University to reform itself, and inviting the House of Commons, which was not altogether well fitted to express opinions on university organisation, to proceed to fetter and limit its discretion. The proposal was negatived by 150 votes to 124, and the Bill was read a third time.

About this time the Parliamentary Labour Party took a somewhat unusual step which revealed the extent to which it was preoccupied with the international situation. Having been assigned July 23 in the House of Commons, it had originally intended to introduce on that date a motion for imposing a capital levy, one of the principal items on its programme. At the last moment, however, it abandoned this idea, and substituted a proposal for general disarmament, calling on the Government to summon immediately an International Conference for this purpose. An amendment was put down on behalf of the Government stating that the House viewed with alarm the danger of renewed competition in armaments among nations, and was of opinion that at the earliest possible moment the Government should use its influence both through the League of Nations and otherwise to bring about a general limitation of armaments. Mr. Eamsay Macdonald, who moved the resolution, stated that the reason why no reference was made in it to

the League of Nations was because they wanted the United States to come in to the proposed Conference. Mention of the League would certainly frighten that country away, but he believed that an invitation from the British Government to reduce armaments would be generally welcomed. On the urgent need of preventing a competition in armaments no two opinions were expressed in the debate, and one speaker outdid the other in painting the horrors of a war to which such a competition would inevitably lead. As was natural, frequent reference was made to France, and the opinion was freely expressed from the Opposition benches that while France was entitled to security, she was not adopting the right means to obtain it, and it was necessary to guarantee security to other nations also. Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Asquith took the opportunity to castigate the Government for its Singapore scheme, and on this point no answer was forthcoming. The increase in the Air Force, however, was defended by the Air Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, on the ground that the effect of air raids to-day would be ten times and perhaps a hundred times worse than it was during the late war, and in the face of such a terrible risk, however remote, no Government could afford to allow this country to continue to be almost defenceless against air attack.

The Prime Minister in summing up the debate, said that the conscience of the world was not stilled yet, but on the Government side of the House there rested a responsibility which by the nature of things could not be felt by those who sat in opposition. A great deal of what had been said that day was not new. There had been the same longing for a universal peace two hundred years ago and again a hundred years ago, but the time was not yet ripe. The difference between the motion and the amendment was really in essence a difference of time. The fact of their taking time by no means meant, as the mover alleged, that they had no desire to do anything. They believed, however, that an attempt at that moment to convene an International Conference would not only not advance matters, but would lead to an indefinite postponement of any possibility of achieving the end which they all desired. In his view the moment to approach this problem with any chance of success could not arrive till the condition of Europe with regard to reparations and the security of frontiers had been settled. The first step to be taken was, therefore, the step which they were then taking, namely, to attempt a settlement of the outstanding problems of reparation. The efforts of the League of Nations were on the point of taking concrete form in the shape of proposed treaties which would soon be submitted to the Governments of Europe for their consideration, and he could promise for this country at least that the work of the League would be examined with an earnest desire that the aims of the League should be brought into effect in Europe. He was convinced that every one on the Government side of the House would vote with a perfectly clear and

honest mind for the amendment, with the fullest intention of carrying out in the letter and spirit the principles enunciated in it.

The motion was negatived by 286 votes to 169, while the amendment was "talked out."

In the House of Lords on the same day the Earl of Midleton moved "that it is incumbent on the Government to carry out the pledges as regards land purchase and compensation given both before and subsequent to the signing of the Irish Treaty in 1921." He said that in the various Home Rule Bills it had always been an accepted principle with all parties that the protection of the loyal minority and the completion of land purchase should form part of any new Constitution. In the Treaty itself, however, there was no recognition of this fact, and it was therefore incumbent on the present Government to see that this omission should, as far as possible, be repaired. The Earl of Birkenhead defended the late Coalition Government from the charge brought against it by Lord Midleton of having mismanaged the negotiations, and the Duke of Devonshire, on behalf of the Government, said that the Government would carefully consider the Bill now before the Irish Parliament when finally passed, and would do their best for those affected by the legislation.

On July 24 the Government issued a White Paper on Kenya, a part of East Africa which had been wrested from Germany during the war. For several months the name of Kenya had been prominently before the British public, owing to the agitation among the Indian settlers there to obtain equal rights with the white settlers, and the support which it received in this country. The Government memorandum which was issued in view of the Colonial Office Vote to be taken the next day, laid particular stress on safeguarding the interests of the African natives, who constituted more than seven-eighths of the total population. It laid down the principle that the interests of the natives must take precedence over those of the immigrants, of whatever race, and stated that in the administration of Kenya the Government regarded themselves as exercising on behalf of the African population a trust which they were unable to share with others; and the same principle applied to the Uganda Protectorate and in the mandated territory of Tanganyika. As regarded the Asiatics, segregation between them and the Europeans in the townships was to be abandoned, but the highlands were to be reserved for Europeans. In his speech in the House of Commons on the Colonial Office Vote, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said that the difficulties which had arisen in Kenya required more than mere local consideration. They affected the British Commonwealth as a whole, for that Commonwealth was an association of men of every race and colour scattered in every continent based on common loyalty to the Crown and not on any theory of the hierarchy of defined rights. If there was one duty which

more than another devolved on the British Empire, it was, he said, that of preventing a clash of races.

On July 24 the debate on the Post Office Estimates afforded the new Postmaster-General, Sir L. Worthington-Evans, an opportunity to give some interesting details regarding the postal service. He said that the results of the reduction in the postal tariff had been disappointing. The increase in the number of letters carried had only been 4 per cent., instead of 10 per cent, as anticipated, and of postcards only 5 per cent, instead of 20 per cent. He could not therefore hold out any hopes of a penny postage. There had been a record increase during the year in the number of telephones used, comprising 51,000 new subscribers and 74,000 stations—a net increase of 8 per cent. He said that in future practically all the new exchanges required in the London area would be of the automatic type. In regard to wireless communication within the Empire, he stated that the Government intended to enter into a contract with the Marconi Company for transmitting wireless messages throughout the Empire, though the Government would provide one station for every two of the Company, and the whole of the services would be worked from the General Post Office by Government operators. In the debate the Government was severely criticised for having gone back on the view held since the Imperial Conference of 1911, that a State-owned wireless chain ought to be established; but the Postmaster-General in reply pointed out that as the Colonial Governments had changed their policy the British Government had no alternative but to follow suit, and if it did not own the chain, it would still by the terms of the contract be able to exercise effective control over the transmission of messages.

The continued unsettlement of the Continent of Europe made it tolerably certain that there would be an increase of unemployment in the coming winter, and the Cabinet bestirred itself betimes to cope with the situation. The question was raised by Mr. Lansbury on the third reading of the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill, on August 1, and the Minister of Labour, Sir M. Barlow, took the opportunity to indicate the Government's plans, so far as they had been settled. Last year, he said, the Government had endeavoured to deal with the problem along three main lines—relief works, stimulation of foreign trade, and the Unemployment Insurance Act. With regard to the last, of an income of 49,000,000Z. the employers had contributed 19,000,000Z., the workers 17,000,000Z., and the State only 13,000,000Z. But they were all agreed that this Act was merely a palliative. What was wanted was work, and work of a normal kind. The principal means employed so far to stimulate normal production had been the export credits scheme and the Trade Facilities Act. Under the former credits might be sanctioned up to 26,000,000Z., and the whole of that sum had at one time or another been borrowed. At the moment the

amount of credit actually in use was 14,000,000/. The Trade Facilities Act and the schemes under it had proved one of the most successful portions of the Government's programme. Guarantees were now being made use of to a total of about 26,000,000Z., and he hoped big industries would put in hand all the work they could. The Government would provide a considerable amount of employment in road-making, land drainage, and other relief work, and there was to be an acceleration of Government work in various Departments, especially the Post Office. With regard to loans, the Government had already sanctioned a total of 30,000,000Z., and schemes for practically the whole of that amount had been arranged. The Government terms would mean assistance to the extent of something like 20 to 25 per cent, of the whole cost, and should be a very real help to local authorities in launching work on tramways, electricity, gas, and so forth all over the country. Schemes were on hand as a direct result of which at least 200,000 men would be employed during the winter, while a further 100,000 would benefit indirectly.

Dr. Macnamara, who had been Minister of Labour in the previous Government, expressed his disappointment at the operation so far of the Empire Settlement Act, the total expenditure under which during the financial year 1922-23 was only 35,000Z., though the amount voted to be spent was 1,500,000Z. He also called attention to the fact that while there were now the names of 27,890 firms on the King's Roll for the employment of ex-Service men, there were at least 20,000 more firms whose names ought to be on but were not. Sir Eobert Home brought the problem of unemployment into connexion with the European situation in a somewhat novel way. He asked the House to consider the condition of two of Britain's competitors who were greatly in her debt, but making very little effort to pay. Since the Armistice, he said, Germany had been deliberately re-equipping herself at the expense of the Allies. If they wiped out Germany's reparations, she would be in a position to enter into competition in the world's markets in a far more favourable position than before the war. France also had been steadily re-equipping and reconstructing her industrial organisation. She had not only re-established her trade, but had last year a greater volume of exports and imports than before the war. He ventured therefore to say to the Government that if their competitors were to become free of burdens which they had to bear, if England had to be the only country to shoulder a war indemnity, then their unemployment would go up, even from the terrible figures of to-day, by leaps and bounds. Eeplying to some of the points made, Mr. N. Chamberlain, on behalf of the Government, said that Sir Robert Home had done a useful service to the House and the country in drawing attention to the contrast between the industrial situation in this country and in Germany and France, As for the trade depression, it was not only that

their former customers had not the cash or the credit to purchase their goods, but they had lost confidence, and it was on that account that the Government had felt it incumbent to abandon the attitude of passivity and take some forward step to hasten a settlement. With regard to Empire settlement, he said that the chief difficulty had been on the side of the Dominions, who had been unable to take in immigrants at a faster rate. The Government had the strongest desire and intention to urge the Dominions at the Imperial Conference to embark on a bold scheme.

The dissatisfaction of the Labour Party with the proposals of the Government was strongly expressed in a statement issued the next day by its Emergency Parliamentary Committee. In the judgment of the Committee the Government's new proposals were scarcely any advance on those which had proved to be miserably inadequate during the previous three winters. The Committee regretted that the Government had not seen fit to carry into effect the proposals repeatedly put forward by the Labour Party for providing remunerative employment, all the more so as many of these had been endorsed by the Industrial Group in the House of Commons. It went on to reaffirm the chief of these, viz., an immediate expenditure of at least 60,000,000/. on the reconditioning and improvement of the railway system, the creation of great electric generating stations, the taking in hand of arrears of school buildings and educational equipment, the acceleration of afforestation and land drainage and reclamation, the reorganisation of canals and waterways and the adaptation of roads, bridges, and harbours to the needs of modern traffic. All these schemes would be nationally remunerative, especially the development of all means of transport. The committee further insisted on the payment of adequate unemployment benefit, and denounced the neglect of unemployed women and young persons. To raise the money required for these schemes, which would amount to many hundreds of millions, the Government, it said, should immediately arrange for a series of loans.

Equal disappointment with the Government's proposals was expressed by the Industrial Group in the House of Commons. On August 3 its Chairman, Sir Allan Smith, addressed a letter to the Prime Minister in which he criticised the Government for starting relief works suitable only for men who had been accustomed to hard manual labour. The most effective schemes, he said, were those which gave workmen employment at their own trades and in their own localities, and the work which best met these conditions and which also could be put in hand immediately was the electrification of railways. Sir Allan also urged the Government to extend the overseas credit scheme to Eussia, feeling sure that if it did so manufacturers would take advantage of it and secure two or three millions worth of orders from Russia. In general he said that the group, while appreciating the desire of

the Government to save the situation, felt that the method it was adopting was calculated rather to increase the difficulty than to solve it, and showed a lack of foresight and imagination. It was highly important to create some feeling of security within the next four weeks, at latest by the end of September. The longer recovery was postponed the more tedious and difficult it would be. The outlook for the coming winter was a black one both for business men and workpeople; and the Government was therefore urged to make some more precise and satisfactory statement than that of the Minister of Labour on August 1.

On that day the time of the House of Commons was further taken up with two personal matters which involved public considerations of some importance. One concerned the four Scottish members who had been suspended some five weeks previously. Although they had not offered any apology for their conduct, which constituted a particularly serious breach of the rules of the House, Mr. Baldwin now moved that their suspension should be terminated. He quoted precedents to show that there was no fixed rule as to the length of suspensions, but he thought that in the present case the suspension had lasted long enough to be a sufficient punishment for the offence even without an apology. Sir P. Banbury considered that the suspended members should be required to apologise to the Speaker and to the House before being readmitted, but both Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Asquith supported the Premier, the latter pointing out that it was not right to leave the constituencies without representation; and eventually Sir F. Banbury allowed the motion to pass without challenging a division. The other matter was the publication in some newspapers in the previous week of a "puff" of the new Postmaster-General, Sir L. Worthington-Evans, which had been sent to the Press Gallery of the House of Commons, and the authorship of which had been traced to an official of the Post Office. Mr. Pringle wanted to know whether the Postmaster-General had any complicity in the matter, and the latter had to admit that he had given the information to the publicity officer of the Post Office, though in perfect innocence. On behalf of the Government Sir H. Joynson-Hicks said that there were seven departments in the Government which employed publicity agents; with the exception of two, these were purely temporary employees, and the appointments of two of these would probably be terminated in the very near future.

Towards the end of July the Special Committee, consisting of Lord Balfour, Lord Weir, and Lord Peel, which for some time had been considering the question of the co-ordination of the three fighting forces, presented its report to the Cabinet. Though the report was not immediately published, it was known to recommend the unification of the Air Forces, whether operating over land or sea, under the control of a single department. This had been from the outset the desire of the Air Ministry,

but the Board of Admiralty had always insisted that the Naval Air Arm should be under its own control. In this view it had the support of several Unionist members of Parliament, including, it was stated, the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War. The Board contended that it could not be responsible for the efficiency of the Navy if a vital arm of the Fleet, such as the Naval Air Arm undoubtedly was, should be administered and trained by another authority. It was known to feel very strongly on the subject, and there was even talk of some of its members resigning if the Committee's recommendation was adopted. Nevertheless the Government decided on this course. The Premier explained the Government's position on August 2. He said that the main reasons which had weighed with the Government in favour of a single Air Force were, first, that the Air Service differed essentially in its conditions from the other services, while all aircraft, whether above the sea or elsewhere, were, broadly speaking, governed by the same principles; secondly, that they could not afford to break up the lessons of experience in aviation, whether obtained on sea or ashore; thirdly, that in certain contingencies the shore-based Air Forces and the Air Forces of the Fleet might be called upon to act together, and this common action would be very difficult without a unity of method in both services. Considerations of economy pointed also to the same conclusion. At the same time it was recognised that the Admiralty should have such control over the fighting equipment of the Fleet as was necessary for its efficiency; and to meet this need the sub-committee had made a number of recommendations designed to effect such a liaison between the two forces as would enable the administrative difficulties to be overcome and each Service to be permeated with a knowledge of the requirements of the other.

On July 25 the second Conference at Lausanne, after sitting for over three months, at length concluded its labours by agreeing on a treaty which conceded to the Turks practically all that they claimed, and which stipulated among other things that the British troops should withdraw from Constantinople within six weeks. Public opinion in England had long been prepared for such a result, and accepted it with resignation. The matter would have been left without mention in Parliament but for a passionate outburst of Captain Wedgwood Benn in the debate on foreign affairs at the very end of the session, on August 2. The same Foreign Secretary, he exclaimed, who had dictated to the Turks the humiliating Treaty of Sevres, had now basely capitulated to them at Lausanne. British traders in Turkey had lost the juridical privileges they had enjoyed since 1583. Did the Foreign Office suppose that any settlement of the Near Eastern question could be lasting which was not assented to by Eussia? They had spent over 29,000,000*l.* to enforce their terms of peace in the Near East, yet never had their moral prestige been lower there than at present,

Mr. McNeill, replying on behalf of the Government, took comfort in the fact that, according to his information, British prestige in the Near East stood very high in comparison with that of other nations, especially among the Turks. He admitted that the Peace was not so satisfactory in some respects as they could have wished, but he maintained that nothing had been sacrificed which would have been worth gaining at the cost of a new war. Immediately after the war they had been in a position to dictate peace, but they had allowed time for the new Turkish Nationalist Party in Asia Minor to assert itself, and the consequence was that at Lausanne they had to meet the Turks as equals. In regard to the Straits, he pointed out that the Turks themselves had not supported the Russian plan, and he maintained that the regime now established was from the British point of view an entirely satisfactory one, as they had full freedom for merchant shipping and sufficient freedom for warships. He regretted that there had been a complete failure to carry out the promises they had given to the Armenians, but those promises had been made when they believed they would be able to dictate peace, and it was actually their Armenian policy which had stimulated the Nationalist movement among the Turks, and given power and influence to Mustapha Kemal.

The anxiously awaited replies of the French and Belgian Governments to the British Note were at last received on July 30. Their secret had been well kept, but what little had transpired of their tenor gave no ground for expecting that even the Belgian Government, not to say the French, had receded to any marked degree from the standpoint which it had held before receiving the British Note. Public opinion, therefore, though uninformed, was pessimistic as to the possibility of framing a joint reply to Germany's offer. It clamoured urgently for enlightenment, but the Cabinet kept it in suspense for two or three days longer while it held repeated meetings to consider the communications of its Allies. At length on August 2, the last day of the Session, Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons and Lord Curzon in the House of Lords made the eagerly expected Government statement. After briefly mentioning the German Note of June 7 and the various diplomatic steps to which it had led, the statement proceeded to reveal the contents of the draft reply and the covering Note which hitherto had been shrouded in so much mystery. The Government, it appeared, had in the reply to Germany expressed the opinion that, while nothing should be done that was inconsistent with the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, advantage would be derived from an examination by impartial experts, in co-operation with the Reparation Commission, into Germany's capacity for payment. In regard to guarantees the draft reply pointed out that their economic value must largely depend on such factors as the stabilisation of the mark and the balancing of the German Budget, and that no guarantees could be effective unless

provision were made for some form of international control of German financial administration. The reply ended by advising the German Government, if it desired a resumption of inquiry, to withdraw its support of passive resistance and to disavow acts of violence and sabotage. The covering Notes gave fuller explanations of the views held by the Government on all these points, and urged that inter-Allied discussions should be opened with as little delay as possible, whether by conference or otherwise, for the purpose of elaborating a comprehensive plan of a general and final financial settlement. In regard to the replies received from the Allies, it appeared that Italy had not so far answered in writing, but had declared herself as in general agreement with Britain. France and Belgium had, however, adopted a totally different attitude. They had not so much as mentioned the Government's draft reply to Germany, and did not appear to hold out any definite prospect either of an early alteration of the situation in the Ruhr or of the commencement of discussions about reparations. In these circumstances the Government, while shrinking, as they had done throughout, from any action that might be thought indicative of Allied disunion, yet holding that the problem before all of them could not be evaded, had decided to lay before Parliament with the least possible delay the papers which recorded their own views and endeavours, and were inviting their Allies to agree to the publication of the Notes or statements to which reference had been made, in the hope that such publication might assist in determining the real dimensions of the problem with which the Allies were confronted, and might convince the world of the imperative necessity of prompt and united action to deal with it.

Debates followed on this statement in both Houses. In the House of Lords the Earl of Birkenhead criticised the Government sharply for having made representations to France without having any clear idea of what they intended to do in case the representations failed, as they were practically bound to do. His own view was that they should leave France severely alone to reap either the success or failure of her experiment, and even withdraw their Army of Occupation from Cologne, and their representative from the Reparations Commission. The only other unofficial speaker was Viscount Grey, who said he regarded the statement of Lord Curzon as very grave and very disappointing. It looked as if it were becoming more and more difficult to reconcile the policy of this country with the policies of France and Belgium. Lord Birkenhead, as far as he could gather, had recommended that they should simply sit still, make no attempt to alter or modify French policy, and await the result. He thought they could not do that without calamity. The collapse of Germany, the collapse of trade, and the collapse of Europe also might result from that particular policy. That was what they were trying to avoid, and that was why it was essential that they should put forward an alternative policy in a way that

would make it most easy for the French Government to meet them. The situation had become so grave that the alternative policies of France and Great Britain ought to be put before the world.

Lord Curzon in replying reiterated Lord Grey's argument that it was of the highest importance to bring to bear on the Ruhr situation the united action of all the Powers. He could not admit that because the replies of France and Belgium were not encouraging, therefore the Government's policy had failed, or that all chances of its being successful in the future had disappeared. Referring to the suggestions of Lord Birkenhead, he pointed out that the Reparations Commission dealt not only with Germany, but with Austria, Hungary, and other countries, and that the presence of British Forces on the Rhine had had a most quietening and steadying effect on the situation. He thought no good purpose could be served by withdrawing either their representative on the Reparations Commission or their Army of Occupation. He confessed that he had no idea what the Government would do next week or next month; but their immediate step would be to lay on the table all the papers relating to the matter, in order that public opinion might be informed.

The debate in the House of Commons was not more successful in eliciting information as to the Government's next step. Mr. Bamsay Macdonald, it is true, professed to find in the Government statement indications of what he called a policy of reconstruction which should combine a settlement with Germany and an agreement with France. But he received no support in this view. Both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George confessed themselves unable to discover a definite policy in the Government's statement. Other members—and not members of the Opposition either—were more outspoken. Colonel Moore-Brabazon, a Unionist, sarcastically remarked that the country was in charge of an Alice still in Wonderland, and Mr. Mosley, an Independent, referring no doubt to the extraordinarily lame and impotent conclusion of the Government's statement said that, as far as policy was concerned, the mountain had laboured and even the ridiculous mouse was still-born. An objection of an opposite character was made by Colonel Gretton, one of the most prominent of the "Die-Hard" section of the Conservatives, who took the statement as evidence that the Government was drifting into a breach with France, and called for whole-hearted co-operation with that country.

The Prime Minister's reply reflected the extreme perplexity in which the Government found itself. He administered a sharp rebuke to Colonel Gretton for adopting the attitude of those who thought that when there was any difference between this country and another country it must necessarily be this country that was in the wrong. He strongly deprecated in discussions of this kind such phrases as pro-French or pro-German; if they were to be anything let them be pro-British,

He defended the attitude of passivity adopted by the Government on the ground that it showed with the utmost clearness that their desire was to maintain the old relationship with their Allies. They sacrificed something to prove that, and they also allowed time to elapse to show whether their contention or the contention of France as to the efficacy of the method adopted for attaining the end they all had in view was more correct. He then went on to give the familiar reasons for doubting the wisdom, or being certain of the unwisdom, of the Ruhr occupation as a method of securing reparations, and ended his disquisition with the statement that should at any time a crisis arise in the relations of the Allies, he should not hesitate to call Parliament together. Then as a kind of after-thought he added a passage in quite a different tone, which made a deep impression on his audience and on the public. He had, he said, always acted on the assumption that the object of their Allies was to secure reparations, as it was their own object. But it had often been stated that there were ulterior motives. He was loth to believe such a thing, but should it be so, he would say that in every British heart, irrespective of party, lay a profound sense of what they believed to be right, which was one of the most potent forces of their lives. It was the force that took them into the war and kept them there till the end. If the British people should feel, after a lapse of time, that the wounds of Europe were being kept open instead of healed, there might then easily ensue the last thing in the world that he should like to see, an estrangement of heart between them and those who took the opposite view. He hoped and believed that nothing of the kind would ever happen, but as one who was and always had been a warm friend of France, he thought it only a mark of friendship to say what he had just said.

The debate was not allowed to close without the fatal weakness in the Premier's speech being exposed. Mr. Lloyd George asked him point blank whether it was not better that he should recognise facts. The Government knew perfectly well what the French policy was. The French reply was rather brusque; it had taken no notice of the British "questionnaire;" it had not vouchsafed any answer; but on one point it was perfectly clear, and that was that the French Government meant to adhere to their policy of occupying the Ruhr until the last farthing of reparation had been paid. Did the British Government imagine that it was going, by the process of sending a few more notes, to influence M. Poincare to deviate from his declared policy which had received the overwhelming support of the French Parliament? And if not, what was the Government's policy?

On this note of querulous interrogation the momentous debate was allowed to end, and with it—save for the brief discussion of the Lausanne Treaty reported above—the Session. "Without obtaining any further satisfaction from the Prime

Minister, Parliament adjourned for the summer recess till November 13, leaving to the Executive the sole responsibility of dealing with the reparations problem abroad, and at home with the unemployment problem which with the approach of winter threatened soon to become equally harassing.

The Session had been a strenuous one, and in spite of the attention devoted to foreign affairs, progress had been made with domestic legislation. The problems of rent control and housing, which at one time nearly brought the Government to grief, had been tackled by Mr. Neville Chamberlain in such a way as to allay popular discontent, at least for the time being. A number of useful measures introduced by private members were passed, notably Mr. Entwistle's, equalising wives and husbands in regard to the grounds for divorce, and Lady Astor's, making it illegal to serve intoxicating liquors to persons under eighteen except at meal times. The prestige of the Government stood higher at the end of the Session than at any previous period. After its defeat in the early days of the Session, its Unionist supporters were much more regular in their attendance, and it had never been in danger, in spite of the discontent in the "Die-hard" section of the Conservative Party with what they considered its "pro-German" attitude. On the other hand, the two wings of the Liberal Party had not come nearer together—in fact, one "National" Liberal had crossed the floor of the House to the Unionist benches—and the Labour Party, though it had held together under the leadership of Mr. Macdonald, had shown itself to be far from homogeneous. Mr. Baldwin seemed to enjoy the confidence of his party to no less a degree than his predecessor. His capacity of statesmanship, however, was still a matter of uncertainty, and was now to be put to the severest test.

CHAPTER IV.

TOWARDS PROTECTION.

THE country had not long to wait in order to find out whether Mr. Macdonald or Mr. Lloyd George had more correctly appraised the Government's statement on the Euhr issue. The one positive proposal contained in it was to publish the whole of the correspondence on the matter between the various Cabinets, provided permission could be obtained from all concerned. No sooner was M. Poincaré in possession of this portentous threat than he took the wind out of Mr. Baldwin's sails by himself publishing the whole of the French statements and *communiqués* (August 3). This example was followed a couple of days later by the Belgian Government, and it was not until a week subsequently that the British publication appeared. For the rest

the French awaited the British reply to their Note with equanimity, confident that the British policy would remain one of non-intervention. They knew better than the British public the influence of the "Die-Hard" party in the counsels of the Cabinet.

This influence soon made itself apparent in another connexion. When Mr. Baldwin became Prime Minister, he had pressed Mr. Reginald McKenna to succeed him as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. McKenna, who for some time had retired from politics and devoted himself to banking, had consented on condition that he should be found a seat in Parliament without being involved in an election contest on party lines. The proposed inclusion of Mr. McKenna in the Government was strongly resented by the "Die-Hards" who objected to him as a former member of a Liberal Cabinet, and a strong critic of French reparation policy. Owing to their opposition the efforts of the Government to bring about a vacancy in the City of London, which would have been an admirable constituency for Mr. McKenna, broke down, and he accordingly, on August 13, addressed a letter to the Prime Minister begging to be released from his conditional promise to join the Government. Mr. Baldwin had no option but to consent, and the Cabinet remained free from any Liberal admixture. A fortnight later it was announced that Mr. Neville Chamberlain had been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, his place at the Ministry of Health being taken by Sir William Joynson-Hicks.

If in its acts the Government bowed to the wishes of the Die-Hards, in its words it made no scruple of disregarding their sentiments and susceptibilities. Its reply to the French and Belgian Notes, delivered on August 11, a fortnight after their receipt, seemed to show that it had at last made up its mind to act independently, and was on that account bitterly attacked by the *Daily Mail* while it both astonished and delighted the Opposition. It began by expressing "the most sincere disappointment" with the replies of the French and Belgian Governments to its identic Notes of July 20, and went on to comment on those replies in a manner which, though courteous, betrayed a strong feeling of chagrin. It contested vigorously the claim of France to receive a minimum from Germany of 26 milliard gold marks over and above the amount required to meet its debts to Great Britain and the United States, and of Belgium to a minimum of 5 milliards, pointing out that, under existing agreements as to reparations (which probably exceeded Germany's capacity to pay) France was entitled to 34 milliard gold marks while her debts to Great Britain and the United States amounted to about 27 milliards, so that on the balance she would be left with 7 milliards, not 26; and as for Belgium, she had already received about 1½ milliard gold marks (73,000,000Z. sterling), a sum far exceeding the receipts of any other Power, besides being entirely relieved of her war debts to the Allies,

amounting to nearly 300,000,000Z. sterling. Nor could the Government admit, in view of the heavy burdens borne by the British taxpayer, that there was any ground for modifying the Spa percentages for the benefit of France and Belgium, supposing that the total to which the percentages applied should be reduced. The Note then went on at some length to refute the French contention that there was no advantage in holding an expert inquiry into Germany's capacity to pay, and that such an inquiry would violate some principle expressed or implied in the Treaty. It further upheld the British contention that there was an advantage in getting the German Government to recognise the figure fixed for its liabilities as just and reasonable, and that there was far more likelihood of its carrying out such an engagement than one subscribed under the compulsion of an ultimatum and protested against at the moment of signature. It then went on to express in very plain terms the opinion of the Government that the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr was illegal according to the terms of the Versailles Treaty. The highest legal authorities in Great Britain, it said, had advised to this effect, and if the Government had hitherto abstained from formally contesting the legality of the occupation, it was solely in order not to embarrass their Allies, in conformity with the declaration made by Mr. Bonar Law in January. Alarm was expressed at the prospect of France occupying the Ruhr district for at least 36 years (the minimum period over which the discharge of the debt was spread under the Schedule of Payments), and perhaps in perpetuity—a situation of which the political, apart from the economic, consequences would be disastrous.

The Note concluded with a restatement in clear and definite terms of Britain's policy in regard to reparations: that Germany should be made to pay up to the maximum of her capacity, that that capacity should be determined by an impartial inquiry into the facts, that as a preliminary to such payments her finances should be restored and her currency stabilised, that the method pursued by France and Belgium to secure reparations was doomed to failure, and involved great and growing danger to the trade of the world, and not last of England, and finally that when steps had been taken to ascertain the real value of the asset represented by German reparations and to secure its realisation without further depreciation, England would be prepared to deal as generously as possible with the debts due to her by the Allies—that is, to ask for no more than would, along with reparation payments from Germany, meet the British war debt to the United States.

The last point—which was a repetition of a proposal made by Mr. Bonar Law in Paris in January—was elaborated in a special Memorandum attached to the Note. In this the British debt to the United States was taken as funded to be equal to 14*2 milliards of gold marks present value; and it was to this sum that Britain proposed to limit her total claim against Allied

debtors and Germany together. This sum, it was pointed out, as further evidence of British generosity, represented only the British debt to the United States Government, and took no account of the loans raised by Great Britain in the open American market, or the value of the American securities (estimated at 700,000,000Z. to 800,000,000Z.) used to finance the Allied cause in America before the entry of the United States into the war. Of this sum of 14*2 milliards of gold marks Great Britain was anxious to recover as large a percentage as possible from Germany, in order to be able to offer the maximum concessions feasible to her Allies; but such concessions could not be granted until such a settlement had been arrived at as would enable her to consider her share of the German payments an asset of real value. In the event of such an agreement, Great Britain would be prepared to write down the Allied debts owing to her to a sum representing the difference between the British share of the revised German obligation and 14.2 milliards of gold marks, and even to consider accepting payment in the form of new German obligations on the principles laid down by Mr. Bonar Law in January. This suggestion, however, was less attractive to her now than it was then, owing to the deterioration of Germany's financial prospects, resulting, as they held, from the unwise policy pursued by France and Belgium, which had made the security of German reparation bonds much more precarious.

Having thus stated the British plan for settling inter-Allied debts, the Memorandum went on to remind France in no equivocal terms of her obligations as a debtor. A French Government Treasury Bill given to the British Government for value received should not, it said, be a less binding obligation than a similar bill given to a private investor. The British Government had during the war gone security for the French Government with private lenders in England, and was now paying interest on the money thus borrowed. There was no suggestion when the French bills were issued that the repayment should be made dependent on recoveries from Germany. While the Government had, by continuing to renew the bills beyond the period of the contract, tacitly recognised that the time had not yet arrived for their redemption, it should be clearly recognised that such redemption remained an obligation of the French Government which could not be honourably repudiated, that in the meantime the practice of adding interest to capital could not be indefinitely continued, and that a commencement of payment of at any rate part of the interest should be made as soon as the sterling-franc rate of exchange became reasonably stable.

Having thus spoken its mind the Government once more relapsed into its normal attitude of waiting for the next French step, blandly ignoring the fact that in Germany the situation was changing, and changing for the worse, almost daily. Nor was it stimulated by any pressure from the public, which just

now was absorbed in the business of holiday making. In fact the one public utterance of any importance made at this juncture was in deprecation of undue vigour. Speaking at Birmingham to a Unionist gathering on August 18, Mr. Austen Chamberlain characterised the policy of the Government; in regard to France as illogical and inconsistent in first wishing success to the Ruhr operation and now declaring it to be illegal. The Entente, he said, was hanging by a thread, and any clumsy handling of the reparation question at this moment might snap the thread and undo the work of the past twelve or fifteen years. He urged the Government to show caution and foresight, but failed to give any indication of the way in which he thought these qualities should be exercised.

The French reply to the British Note was received on August 22. It was courteous and friendly in tone, but uncompromising in character. It defended with great warmth the legality of the French occupation of the Ruhr, on the ground that the Germans, by resorting to passive resistance, had violated the Treaty in the first instance, and had compelled the French to give to the occupation a military character contrary to their intention. It rejected the British proposal for an International Commission, on the ground that all the powers desired for such a body had already been conferred by the Treaty of Versailles on the Reparation Commission; and it reiterated the determination of France not to pay her own debts to her Allies until she had received full satisfaction from Germany. At the same time it stated that the military character of the occupation would be modified should passive resistance be abandoned, and affirmed in the most precise terms that France had no political or annexationist aims in the Ruhr, and no desire to remain there any longer than was necessary to obtain the reparations demanded.

The Belgian reply was delivered on August 26, and published a couple of days later. It followed in the main the lines of the French reply, but contained more specific financial proposals, in particular fixing her claim from Germany at five milliard gold marks (250,000,000Z.), in addition to the priority payment of 75,000,000Z. already received. It also suggested the holding of "amicable and discreet conversations" between Allied Ministers, without, however, going so far, as yet, as a "Conference properly so called."

Immediately on the delivery of the French Note at the Foreign Office, the Prime Minister had come up to London from his home in Worcestershire, in case it should be advisable to summon a Cabinet meeting. On perusing the Note, however, he judged that nothing had occurred to detain him or his colleagues in London, and he went off on his holiday to Aix-les-Bains, leaving M. Poincaré in undisputed possession of the field.

At the beginning of August friction had again arisen between Great Britain and Russia in connection with the appointment

of a successor to M. Krassin as head of the Soviet Trade Delegation in London. The Foreign Office took objection to the nominee of the Russian Government, M. Bakovsky, on the ground of certain anti-British utterances which were attributed to him. The Soviet Government refused to withdraw him, and the Foreign Office, after due inquiry into M. Bakovsky's antecedents, waived its objection, and allowed him to take up his post.

At the beginning of September England, in common with the rest of Europe, was seriously alarmed by the menace of a war between Italy and Greece in consequence of the murder of General Tellini and his associates on the Albanian frontier. Greece's appeal to the League against Italy's ultimatum was warmly applauded in England, and Italy's defiance of the League was unsparingly condemned. It was Lord Robert Cecil, the British delegate, who took the lead in asserting the League's competence to deal with the question. The British Government did not interfere directly in the matter, but it was known to be supporting both Lord Robert Cecil and its representative on the Council of Ambassadors in the action which they took. Great mortification was consequently felt in England when on September 13 the British representative, Lord Crewe, subscribed to the decision of the Council of Ambassadors which virtually conceded Italy's demands and upheld her in her defiance of the League. Faith in the League in England was severely shaken, and was restored with difficulty.

On September 3 the Trade Unions opened their Fifty-fifth Annual Congress at Plymouth. The report of the General Council showed that in two years the Trade Union movement had lost over two million members, but the membership figure was still much higher than in 1913, owing to the enormous accessions it had received in the two years after the war. The chair was occupied by Mr. J. B. Williams, a member of the Musicians' Union, who in his presidential address remarked that it was evidence of the catholicity of the movement that a Congress consisting of representatives of men who laboured with their hands should be presided over this year by the representative of an artistic profession. The most salient feature of his speech was a strong condemnation of Italy for flouting the League of Nations in her quarrel with Greece. This subject occupied the attention of the Congress during the third day's proceedings, when the principal resolution moved recorded the deep concern of the Congress in the crisis between Italy and Greece, and urged the British Government to use its mediatory influence with the Italian Government with a view to securing the cessation of acts of war, and the utilisation of the machinery of the League of Nations to prevent another international catastrophe. The resolution was moved by Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., who said that they were gravely disturbed by the events taking place in Europe. He deplored the fact that the war spirit

still prevailed to-day, and had not been lost even by the working class. The Congress, he said, protested against the methods employed by Italy. The working class was often lectured on the importance of keeping agreements; but if agreements between employers and workpeople were sacred and should be kept, what was to be said of people who put their hand to an international agreement, and directly it suited them ignored and flouted it? The Congress protested against Italy making herself sole judge in this dispute, and against this incident being made the cause of a war that might involve all Europe. Mr. Clynes, who seconded, stigmatised Signor Mussolini as a temporary dictator who apparently considered that he was not merely at the head of his country, but above the law of the world. War would last for ever unless nations agreed not to be themselves the arbiters in these conflicts, but to remit the decision of them to impartial third parties. The League of Nations was now about to be severely tested, and they would see whether those who constituted the League were sincere. Whatever the bluster and the bullying of Signor Mussolini, it rested with the League to do its duty, even to the length of carrying out a world isolation and a world boycott.

The discussion was interesting in providing a test of the hold of Communism on the working classes of England. A delegate of Communist views moved that the sentence in the resolution referring to the League of Nations should be deleted. He said that it was useless to try to boycott Italy through the League of Nations, because when the whole world boycotted Eussia the League was silent. Let them ignore the Governments and the League, and send the message to the people themselves. That these statements did not represent the views of organised Labour was clearly shown by the fact that the amendment did not receive more than a dozen votes, while the resolution was carried with only a few dissentients.

On the question of unemployment, a resolution was carried expressing deep dissatisfaction with the Government's plans for dealing with the problem, and calling upon it to formulate more adequate measures, and to promote practical schemes of public utility as an alternative to the vast expenditure on unemployed benefit and poor law relief. One of the chief resolutions of the Congress recommended that efforts should be made to organise foremen and supervisory technical staffs inside the Trade Union movement instead of in bodies promoted and jointly controlled by the employers. The object of this step was to make certain that when the day arrived for Labour to assume control of industry, it might have the requisite technical ability at its command. The question whether the men in these grades should form their own Unions or be absorbed in the existing Unions was left for further consideration.

One of the most interesting subjects considered by the Congress was the future of the official Labour organ, the *Daily*

Herald, which was in great financial difficulties. The General Council had reported that the workers did not in sufficient numbers realise the importance of a daily Labour Press, and that the idea of running a daily newspaper must be dropped until this was appreciated. The Congress, however, evinced a strong desire to continue the paper, and as a result of long private discussions arrangements were made to finance it at least till the end of the year.

The concluding Session of the Congress dealt with the French occupation of the Ruhr. Miss M. G. Bondfield, on behalf of the General Council, proposed a resolution appealing to the workers of France and Belgium to strive to change the policy of those countries and so promote peace among the nations. Miss Bondfield claimed that it was the Labour Party that had headed the British Government in the right direction, and driven it, by pressure inside and outside the House of Commons, towards the repudiation of the Ruhr policy. The motion was seconded by Mr. J. H. Thomas, who said that if the contemplated agreement between the French and German capitalists took place, the position would be that France would have acquired great industrial resources, and Germany would have wiped out her internal debt, while this country, fulfilling its obligations to America, would have to face a very serious time indeed. He hoped it would be understood that it was not because the workers of this country were anti-French or pro-German that they took the view of affairs indicated in the motion, but because the British people were suffering from the effects of the last war, and wanted to make future wars impossible. The resolution was carried unanimously.

A couple of days after the demonstration at the Trade Union Congress, the League of Nations was strongly supported by Lord Grey, at a speech delivered to a Liberal meeting at Berwick. He said that the future peace and security of the world depended on the upholding of the principle adopted by members of the League of Nations, that any dispute between them and another nation should be settled not by war, but by reference to the League or by some pacific means. If the League was not used in a crisis like that between Italy and Greece, if nations chose to go to war rather than use the League, then the League would have to be dissolved, and Europe would be face to face with the old state of things which existed before the last war. He was sure public opinion in this country was strongly against such a thing, and deplored that Italy should have begun acts of force or war without using other machinery which was available to secure full inquiry, and eventually full justice. It was sometimes said that they themselves and other nations would, before the war, have acted in the same way as Italy under similar circumstances. But that was not the point. The point was, had they learned the lessons of the last war? The test of that was whether they were prepared to follow the League of Nations policy. He

believed and hoped that, if this country were confronted by a situation similar to that in which Italy found itself at the present moment, public opinion, however provoked and indignant, would say to the Government: "You must use the League of Nations and not resort to the old method of settling matters by force."

Dissatisfaction with the Government's foreign policy was about this time strongly voiced by Mr. Lloyd George, who was the first public speaker to appraise correctly the pass to which it was bringing the country. At the annual meeting of the Welsh National Council held at Llandridnod Wells on September 7, Mr. Lloyd George was re-elected president, and he delivered a speech in which he unsparingly attacked the Government. Not only, he said, had the Government failed to redeem its promise of "tranquillity" and better conditions at home and abroad, but it had miserably failed to uphold British prestige, whether in its dealings with Turkey or with France or with Italy. While France was hammering the life out of Germany and Italy was strangling Greece, Great Britain was not allowed to interfere. That had not been the case in 1914 nor in 1922; but now that they had done the job it was "Hands off, Britain!" Their advice to Italy in regard to the League of Nations was sound, but it was badly tendered, and exposed them to a serious rebuff. The practical acceptance by the Council of Ambassadors of Signor Mussolini's plan would mean that the British Empire was being snubbed out of Europe. He ascribed the Government's failure chiefly to the paralysing effect of Die-Hardism. The present condition of the world required courage, resolution, nerve, and pertinacity. The Government could not show those qualities when the body to which they owed their existence was against such a policy. The Government satisfied their consciences with blustering despatches, and their followers by not carrying them out. In his opinion the Conservative experiment was bound to fail, and it would fail because Die-Hardism would make it impossible for statesmanship to have fair play. Turning to home affairs, Mr. Lloyd George said that Liberalism stood between the two Die-Hards who threatened to get control of the country—the Conservative Die-Hard and the Socialist die-hard; they must see to it that Liberalism was the only live thing left. But for that purpose there must be unity, and unity could only exist on a basis of equality, co-operation, and partnership, not on a morass of suspicion, distrust, and recrimination.

On the next day Mr. Lloyd George received the freedom of several boroughs in South Wales, and was everywhere received with an enthusiasm which showed that in that part of the world his popularity had not waned. Speaking at Brecon Mr. Lloyd George declared that Great Britain was not so impotent as their Continental friends seemed to imagine. Great Britain preferred peace with her neighbours; but he did not like the way in which she was treated as being of no account. If any peril came

again in any quarter, the country, he said, would soon forget its disputes, and they would be one people standing for the honour, majesty, and life of their native land.

On the same day (September 8) Sir Robert Home, the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, like Mr. McKenna, had deserted politics for banking, addressed a political gathering at Ayr in order to break a lance with M. Poincaré over the question of the French debt to England. In orthodox Conservative style, and in contrast to Mr. Lloyd George, he began by declaring the impossibility of any British citizen of this generation feeling any but the most sympathetic sentiments towards France. This, however, did not prevent him from protesting in the most emphatic terms against a statement in M. Poincaré's Note that Britain, while demanding sacrifices from her Allies, was making no sacrifice herself, but claiming all that she would in any event be entitled to demand under the London Schedule of Payments. By an array of figures he demonstrated that it was France which was in reality demanding twice as much as the balance of claims in her favour would warrant, whereas Britain was asking for less than half the sum to which she would be entitled on an account similarly struck. Though M. Poincaré protested that France would not repudiate her debt to Great Britain, his proposal—delivered in the language of an ultimatum—was tantamount to repudiation. Sir Robert Home went on to show how serious this step would be to England, owing to the depressed condition of trade. The acquisition of Alsace and Lorraine, he said, was making France a more formidable competitor to England than she had ever been before in the iron and steel trade, and her possession of those regions had so enriched her as to destroy any reason which otherwise might have been urged for Britain bearing part of the burden of her obligations. For his part, he concluded, he was of opinion that the British proposal to accept 710,000,000Z. in full payment of reparations and Allied debts was too generous, and since it had been rejected he advocated that it should now be withdrawn.

When Mr. Baldwin went for his holiday to Aix-les-Bains in France, it was fondly hoped in some quarters that while in that country he would be able to exercise some influence on French policy and bring it more into harmony with British wishes and interests. So far was he, however, from achieving this that he gave M. Poincaré the strongest encouragement to persist in his policy. He passed through Paris on his return journey to England on September 19. He was effusively welcomed by the public and Press of that city, and allowed to see nothing but the evidence of the most friendly feeling towards England. He had interviews of the most cordial character with both the President and the Premier of the French Republic. The proceedings were kept strictly private, but a *communiqué* was issued with his sanction to the public stating that the two Premiers had found that there was no divergence between them

in purpose or principle in regard to the reparations question. Whether he had yielded to M. Poincaré or M. Poincaré to him was a question on which the public was allowed to form its own opinion.

As a matter of fact there could be no reasonable doubt, in view of M. Poincaré's character and proceedings, that if the agreement mentioned was real and not fictitious, it was Mr. Baldwin who had given way and not the French Premier. This was in fact the view taken by the French Press, which in consequence became for a few days effusively friendly towards England, and even went so far as to compare Mr. Baldwin's visit to that of King Edward VII. in 1903 which had laid the foundation of the Entente. The British Press, however—with the exception of those organs which in the reparations question simply acted as the mouthpiece of French opinion—adopted an attitude of undisguised scepticism, and refused to believe that the British Government had in any way departed from the standpoint taken up in the Note of August 11, in which the differences between England and France had been brought clearly into relief. It was confidently expected in well-informed quarters that Mr. Baldwin would take an early opportunity of putting the interview in what they thought to be its true perspective.

This expectation was not realised. On landing in England Mr. Baldwin refused to say anything more to the journalists who awaited him than that he had had a very bad crossing. His first public engagement was an address to the students of the Philip Stott Social College at Northampton on September 27. His subject was non-political, but he made a passing reference to his interview with M. Poincaré, claiming for it that it had helped to restore the atmosphere of confidence which had been lost—neither more nor less. This pronouncement left his critics more mystified than ever, but they were still able to cherish the hope that he was reserving himself for the opening of the Imperial Conference on October 1, an occasion which would indeed be eminently suitable for a full exposition of British policy.

Just about this time the German Government at last consented to the "surrender" which had so long been demanded by France and advised by England. The event seemed not to make the slightest difference in the relations of the three countries. The British Government continued in its usual course of waiting for France to make overtures, and France went on clamouring for more "surrender." The torpor of the Government was scathingly criticised by Mr. Bamsay Macdonald in a speech which he made at a dinner improvised on his behalf by the Independent Labour Party on the eve of his departure to the Near East for a holiday. He began by saying that he went away reluctantly, owing to the uncertainty of the outlook, but it was imperative for him to take a brief respite from work. After pointing out that the French success in the Ruhr was

important for evil and not for good, he turned to the part played by Britain in the affair. He was not sure, he said, whether he was appalled or merely amused at the attempts of the British Government to maintain what they called the honour and influence of Britain in Europe. The country's reputation was now such that no one paid attention to it. He could not understand a man who was full of patriotism and who boasted he was not a Little Englander allowing the country to sink into a position of no account among the nations. It was necessary to insist on Mr. Baldwin's telling them where he stood. If he had surrendered, if he had changed his mind, if what he said in the House of Commons on the last day of the Session did not still embody the policy of the Government, then he should call Parliament together without delay, and report what the country's policy really was. It was urgently necessary, added Mr. Macdonald, to raise again the whole question of reparations, and consider it *de novo*. England had to take upon itself its proper responsibilities in relation to the re-creation of Europe. They had been "elbowed out/" but they must get back and declare for great moral principles in the spirit of pacifism.

Having made his speech Mr. Macdonald departed, and his suggestion that the Premier should be asked to call Parliament together was not followed up. There was in fact no indication that the Opposition parties, strongly as they criticised the Government, were any richer in constructive ideas. The outlook of the Liberal Party on the situation was expressed by Mr. Asquith in a speech delivered to a gathering of Liberals at the National Liberal Club on September 27. The occasion was the inauguration of the Liberal autumn campaign in the provinces, for which over a thousand speeches had been arranged. He opened his address with a tribute to the memory of Lord Morley, who had died a few days previously, placing him, as one who had brought literary gifts to the service of political Liberalism, in the line of Burke, Mackintosh, Macaulay, Trevelyan, and Gladstone. Turning to foreign affairs, he professed to see the one hope for the future in the League of Nations. He did not associate himself with the criticism which had been passed on the League for the way it had acted in regard to the Italo-Greek affair. But if the League was to continue to be respected and trusted, it could not afford to let the matter rest there. Two things of vital importance to the future of the world were at stake—the sanctity of an international covenant and the authority of the League of Nations; and they looked to the League in due time to assert both the one and the other. In regard to the Buhr also Mr. Asquith pinned his faith to the League. He said that the British Government, after M. Poincaré's reply to Lord Curzon's despatch, had subsided into quiescence and seemed to have hibernated. Passive resistance had succumbed, but the mischief was done. The adventure in the Buhr had been carried out at the cost no doubt of Germany, but still more at the cost of the

Allies, and had made the prospect of obtaining reparations far more remote than it had been a year previously. Liberals, he said, were in favour of an impartial assessment by an international tribunal, and for this purpose he still preferred the League of Nations, though, if so desired, he would accept the Reparations Commission, reinforced by the advice of impartial experts.

The Imperial Conference opened, as had been arranged, on October 1. At the inaugural meeting there were present, besides other representatives, the Premiers of Canada (Mr. Mackenzie King), New Zealand (Mr. Massey), South Africa (General Smuts), Newfoundland (Mr. Warren), Viscount Peel on behalf of India, and Mr. Ormsby-Gore on behalf of the Crown Colonies. The Premier of Australia, Mr. Bruce, did not arrive in England till the end of the week. In welcoming the delegates Mr. Baldwin, as had been anticipated, gave a summary of political conditions throughout the world, dealing first with the Ruhr occupation and Britain's relations with France. Those, however, who expected that he would throw fresh light on the Paris *communiqué* were disappointed. He did not refer to it directly, and what little he said about his meeting with M. Poincaré tended to confirm the opinion of those who believed that he had gone back on the Note of August 11. One thing, he said, had been clear to them in Paris, and became daily clearer, that only by the closest co-operation and complete confidence of the Allies in each other could they hope for a settlement of Europe's difficulties. For the rest, he bade the Conference wait for the more detailed statement that would be made by the Foreign Secretary later in the week. Thus his threat of independent action so strikingly announced in the Note of August 11 seemed to have vanished into thin air.

The replies of the Premiers were for the most part formal, but General Smuts expressed his views on the European situation in a tone which contrasted markedly with that of Mr. Baldwin. Ignoring the attitude of France, he laid stress on the ability of the British Empire ("our Commonwealth" as he usually called it) to save the situation, provided it would "pull its weight," which, he hinted, it was not doing as yet. He pointed out that the Washington Conference had originated from the deliberations of the last Imperial Conference, and that the present Conference could be equally fruitful in contributions to a settlement of the world's troubles. He was anxious, he said, that whatever influence there was in the Empire, "the greatest machine on earth," should be used to the full in order to assist the settlement of Europe. They had no need, he said, to speak with bated breath. For centuries England had on every critical occasion in the history of Europe spoken with the voice of authority, and the other nations had always in the end had to listen to that voice. His feeling and his desire was that, on that unique occasion, they should, without using threats or violent language, and in a spirit of complete goodwill, once more do

what had been done before, and speak with a voice that would be listened to in the affairs of the world.

General Smuts by his speech made himself the mouthpiece of that large and growing body of public opinion in England which was outraged by the Government's subservience to France and clamoured for a more active and independent policy in the reparations affair. On the other hand, Mr. Baldwin's failure to explain away the Paris *communiqué* was the subject of bitter comment in the Press, even in those organs which were favourable to the Government. The *Manchester Guardian* sarcastically inquired whether the Note of August 11 was a bluff which had been called, and *The Times* declared that the *communiqué* if it was to be taken as it stood, was not only not helpful, but was positively mischievous. The Imperial Conference seemed to give the Government an opportunity to redeem itself and bring itself more into line with public opinion. It was certainly the Conference rather than the Government which, while it sat, determined British foreign policy, which from now onward was in a very literal sense that of the Empire as a whole. It had been intended from the first that a consideration of the Empire's foreign policy in general and of the means of securing its continuity in the future should be one of the chief items of the agenda. But before coming to this question the Conference found it necessary to concentrate its attention on the particular problem presented by the European situation which the British Cabinet by its unaided efforts had so completely failed to solve.

On October 5 the Conference set to work in earnest on the consideration of problems of foreign policy and Imperial defence. At previous Conferences the deliberations on these subjects had been kept strictly private, but on this occasion a large part of Lord Curzon's opening speech—perhaps a third—was communicated to the public. The published part dealt with two matters—the Turkish Treaty and Reparations. In regard to the latter, Lord Curzon criticised France with a sharpness hardly in keeping with the "atmosphere of confidence" which was supposed to have been generated in the interview between Mr. Baldwin and M. Poincaré, but gave as little promise as Mr. Baldwin himself of the "independent action" which had been foreshadowed in the Note of August 11.

He began by stating that the sum of 6,600,000,000Z. fixed as Germany's reparation debt in 1921, a total which had since in some quarters assumed an almost sacrosanct character, was well known to be quite an impossible sum, which no sane person had ever expected that Germany would ever be able to pay in full. Having traced the steps which led up to the French occupation of the Ruhr, he said that the sentimental sympathy of England would always have been and was with her old and trusted Ally; they had not the slightest desire to take the side of Germany or to let the Germans down easily, or to deprive France of her just due. But they had to consider their own due, and looking at

the matter from a severely practical standpoint they regarded with increasing anxiety the prosecution of a policy which seemed to them to be productive of no good results and to be leading on to disaster and ruin. Continuing, Lord Curzon outlined the developments which had followed the French occupation of the Ruhr, up to Britain's "sincere but thankless intervention" in July, with the result of which he confessed that he and his colleagues had been greatly disappointed. They had made one more attempt in the Note of August 11, but the replies of the French and Belgian Governments had indicated not the faintest advance from the position previously taken up by them, so that Britain's capacity for useful intervention was manifestly exhausted. What then was the point to which they had come? They did not grudge their Allies their victory—if victory it was. On the contrary, they welcomed it, for they had long themselves advised German surrender. But were they any nearer to a settlement? One of the results that they had anticipated had already been brought about. For they saw the beginnings of that internal disruption in Germany which they had all along feared, but which they had been consistently told to regard as a bogey. And disruption was not merely an ominous political symptom, but it had a portentous economic significance, for it meant the ultimate disappearance of the debtor himself. What then, asked Lord Curzon, should be the next step? And here, after a long divergence, he once more came into line with the Prime Minister. They had, he said, been repeatedly assured by the French Government that as soon as passive resistance definitely ceased, the time for discussion between the Allies would have come. The French Government knew, therefore, that they awaited and expected the next proposals from them. The contingency of the cessation of passive resistance must have long been anticipated at the Quai d'Orsay, and the consequent measures doubtless existed in outline, if not in detail, and they would be quite ready to receive and discuss them in a friendly spirit.

Speaking on the Treaty of Lausanne, Lord Curzon claimed especial credit for the arrangement made about the freedom of the Straits. When he went to Lausanne, he said, he doubted if any one thought that they could secure more than the freedom of commercial passage. As it was, free access to the Black Sea was now guaranteed not only to merchant ships, but also to warships and aircraft, subject to a reasonable limitation of numbers. Owing to this and to other provisions the Black Sea had ceased to be a Russian preserve, and a solution had been found eminently favourable to British Imperial interests. For the rest, the Treaty was not one which bore the stamp of the Allied victory; nevertheless, from the point of view of England it was not without its satisfactory features. The final restoration of peace in the Near East, the freeing of the Straits, the liberation of the entire block of Arab countries, the enhanced

prestige of Great Britain in Turkey, together with the appeasement in all Moslem countries which was already following the reconciliation between Turkey and themselves, were results sufficient to justify their labours at Lausanne, and to silence the critics who derided their handling of the problem.

On the day after the delivery of Lord Curzon's speech, October 6, the Joint International Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party held a meeting under the Presidency of Miss Margaret Bondfield, and issued a statement summarising its view of the situation. It expressed profound regret at the decision of the British Government, in the words of Lord Curzon, "to await and expect the next proposals from the French Government." M. Poincaré, it said, and those for whom he was acting were apparently prepared to sacrifice the restoration by Germany of the devastated regions of France and the financial solvency of the French Government to the policy of breaking off the Ruhr and the Rhineland from the German State, thereby ensuring the economic servitude of the German people and the military domination of Europe by France. A British policy dependent on French initiative would give time and opportunity for the complete realisation of French plans. In the new situation, therefore, British Labour asserted that it was more than ever necessary for the British Government to formulate a clear programme with reference to Britain's continental policy. It should declare that in its view the cessation of passive resistance should receive recognition in a prompt restoration of the civil and economic life of the Ruhr Valley, and that it would never consent to any alterations of the Treaty of Versailles which did not recognise that the administration of the Ruhr and the Rhineland belonged to the German people, and was essential politically and economically to the fulfilment of any reparations agreement by the German Government. It should address an urgent appeal to the United States to take their part in securing the peace and the financial and economic restoration of the world, and in the last resort be prepared itself to convoke a conference of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles in order to deal with the new situation.

Events soon proved that the Labour manifesto was right in its forecast of M. Poincaré's policy. The French continued to stay in the Ruhr without, so far as one could see, achieving any object other than the disintegration of Germany, which they further advanced by supporting the Separatist rising which just after broke out in the Rhineland. The British Government waited in vain for any approach from M. Poincaré, and the deliberations of the Imperial Conference did not seem to make any difference in the situation.

On October 13 Lord Curzon gave an account to the Imperial Conference of the proceedings of the Ambassadors' Conference in settling the recent dispute between Italy and Greece. No report, however, was issued of his speech, and the public was

still left to put what construction it pleased on the action of the British Ambassador. It was, however, presented with a full report of the discussion on the League of Nations which followed. This was opened by Lord Eobert Cecil in a statement which gave a detailed account of the activities of the League in connexion with the Italo-Greek dispute. This, he said, was the first occasion on which an international dispute of the first order, one which might easily have led to serious wars in Europe, had come before the League. In the upshot he admitted that the authority of the League had been practically repudiated by a Great Power, but he held that, owing to subsequent declarations by that Power, the League was still formally unhurt. It was still therefore an instrument for keeping the peace incomparably more effective than anything they had had before, and he thought that the British Empire, which never had any foreign policy except to keep the peace, should do its utmost to strengthen the League and make it more and more the cornerstone of its policy. In this view he was energetically supported by General Smuts, who urged that the British Government and all the Governments represented at that Conference should use all their power to keep their hands clean and support the League, so that the world should know that behind the League was the whole weight of the British Empire. He was sure that the League was adding a new bond of cohesion to the British Empire, and would supply the young nations of the Empire with an added motive for coming forward and supporting the international action of Great Britain.

The uneasiness widely felt at the decline of British influence was reflected in a speech addressed by Sir Eobert Home to his constituents at Glasgow on October 18. Although he urged the necessity of giving whole-hearted support to the Government, yet in effect his words contained a serious warning to the Government. He quoted a remark of Mr. Asquith's that it almost seemed as if Great Britain had ceased to count among the Great Powers of the world, and said he was afraid that there was a great deal of truth in it. They could not disguise from themselves the fact that their influence in the world to-day, superficially at least, had been greatly weakened. What was going on in Europe to-day was entirely contrary to the policy of this country, and was causing vital injury to its trade and commerce. To explain this lowering of Britain's prestige and her loss of influence in the councils of the nations, Sir Kobert advanced a reason which was already in the minds of many, though few cared as yet to give expression to it. It had, he remarked, been suggested in America that the reason was because Britain now in a military sense was very much weakened. That, he said, was true. Since the Armistice Britain had faithfully accepted the position that the last war was to end war. She had reduced her Army till it was no more than a police force of the British Empire, limited her Navy, and brought

dawn her Air Force to a minimum. Other nations unfortunately had not followed their example, and to-day in Europe, instead of reason and persuasion force was still the resort of the strong Powers. The conclusion drawn by Sir Eobert was that England would have to go back and consider again the necessity of creating military establishments sufficient for her needs; they could not allow themselves to get into a position in which Britain would be regarded as negligible, and must let the world know that this was a condition which they would never accept.

Sir Eobert Home, when he spoke, did not know, and the public did not know, that as a matter of fact the Government had already taken a step which contained the possibility of important developments. The first impulse came, strangely enough, not from the Conference, which seemed unable to go beyond Lord Curzon's formula, but from America. President Coolidge, who on first assuming his new office had evinced no great interest in the fate of Europe, surprised the world by declaring on October 11, that the offer made on behalf of the United States by Secretary Hughes in the previous November, to participate in an inquiry into Germany's capacity to pay, still held good. Lord Curzon lost no time in availing himself of the offer, and negotiations were set on foot in order to exploit it to the best advantage.

The first inkling given to the public that anything of the kind was being done was in a speech delivered by General Smuts at a dinner given in his honour on October 23, at which he made the announcement that negotiations were on foot to bring about a new Conference between all the Powers interested in reparations, and that he had no reason to think that any of the Powers concerned would decline to come to such a Conference. The speech into which this important announcement was somewhat casually introduced was the most striking that had ever been delivered in England on the reparations question by a statesman holding a position of responsibility. It arrested attention by its breadth and clearness of view, by its candour and outspokenness, and by its high moral tone. It was in effect a plea for the overhauling of the Treaty of Versailles. As one of the signatories of that Treaty, General Smuts confessed that the responsibility for the settlement contained in it weighed heavily on his conscience, in spite of the fact that he signed it only under protest and with a foreboding of future calamities. He declared that the situation which had arisen in Europe, partly under the Peace Treaty, partly apart from the Peace Treaty, and partly in defiance and breach of the Peace Treaty, was such as had never been contemplated or intended by anyone at the Conference. They were now more than four years from the Peace of Versailles, but there had been no peace yet. Four or five years ago they were singing their songs of victory; to-day they were all—victor and vanquished alike—marching to certain and inevitable defeat. They had drifted into a position which rendered necessary a

radical reconsideration, and, where necessary, revision of existing arrangements. The time had come for the convocation of a great Conference of the Powers who were mainly interested in the Reparation question. The situation was too difficult and threatening to be dealt with by any subordinate authority—even the League of Nations. With the assistance of America—which he was convinced would be forthcoming—he believed that such a Conference could even now devise means for setting Germany on her feet and enabling her to pay in reparations a sum which would be both reasonable in itself and beneficial to the recipients. But it was an indispensable condition of Germany's recovery—and he gave this not as his own opinion but as that of all the experts whom he had consulted—that the French occupation of the Ruhr should cease, or at least be rendered "invisible." He pointed out that if the Ruhr should be considered—as the French official view inclined to consider it—as a "productive pledge," to be worked by the occupying authorities in default of official reparation payments by the German Government, then its occupation would be a direct exploitation of German territory entirely unprovided for in the Versailles Treaty. By the negotiations which General Degoutte was carrying on with German industrialists over the head of the German Government, the French had already commenced a "revision" of the Treaty, much as they hated the word. Besides, the British Government had solemnly declared the whole Ruhr occupation to be illegal. They were therefore once more back in 1914 when they had gone to war to prevent a treaty being regarded as a "scrap of paper." He cautioned the British people against accepting any invitation to join in the spoils of the Ruhr. Such a step could only bring shame and humiliation on England, and besides he did not believe there would in any case be any great spoils. He pressed England to do all in its power to prevent Germany from going to pieces, an event which would throw the Continent of Europe into chaos, and profoundly affect her own industrial position and political relationships. He then called attention pointedly to the menace of French militarism, and deprecated a policy of excessive generosity on the part of England or America which would have the effect of enabling France still more effectively to foster and subsidise militarism on the Continent. He admitted that France had been left in the lurch by Great Britain and America through not obtaining the Treaty of Guarantee which had been promised her, and had naturally adopted a policy of force as an alternative. But France knew from her own history and traditions that there was a nobler way, and he appealed to France in the day of her victory and greatness not to forget her noble historic mission as the great bearer of the liberal tradition in Europe.

As General Smuts's speech was broadcasted, it was actually heard by vast numbers of people in all parts of the country, many of whom would otherwise have taken no heed of it. There

could be **no** question that it echoed the sentiments of the majority of the people. It found particular favour with the Bishops, who took active steps to disseminate it. The general opinion was that General Smuts had acted as the mouthpiece of the Government and the Conference, and his speech consequently raised hopes that new developments were at hand.

These hopes were strengthened by a speech delivered on the same evening (October 23) by Mr. Harvey, the retiring American Ambassador, at a farewell dinner given to him by the Pilgrims. He boldly asserted that if America abstained from coming to the assistance of Europe, it was simply because she was not asked. Eleven months ago, he said, Secretary Hughes had gone as far as diplomatic usage permitted, and, without even requiring a formal request from any Power, had offered to provide American adjudication. America came to the door of Europe, but found the door closed. The United States did the only thing it could do in the circumstances—it went home. To-day the need of a financial plan to save Europe from economic disaster was obviously not less imperative, and while Secretary Hughes could hardly renew his proffer without seeming to be intrusive, there could be no question of the American Government's entire willingness to take part in such an Economic Conference as originally suggested, if asked to do so by all the Allies chiefly concerned in German reparations. Under President Coolidge, as under President Harding, the United States stood quite ready to help in any practicable way to promote recuperation and re-establishment of economic stability throughout the world. As he graphically expressed it, they were willing to come in as soon as they were asked, but they could not be expected to smash in the door; the Monroe Doctrine forbade.

Concurrently with the Imperial Conference, and conformably to Mr. Bonar Law's announcement of April 9, an Economic Conference of Empire representatives was held to discuss economic matters affecting the Empire as a whole. The meetings of the two Conferences took place as a rule on alternate days, so that the Premiers who had come for the Imperial Conference might if they chose be present at the Economic Conference, the delegates to which were mostly Ministers of Finance. The first meeting of this Conference was held on October 2. It was presided over by the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame, who in his opening address explained the purpose of the Conference and outlined the work before it.

Dealing in the course of his remarks with the particular needs of England, the Minister said that her export trade, on which of course she mainly depended, was to-day still far below its pre-war volume. The deficiency was reflected in unemployment of a duration and on a scale without precedent. Steady employment could only be restored and maintained if they could wipe out the deficit in their export trade, and indeed, do something

more, since owing to the growth of population and the increased efficiency of methods of production a larger volume of trade was necessary than before the war to maintain employment. The vital problem for them, therefore, was the problem of markets, and they naturally looked to the Dominions and Colonies as the most likely field. The Empire would of course in the fulness of time develop of its own accord; but in this time of their greatest need they were forced to ask whether they could not anticipate the development. If they could follow a bold and businesslike policy of accelerating the development of the Empire and its resources, then they would find immediate relief in their present difficulties and bring about a greater and quicker increase in the wealth and strength of all parts of the Empire. The agenda of the Conference set forth the factors in this problem. Its subjects fell into three broad classes. The first was Empire Settlement. The Empire Settlement Act had been a real contribution to the solution of the problem, and had established a sound base on which to build. It would be their duty to consider how to utilise the resources of the Act to the best advantage. Closely allied with the problem of settlement was that of financial co-operation between the Mother Country and the Dominions. He hoped it would be possible to devise for the purposes of Imperial development an instrument similar to the Trade Facilities Act in England. The rate of development in any State was normally limited by its own immediate financial capacity. But if the normal rate of development could be accelerated, that was good policy and good business. The growth of cotton within the Empire was a case in point; the more England could derive from the Dominions and Colonies, the better it would be for both parties. Thirdly, there was the analogous question of Imperial Preference. England was appreciative of the preferences she had received under Colonial tariffs, and had definitely established the principle of Imperial Preference in her own more limited fiscal system. They would wish to apply that principle to develop still further the development of Imperial products and Imperial resources.

Speeches were made in reply by the representatives of Canada (Mr. Mackenzie King), New Zealand (Mr. Massey), South Africa (General Smuts), the Irish Free State (Mr. McGrath), Newfoundland (Mr. Warren), India (Mr. Innes), and the Colonies and Protectorates (Mr. Ormsby-Gore). The reception accorded to Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame's speech was throughout sympathetic, but a few friendly criticisms were offered. Mr. Mackenzie King put in a caution against expecting too much from Government action. He pointed out that it was individual initiative on the part of labour, merchants, manufacturers, and investors of capital which had made British trade and industry the world over what it was, and it was to individual initiative that countries must look in the future even more than in the past. His own view was that one of the greatest services

that Government could render to-day was to clear the channels of trade and communication of obstructions, and to make as free as possible the movement of men and money throughout different parts of the Empire. General Smuts insisted that the Colonies should retain their full freedom of fiscal action, pointing out that it was in the fiscal field that the Dominions first obtained their independence. At the same time he denied that there was any conspiracy, as some people seemed to think, to make a concerted attack on the fiscal policy of England. In regard to preference he said he did not want to bargain. South Africa had many years ago given a preference to British products and claimed nothing in return. But England could not fairly claim that the Dominions should in very large numbers take immigrants from the British Isles and at the same time refuse to help the Dominions by taking the produce of the work of their hands. He noted with pleasure that the British Government had of its own accord embarked on a policy of improved communications. He regarded communications as of the essence of the Empire, and was afraid that unless they succeeded in solving some of the more urgent problems of communications it would be almost impossible to hold the Empire together.

The speech of the President of the Board of Trade made it clear that the principal subject which would come before the Conference was that of Imperial Preference. The Conference, however, was unwilling to come to grips with this matter in the absence of Mr. Bruce, the Australian Premier, who was expected in a week's time, and who was known to have important suggestions to make. In the meanwhile, on October 5, it listened to an interesting account from the Chairman of the Oversea Settlement Committee, Lieut.-Colonel Buckley, on Empire settlement. He said that the Empire Settlement Act which became law on May 31, 1922, empowered the Secretary of State for the Colonies, acting on the advice of the Oversea Settlement Committee, to co-operate with the Dominion Governments or with public authorities in carrying out schemes for the assistance of people in England who wished to settle overseas. The number of persons who had hitherto proceeded abroad with assistance accorded under the Act was relatively small—23,479 to Australia, 4,502 to New Zealand, and 3,857 to Canada, making a total of 31,832. Their actual cash commitments amounted to a total of 382,000Z. as against authorisations of 1,500,000Z. up to March 31 and 3,000,000Z. for the current financial year. These results, he admitted, were disappointing, the numbers who had gone overseas being infinitesimal in comparison with the needs of the movement, and falling far short of the total number contemplated for absorption, which was 95,000 a year. The meagreness of this result could not be put down to any lack of attention on the part either of the Home or the Dominion Governments. He thought the primary difficulty in the way

of the rapid expansion of settlement was economic. The causes which brought about unemployment hindered migration; it was good times and good trade which encouraged would-be settlers to launch forth, and these conditions had not existed during the past two years. Further, in England the policy of Empire settlement had met with opposition from certain extreme elements, which widely advertised every case of failure; and in the case of Australia and New Zealand distance also acted as a deterrent. Whatever might be the best way of overcoming these difficulties, he was convinced that the policy underlying the movement was a great and noble one, and vital to the future of the Empire.

On October 6 four Dominion Prime Ministers—Mr. King, Mr. Massey, General Smuts, and Mr. Warren—and the Maharajah of Alwar went out to Wembley, on the north-west of London, to inspect the progress of the British Empire Exhibition which was in course of erection there with a view to being opened in 1924. After first being mooted the idea of the Exhibition had for some time hung fire, and fears were entertained that it would not materialise, but owing to the energetic efforts of Sir W. Joynson-Hicks a start had been made early in the year, and there was now every prospect that the Exhibition would be an unqualified success. General Smuts laid the foundation of the South African pavilion before a gathering of South Africans in London and others. The Premiers were entertained to luncheon by the Duke of Devonshire, who in the name of the gathering sent a telegram to the Prince of Wales, President of the Exhibition, who was then in Ottawa in Canada. Proposing "Success to our great Imperial Project," he said that it was intended to make the Exhibition an Empire Exhibition in the truest sense of the word, and it was expected that every part and product of the Empire would find a place in it. By the time it was opened a sum of 10,000,000? would have been spent on it. Mr. Mackenzie King said that "Our great Commonwealth Project" would be perhaps more applicable than "Imperial Project" as a description of the purpose of the Exhibition, which was to demonstrate the common weal of all the members of one great family. The word Empire had no terrors for him, or, he thought, for anyone in the British Empire, but it was advisable that words which they themselves fully understood should not be allowed to create a false impression in the minds of others. He thought the outstanding memory of visitors to the Exhibition would be that the British Empire delighted not in uniformity but in diversity. The different parts of the Empire retained their individual identities and national aspirations, but shared in a unity and common interest which were good for all concerned. The Exhibition would also, in the present state of the world, offer an object lesson in the work of peace. Militarist and industrial activities were found constantly wrestling with each other in the history of mankind. The world had seen the

climax of the military activities, **and** it remained to demonstrate in this Exhibition the possibilities of peace, progress, and plenty in the industrial type of society.

Mr. Bruce made his first appearance at the Economic Conference on October 9, and, as had been anticipated, immediately in his first speech introduced a new note into the discussions. He came forward frankly as an advocate of thoroughgoing Protection in England, on the ground that this alone could make a system of preference within the Empire effective. Unlike General Smuts, who on the opening day had declared South Africa's willingness to give preference to Britain without expecting anything in return—albeit they would be thankful to receive it—Mr. Bruce gave it clearly to be understood that Australia could not continue indefinitely to give preference to British manufactured goods unless she received an equivalent for her own produce. True Empire development, he said, depended on the establishment of markets for the Dominions, and there was no Dominion but recognised that the British market was the best in the world. But the place of the Dominions in that market was threatened by the competition, first, of the production of cheap or coloured labour, secondly, the dumped surplus production of other countries, and thirdly, the great combines that were growing up all over the world. This was one ground on which he advocated the introduction of Protection in England. But he went even further, and recommended the same policy on behalf of the British farmer, suggesting plans by which the main items of the food supply of Great Britain could be kept in the hands of British and Colonial agriculturists, to the exclusion of the foreigner, and that without raising the price to the consumer.

Mr. Bruce's speech, which was in every way a masterly exposition of his subject, made a deep impression on the Conference and on the general public. It gave a powerful stimulus to the Protectionist movement in the Unionist Party, and, along with subsequent speeches in the same strain delivered during the next couple of weeks by the same speaker and Mr. Massey, emboldened the Tariff Reformers to bring pressure on the Premier to take up their policy, with somewhat startling results.

To a certain extent Mr. Bruce found that he was pushing an open door. The Government lost no time in showing that it was willing to go as far in the direction of Protection as Mr. Law's famous election pledge allowed. At the afternoon sitting of the same day the President of the Board of Trade laid before the Conference the details of the Government's scheme for an extension of the existing system of Imperial preference which, as he pointed out, was now an established fact and an underlying principle in the development of inter-Imperial trade. His proposals included the introduction or enhancing of preference for Colonial-grown dried fruits, dried currants, preserved fruits, sugar, and tobacco. The Colonial representatives welcomed the

suggestions, though from Australia and South Africa came a request that wine also should be considered.

The Free Traders were not slow to take alarm at the Governments preference proposals, Sir John Simon in an address delivered at the National Liberal Club on October 17 said it was perfectly obvious that the setting up of a preferential system in England must involve sooner or later—and sooner rather than later—the deliberate imposition of taxes on imported food and raw material. The new preference proposals fell grotesquely short of what was desired and hoped for by the advocates of a self-contained policy for the British Empire, but it would be a great mistake to pass them by as trumpery or negligible. They involved the all-important admission that it was not possible to go one step further along the road to Imperial preference in this country unless they were prepared to put additional taxes on food. Further, he maintained that the British Empire had grown up on the Liberal principle that each self-governing community decided its finance for itself, and that it was impossible to enter into a system of preference without giving rise to unpleasant and invidious comparisons, through which the unity of the Empire might be undermined.

On October 16 the Imperial Economic Conference discussed the question of Empire communications. The Postmaster-General, Sir L. Worthington-Evans, made a statement on the position of the Empire's mail, cable, and wireless services, in which he claimed that in regard to mails and cables, the pre-war standard of regularity and efficiency had been almost if not quite restored. In regard to wireless, the Minister had to admit that a satisfactory arrangement had not yet been concluded with the Marconi Company. Complete agreement had almost been reached at the end of July, but then for reasons not known to him the company had changed its mind. The comparative neglect of wireless by the Government was strongly commented upon at a meeting of the Empire Press Union on October 16. Lord Burnham, the President, said that the present position was deplorable, and the Empire was falling behind in one of the most effective means of communication. Another speaker pointed out that in East Australia news could only be obtained by French and German wireless, not by British. On the next day a statement was issued by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, Director of the Marconi Company, explaining why the negotiations with the Government had broken down. He said that there were three possible alternatives—free competition between the Post Office Station and any stations erected by private enterprise, a pooling of the stations, and a regional division of the traffics. The Post Office originally favoured the last, but the Company regarded it as the least satisfactory of the three, since it would seriously impair the efficiency of the whole wireless services. In regard to pooling, the Company could not come to a decision until it saw the draft arrangement, and it then found that the

conditions laid down by the Government deprived it of any effective commercial control in the creation and conduct of the services. The company was willing immediately to accept a pooling arrangement under which it should manage its own business; but failing that, the only alternative was to grant the company the non-exclusive licence for which it had applied, in which case its stations would be proceeded with forthwith and opened before the end of next year. The Empire Press Union also favoured leaving the whole wireless service to private enterprise, the Government reserving the right to purchase after a limited number of years.

While the Imperial Conference was considering the question of preference, the farmers of England made another determined attempt to obtain Government support for their industry. A deputation from the National Farmers' Union interviewed Mr. Baldwin on October 11. It wanted to know from him whether the Government still adhered to the standpoint taken up by Mr. Bonar Law in March, that agriculture would have to shift for itself as best it might. It pointed out what would be the consequence of such a decision—that a considerable part of the land now used in England for the production of cereals would be turned into pasture land or allowed to run waste altogether, a step which would involve the throwing of large numbers of agricultural labourers out of employment. Left to themselves, the deputation said, the farmers would have no alternative, since on numbers of farms there was no prospect of making cereal-growing pay under present conditions. The deputation further pointed out that the depression in agriculture to-day was a far more serious thing for the country than it had been in the eighties and nineties, because in that period the expansion of industry could compensate for the decline in agriculture, but now, as the Prime Minister himself had said a short time previously, "England was industrialised up to the safety limit." The Prime Minister, before committing himself to an announcement of Government policy, asked to be supplied with further information.

As the summer wore into the autumn it became increasingly clear that the unemployment problem in the ensuing winter was going to be even graver than in the previous year. Nearly all the great trades of the country were suffering as acutely as agriculture. The cotton trade was passing through the worst period it had ever known owing to the difficulty of obtaining American cotton at a sufficiently low price. The woollen manufacturers of Bradford found themselves so hard hit by French competition—due to the depreciation of the franc—that, in spite of their Free Trade traditions, they began to consider seriously the advisability of asking for Protection. The lace industry of Nottingham was perishing from a similar cause. The shipbuilding returns of Lloyd's Eegister for the quarter ended September 30 showed a decrease of about 67,000 tons as compared with the

figures for June, and of about 346,000 tons as compared with the figures of a year previous. The town of Barrow, in particular, found itself ruined by the dearth of armament orders brought about by the Washington Agreement. The engineering trade was also suffering from severe depression. The activity in the coal-mining industry was due to some extent to the stoppage of supplies from the Euhr coal-field, which could only be regarded as a temporary phenomenon. The number of unemployed and partially employed had commenced to increase ominously after the end of August. The proposals outlined by the Government in August were felt on all hands to be wholly inadequate, and a new scheme was urgently demanded.

The rising of Parliament had caused no break in the work of the Cabinet Committee on Unemployment, under the chairmanship of Sir L. Worthington-Evans, the Postmaster-General. The first-fruits of this Committee's labours were seen in a speech delivered at Hounslow on October 15 by Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, the Minister of Health, in which he made the announcement that the Cabinet had authorised a new expenditure of 14,000,000Z. —in addition to the 26,000,000Z. already laid out—on new road development. Among the principal roads in contemplation he mentioned one from London to Hastings and one from Glasgow to Edinburgh, with the new road from Manchester to Liverpool as a possibility. Orders, he said, would also be given for the reconstruction of about 150 bridges, and it was intended to build new bridges over the Dee at Queensferry, the Tweed at Berwick, and the Tay at Dundee. Through these plans, he said, there was an immediate possibility of placing work with the steel trade of the country for between 2,000,000Z. and 2,500,000Z. sterling. Their plans, he said, were at the moment seriously menaced by the huge output of iron and steel in the Ruhr which was waiting to be sold practically as bankrupt stock. But to allow this stuff to be dumped in England at the very moment when they were placing unemployment orders to the amount of millions was an act of folly which no Government, of whatever shade of political opinion would commit, and he cautioned speculators against trying to make profit in this way.

The outlines given by Sir W. Joynson-Hicks were filled in the next day by the Minister of Labour, Sir Montague Barlow, in a speech delivered at the Stationers' Hall. He maintained, in answer to charges brought against the Government by Socialists, that the undertaking given by him in the House of Commons on August 1, that during the autumn the Cabinet Unemployment Committee would continue its operations and enlarge the plans then advanced, had been literally carried out. He complained that an extended housing policy was not possible owing to the shortage of skilled labour in certain branches, a shortage which, he said, could have been remedied had the Building Trades' Federation not opposed two years previously Dr. Macnamara's scheme for training 50,000 able-bodied

ex-service men. He urged that the plan of group settlement in the Colonies, which had been strongly advocated by the Prime Minister of Australia, should be taken up by the large cities, the Universities, and other bodies. He commended the action of various railway companies in putting in hand about 10,000,000Z. to 15,000,000Z. worth of work. Coming to Government effort, he said its three trunk lines were unemployment insurance, trade development, and relief schemes. He looked upon unemployment insurance as the sheet-anchor. A new benefit; year was commencing in a couple of days, and twelve weeks' benefit would then be available. That would carry them on to the New Year, and he would make a statement after the House of Commons assembled, as to provision authorised under the Act for the spring. Since he spoke on August 1, he said, the Government had guaranteed under the Trade Facilities Scheme sums of from 10,000,000Z. to 12,000,000Z., the chief item of which was an additional guarantee of 6,000,000Z. to the Tube Eailway system. With regard to relief works, he said that in addition to the 7,500,000Z. which he had mentioned on August 1 as the total estimated expenditure on all programmes, the Government had now decided to sanction further road and bridge building, involving an expenditure to be borne between the State and the local authorities of some 14,000,000Z. In this connexion he repeated the warning of the Minister of Health regarding dumped steel from the Kuhr. With regard to loans to local authorities for revenue-producing schemes, he said that the Government had decided to authorise proposals up to another 10,000,000Z. in addition to the 10,000,000Z. he had mentioned on August 1, making 20,000,000Z. in all. Taking all the facts into consideration, he concluded, it was clear that the new expenditure now being initiated, and as far as possible put in hand immediately, could not amount to less than 50,000,000Z., and might work out at a considerably higher figure.

While the Government were drawing up plans for dealing with unemployment, the municipalities and local authorities were also devoting the closest attention to the matter, in which they were not less vitally interested. Early in October several of the largest Northern and Midland municipalities sent delegates to a Conference at the Mansion House to discuss the municipalities' share in relieving unemployment. The Conference adjourned without coming to a decision, and met again in Manchester on October 18, just after the announcement of the Government's plans. That announcement was far from satisfying the delegates. One representative pointed out that the Minister of Labour had not stated how many men his schemes would employ, which was really the most important point, nor how much money the Government itself was going to contribute. The municipalities, he said, during the past three or four years had found work for so many that the resources of the ratepayers had been strained to breaking-point, Another representative

expressed the prevailing view of the Conference in saying that the present emergency caused by unemployment was comparable in its seriousness to that caused by the outbreak of the war in 1914, and that it was incumbent on the Government to take equally heroic measures. A resolution was adopted pointing out that the continuance of relief works carried out by local authorities with financial assistance from the Government was becoming impossible, because the burden on the local rates was becoming insupportable, and asking the Government in various ways to give far more liberal support to the local authorities. It was also resolved to ask the Prime Minister and the Minister of Health to receive a deputation representative of all the large towns in Great Britain.

The suggestion—whether from this source or another—that "heroic*" remedies should be adopted for dealing with unemployment had apparently not been lost on Mr. Baldwin. He made this clear in a speech which he delivered at Plymouth on October 25, in connexion with the opening of the Conference of the National Unionist Association. The speech was eagerly awaited as likely to indicate how far the Government concurred in the suggestions which had been made with so much force and directness by General Smuts on foreign policy and Mr. Bruce on Protection. On both these points the Premier was rather evasive, but in return he made a statement on the unemployment problem of so startling a character that it put in the shade all other considerations and almost in a flash transformed the face of British politics.

Eeferring first to criticisms of the Government, Mr. Baldwin said that when people spoke of their lack of a policy, they probably meant their failure to bring about the common action necessary to put an end to the troubles in which Europe was enmeshed. The question had been asked why they had not followed up the implications of the Note of August 11. The answer was that hardly had the replies been received to that Note when it became obvious that passive resistance in Germany was breaking down, and they had been assured that the abandonment of passive resistance would be the prelude to negotiations that might be fruitful. They knew also that the Prime Ministers of the Dominions were on their way to England, and they felt that it would be worth while to wait for their counsel, so that when they spoke in Europe, both England and Europe might know that their voice was the voice of a united Empire.

Having thus defended the Government from the charge of inconsistency, the Premier proceeded to rebut the charge of inaction brought against them. While, he said, they were waiting for a reply to their inquiries concerning the possibility of resuming negotiations, President Coolidge of the United States had stated that the offer of American assistance made by Mr. Hughes in the previous November was still open. They

had immediately addressed a communication to the United States Government on the matter, and had been informed that that Government would join in an Inter-Allied Conference if invited by all the Allies to do so. They then immediately addressed the Allies, urging upon them a prompt affirmative reply. "I had the pleasure," went on Mr. Baldwin, "of meeting M. Poincaré in Paris, and establishing with him relations which make it perhaps not too difficult for me to say now what I am going to say. He represents to-day the opinion of practically the whole of France, and I beg of him to consider for himself, for his nation, for us and for the world, once and twice and thrice, before he refuses this invitation/" As to what he would do if M. Poincaré refused, Mr. Baldwin on this, as on a previous similar occasion, gave not the faintest indication.

Turning from foreign policy, Mr. Baldwin declared that unemployment transcended all other internal problems, and went on to explain the Government's policy for dealing with it. He first took occasion to deny categorically certain rumours which had got afloat that the Government intended to resort to a policy of inflation of the currency, though he admitted that for several months past they had ceased to pursue a policy of active deflation. He went on to paint the gravity of the problem in the gloomiest colours, and advanced his remedy, incidentally giving his long awaited declaration on Protection. Mr. Bonar Law, he said, had a year ago given a pledge that there should be no fundamental change in the fiscal arrangements of the country during the lifetime of the present Parliament. He considered himself bound by that pledge, and he undertook that there should be no fundamental change in this Parliament. But he could not see that any slight extension or new application of principles already sanctioned in the legislation of the country was a breach of such a pledge. In order, however, to fight unemployment effectively he must have proper weapons; and, having regard to the conditions existing to-day in the world, he had come to the conclusion that the only way of fighting it was by protecting the home market.

This last statement was received with loud and prolonged cheering. Further proceedings at the Unionist Conference also left no doubt that the party as a whole was anxious for the Government to embark on a Protectionist policy as soon as possible, even at the cost of precipitating a General Election. Speaking at an overflow meeting on the same evening at Plymouth, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, referred to the Premier's statement on Protection, and said that if they were to deal adequately with the situation of unemployment next winter, they would have to ask to be released from Mr. Law's pledge. Sir Samuel Hoare, the Air Minister, used words to a similar effect at Salisbury the same evening, and it was generally assumed that the Cabinet was united on the matter,

The Premier's speech at Plymouth had the effect of bringing home politics once more into the centre of interest. It set running a flood of speculation on the two absorbing questions, what exactly did he mean by protecting the home market, and was there soon going to be a General Election. The position of the Government seemed to have changed over night; its lease of power was reduced from not less than three years to not more than one, possibly much less. Mr. Baldwin threw some light on the situation in a speech which he delivered at Swansea on October 30. He reiterated his belief in Protection as the best remedy for unemployment, and laid it down as vital for the progress of the nation that neither employers nor workmen should be unfairly exposed to the merciless attacks of foreign competition, when their foreign competitors were able to shelter themselves behind walls of their own high tariffs. But he still abstained from giving specific details of the duties he meant to impose, and confined himself to certain general considerations showing the advantages of Protection over Free Trade in the present condition of the world. He laid particular stress on the importance of protecting the standard of living of the working classes, which was menaced by cheap and demoralised labour, not from the other ends of the world, but from a demoralised Europe. He made it clear that the unemployment problem was the issue on which the Government meant to go to the country, but gave no hint how soon that would be.

The Labour Party lost no time in defining its attitude on the new situation created by the Prime Minister's speeches. On November 1 the Executive of the Labour Party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress met and passed a resolution calling upon organised Labour to resist to the utmost the specious policy of Protection and to support the Labour programme for the remedying of social ills. The alternative policy of Labour was outlined immediately afterwards in a speech delivered at a luncheon party by Mr. Eamsay Macdonald who had just returned from his tour in the Near East. He rejected Protection on the ground that it did not in other countries cure unemployment, and that if introduced in England it would seriously handicap her export trade. But Labour policy was not merely negative; it put forth positive remedies for the cure of social ills. One of these was the declaration of a firm, courageous, and moral policy in foreign affairs which would make the evil influences in Europe ashamed of themselves. Another was to bring the soil of England more under cultivation; to the cry, "Protect our own markets," Labour replied, "Develop our own country/" Further, Labour proposed a capital levy to enable the country to pay a substantial part of its debt; and lastly it advocated nationalisation in order to create the type of the willing producer, without whom there could not be efficient production.

Concurrently with the delivery of the Premier's speech at

Plymouth, the Foreign Office issued the text of the communications between Britain and America to which he had referred. The British despatch was telegraphed to Washington on October 12, immediately after the report in the papers of President Coolidge's speech. It inquired whether the Government was justified in deducing from President Coolidge's words as reported that if the European Powers would join in an inquiry into Germany's capacity to pay, America would render the promised co-operation; further, whether, if it was proposed to hold such an inquiry even though complete unanimity had not been forthcoming at this end, the British Government and the majority of the Allies might still hope for American co-operation. The reply of the United States, dated October 16, expressed the willingness of that country to co-operate, on condition that the Conference proposed should be advisory, and not for the purpose of binding the Governments, and that the invitation from the Allies should be unanimous; should there not be unanimity among them as to the advisability of the inquiry, the United States would reserve its decision as to its course of action.

In proposing an inquiry into Germany's capacity to pay, the British Government had suggested that such an inquiry might be carried out either by representatives of the Governments or by a Committee of Experts appointed by the Reparations Commission. The Belgian Government, on the proposal being laid before it, consented to an inquiry being held by the second of these suggested methods. M. Poincaré gave a similar consent, but with such reservations and conditions as to make the British Government doubt whether it was worth while going on with the matter. However, it persevered, and on October 31 submitted for the approval of the French Government the draft of a telegram to be presented jointly by the representatives of the four Allied Powers at Washington, asking the Government of the United States to authorise the unofficial American delegate to the Reparations Commission to designate an American member of the Committee of Experts.

The latest proceedings of France in her dealings with Germany gave little ground for hoping that she would make any concession of real value to the wishes of her Allies. On October 27 a "Bhine Bepublic" was proclaimed at various places in the Bhineland by irresponsible German agitators supported more or less openly by the French and Belgian authorities. It soon became evident that the Separatists formed only an insignificant minority of the inhabitants and were for the most part recruited from the dregs of the population. Their attempts to foment trouble in the British zone were immediately suppressed, and instructions were given to the British Ambassadors in Paris and Brussels to inform the Governments to which they were accredited that Great Britain did not recognise the legality of the provisional Bhineland Eepublic, and would oppose any Separatist movement in the British zone, A Note was also

delivered at Paris and Brussels calling attention to the anomalous and grave position which would arise if the menace of the Separatist movement was fulfilled, and stating that the creation of an independent State within the German territories would be in fact a reversal of the Treaty of Versailles and would necessitate its revision. The British Note had an immediate effect on the Belgian Government, which forthwith began to put a stop to Separatist outrages and protect the rest of the population. But the French Government took no notice of British representations, and not only continued actively to support Separatist activities in its own zone, but tried to bring the Belgian Government once more over to the same policy.

Mr. Baldwin reserved the full declaration of his policy for the speech which he delivered in Manchester on November 2, in the Free Trade Hall, the historic cradle of the policy after which it was named. He had, he said, never been a doctrinaire economist, and had always regarded an economic system as a matter of expediency rather than of principle. When the war ended he was in favour of leaving the existing system unimpaired for the time being, but now that he had been able to observe the trend of events for four or five years, he had made up his mind that if they were to attack the problem of unemployment, they must have recourse to radical and drastic measures. He was not, he said, going to recommend his policy by denouncing the work of men in a past age. What Cobden and Bright did eighty years ago had no bearing on their problems to-day. In the post-war world they had, not only in the old countries, but in the Succession States of the broken Empires, economic systems which were almost prohibitory to their trade built up between one and another. He instanced particularly the cases of Italy and America. On the other hand, the British Empire had entirely changed its character, and Imperialism had been emptied of any aggressive meaning which it once might have had. He quoted with approval some remarks of Mr. Philip Snowden to the effect that the overseas Dominions should be looked on as part of the homeland separated by distances which were being lessened by every improvement in communication, so that the emigrant who went to Canada or New Zealand was no more lost to the homeland than if he went from Dorset to Midlothian. Baw cotton, sugar and tobacco could be grown in the British Empire, and it was an integral part of his policy to devote a portion of the new revenue to pushing on Empire development as had never been done before. He said his ideal was one great Empire safeguarding the standard of life of its own people, with Free Trade inside its borders, but this he confessed, was still a long way off. He finally summarised his policy in the following six points—to put a tax on manufactured goods with special regard to those imports that caused the greatest amount of unemployment in England, to give a substantial preference to the Dominions, to put no tax on

wheat or meat, to investigate most carefully the best way to help agriculture, to examine, co-ordinate and improve existing schemes of old-age, health and unemployment insurance, and to develop their own estate, their Empire.

The Prime Minister's speech was listened to with profound attention by an audience of some 4,000 people, but the subsequent proceedings showed that more than one attack would be necessary to convert Lancashire from its Free Trade faith. Sir Edwin Stockton, a Manchester Member of Parliament, while assuring the Prime Minister of the loyal and unswerving support of the Unionists of Manchester, warned him that the Party must be very careful indeed, in any new policy brought forward, to see that it did no damage to the great textile industry, which represented one-third of the total exports of the country. Lord Derby, who presided at the meeting, recalled the fact that at a great gathering in that very hall in 1895 Mr. Balfour had said to him, " I wonder whether you will live to see this Free Trade Hall packed with people clamouring for Protection." Had that moment arrived, asked Lord Derby, and there were cries of " Yes." Lord Derby, however, merely said that he thanked the Prime Minister for his honest advice, to which he would give his earnest thought, in the hope of arriving at the right solution.

The Liberal rejoinder to the Prime Minister's speeches was given on November 5, by Mr. Asquith at Dewsbury. Mr. Asquith began by quoting a warning uttered by Mr. Bonar Law just a year previously, that at a period like the present, when confidence and security was what was mainly wanted, any advantage that might be obtained by changing the fiscal system would not be so great as the disadvantage which would follow the disturbance involved in such a change. What, he asked, was Mr. Baldwin's justification for his sudden and complete defiance of this weighty warning? Wherein had the situation changed during the past twelve months? This was a question which the country was bound to ask, but on which he found little guidance in the recent speeches of the Prime Minister and his colleagues. Dealing with the new policy outlined in those speeches, he said that it seemed to have two main objects—to fight unemployment at home, and to develop and cement the unity of the Empire. The first object was to be attained by protecting the home manufacturer in the home market against foreign competition, the second by protecting the Dominions against the foreign importer. With regard to the second he pointed out that Mr. Baldwin was absolutely at variance with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who had consistently declared that without a tax on food there could be no Imperial Preference worthy of the name. As to unemployment, he asked what evidence there was for the proposition, which was never suggested or hinted at a year or even six months previously, that a main if not the principal cause of unemployment was the import of overseas goods. In 1913, when unemployment was only 2 per

cent., their imports were very much larger than in the last three years, when it stood at 15 per cent. Further, from an analysis which he had had prepared, he found that out of a total of some 1,340,000 unemployed only 140,000 or about 10 per cent., belonged to the trades which it was intended to protect. The trades which were most depressed, to which the great majority of the unemployed belonged—shipbuilding, engineering, cotton, and some branches of the woollen industry, not to mention distribution and transportation—were of a kind which no tariff would help. The real cause of unemployment was the shrinkage in the total trade of the world, and the remedy was not protection, but to restore the productive capacity and the exchange power of the world. That was the opinion of Mr. Baldwin himself as lately as three months ago. There was no other road, and they were walking into a blind alley if they allowed themselves to be misled by these half-hearted, short-sighted, lop-sided experiments in Protection. Liberals believed, and welcomed the opportunity of demonstrating once again, that any encroachment on Free Trade would undermine their whole industrial and financial position, and so far from curing would aggravate and multiply unemployment. They believed also that the Socialistic reconstruction would strike a fatal blow at individual initiative and enterprise, and would introduce far more anomalies and injustices than it would remedy.

The Prime Minister's programme of Protection was far from commanding the unanimous approval of the Unionist Party. For the out-and-out Protectionists it did not go nearly far enough; for the Free Traders it went much too far. From the point of view of the former it was strongly criticised by Mr. Austin Chamberlain who, on November 8, speaking at a dinner to members of the Imperial Conference, characterised it as a mere half measure. He asked the Government whether even now it was too late to consider on what ground they should join issue. It was a mistake, he said, to fight a great fight on a little issue. The Prime Minister had said enough to rally all the forces of opposition and to stir old prejudices; he had not said enough to rally his friends and give them the enthusiasm which alone could make victory certain. Protection of the home market was good as far as it went, but it was only a measure of defence which might prevent things from getting worse, but brought them no nearer to recovery or recuperation. For that purpose they required new markets, and these they could only find within the Empire. And to develop those markets England must extend preference to the main articles of Dominion production, and undertake to consume the produce which they could grow and could not eat.

The diametrically opposite view was expressed by the *Glasgow Herald*, one of the principal Unionist journals in the country, which, in a leading article on November 9, "protested against the Unionist Party being launched on an enterprise in

which it could not succeed without disaster to the country nor fail without disaster to itself." It declared that its attitude in the coming struggle would be one of opposition to Protection, and repudiated the suggestion that Conservative and Unionist principles were intimately involved with the overthrow of the Free Trade system and the reinstitution of Protection.

Although Mr. Baldwin had not yet announced any intention of going to the country, it was universally assumed after his speech in Manchester that an election could not be delayed beyond the end of January, and might not improbably take place before Christmas. The stream of political oratory began to flow vigorously with Tariff Reform as its main if not sole topic. One by one prominent politicians declared their views and defined the attitude they intended to take up in the coming struggle. Of all public men the one whose pronouncement was most eagerly awaited was undoubtedly Mr. Lloyd George. The ex-Premier had since the middle of September been touring Canada and the United States, and his appeals to the latter country to assist in a European settlement had been followed with deep interest in England. He landed in Southampton on November 9, and before leaving the boat had declared himself to a body of journalists who interviewed him an unswerving Free Trader. He adhered exactly to the position he had taken up in the previous April at Manchester, when he had advocated the "clearing of the decks" by getting rid of the three Protectionist measures in which both he and Mr. Asquith had been implicated—the McKenna tariff, the Paris resolutions, and the Safeguarding of Industries Act. Asked whether he would be prepared to follow Mr. Asquith as Prime Minister, he said that he would work with anybody who would serve the country faithfully. He dismissed all idea of a Centre Party, saying that the issue was now Free Trade or Protection, and that he chose unhesitatingly the platform of Free Trade.

Meanwhile foreign affairs, though now overshadowed by the domestic issue, were not entirely lost sight of. On November 8, a deputation from the League of Nations Union, headed by Professor Gilbert Murray, waited on the Prime Minister (who was accompanied by Lord Curzon) to press upon him the views of the Union regarding the European situation. Speeches were made pointing out the disturbing effect which was being produced on public opinion in England—particularly in Labour circles—by the continuance of the French occupation of the Ruhr, and urging the Government to speak out plainly on the matter. Lord Curzon in reply said he was surprised to be told that the Government had not spoken out sufficiently freely during the past few weeks. He was more familiar with the charge that they had spoken out too plainly—so freely as somewhat to embarrass the situation. He was in hopes that events were now moving in such a way as to enable candour of speech to be successful. Belgium and Italy, he

thought, were moving in the direction of an early settlement, and America showed a strong desire to assist. With regard to the German Separatist movement, he said that the Government regarded it as thoroughly bad, and was determined not to give any support to it. The Prime Minister cautioned his hearers against the creation of a fresh national enmity, which would not further the cause of peace in Europe. Nothing might do more harm just now than a tremendous moral indignation. It was a time when they required infinite tact and patience; but like Lord Curzon he thought that with American help something might be done.

The Prime Minister's speech at the Lord Mayor's Guildhall Banquet on November 9 did not throw any fresh light on the Government's policy either at home or abroad. He made no direct reference to the Monarchist rising which had just taken place in Germany, causing deep concern to the Allied Governments. The situation in Western Europe, he said, was still one of grave anxiety, and it could not be said that the Great Powers principally involved had so far been very successful in finding a solution. But it was not to be thought of that Europe should be allowed to drift to her doom while the Powers looked on with folded arms, and therefore the entire weight of British authority and influence was being thrown into the scale in favour of co-operation with America. But, he said, it would be premature to hazard a guess as to the particular form that their joint efforts would take. On Tariff Reform the Premier was equally uncommunicative. He merely summed up the results of the Imperial Conferences which had just ended, and expressed his conviction that what had been done would commend itself to the Parliament at home.

At a meeting of the Imperial Economic Conference on November 7 the President of the Board of Trade announced that the British Government had been considering further preferences, and had decided to make certain recommendations to Parliament on the matter, viz., that apples, canned salmon, fruit juices and honey should be allowed in free from the Dominions but taxed if coming from other countries, and that the preference on tobacco should be increased from one-sixth to one-fourth. The Government was of opinion that these changes came within the limits of Mr. Bonar Law's pledge. On the next day the Conference was informed that the Government had further decided on a considerable increase in the existing preference on Empire wines.

The Imperial Conference ended on November 9, and with commendable promptitude, issued an official report of its proceedings within three days of its concluding meeting. The Report added some interesting details to those which had already been communicated to the public. It stated that the discussion of international affairs had not been confined to any particular session, but had been resumed from day to day with

each new development that arose. The conclusion finally reached by the Conference was that the European situation could only be lifted on to the plane of a possible settlement by the co-operation of the United States, and that if the scheme of common inquiry followed by common action were to break down, the results would be inimical both to the peace and to the economic recovery of the world. This might be regarded as an exoneration of the British Government for its policy of passivity in the past; in regard to the future, the Conference threw out a cautious suggestion of independent action in the statement that in the event of the break-down alluded to, it might be desirable for the British Government to consider very carefully the advisability of summoning a conference itself in order to examine the financial and economic problem in its widest aspect. The Conference also recorded its opinion that any policy which would result in breaking up the unity of the German State was inconsistent with the Treaty obligations entered into both by Germany and the Powers.

The Conference expressed its emphatic approval of the action that had been taken by and the support that had been given to the representatives of the British Empire on the occasion of the sitting of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva which had dealt with the Italo-Greek incident. In regard to the United States' proposal for extending the right of search in territorial waters on which the Government had asked it to decide, the Conference, while affirming and safeguarding the doctrine of the three-mile limit, came to the conclusion that it was both practicable and desirable to meet the request of the United States for an extension of the right of search to a limit of 12 miles in case of suspected liquor smuggling.

The Conference devoted great attention to the consideration of the principles which should govern the relations of the various parts of the Empire in connexion with the negotiation, etc., of treaties. By a resolution passed on the subject it was declared to be "the now established practice" that on any British Empire Delegation which took part in the negotiating of international treaties, the Dominions and India should be separately represented. That the Delegation would be unanimous seemed to be taken for granted. By the same resolution each Dominion was accorded the right of concluding independent treaties on matters which concerned itself only, subject only to the granting of a "full power" to its representative by the Home Government.

The principle that the Empire was now a commonwealth of equal and independent partners and that authority in it was no longer centralised in London was affirmed even more decisively by the resolutions on Defence, one of which expressly recognised that it was for the Parliaments of the several parts of the Empire, upon the recommendations of their respective Governments, to

decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them in this field. The Conference further laid down the primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference for its own local defence. This, however, did not prevent it from noting the deep interest of Australia, New Zealand, and India in the provision of a naval base at Singapore, the cost of which was to be borne chiefly if not entirely by the British taxpayer. The announcement was made at the Conference of the projected Empire cruise of a squadron of modern battleships. The Dominion Premiers expressed their appreciation of the proposal, and assured the Conference that the ships would be heartily welcomed in their respective countries.

During the autumn the working of the National Health Insurance Act came near to breaking down owing to a conflict between the Board of Health and the medical profession. Acting on representations from the approved societies, the Board of Health issued on October 4 a memorandum in which it proposed, as from January 1, to reduce the fees of panel doctors from 9«. 6d. per patient, at which they had been fixed a couple of years previously, to 8s. 6d. for a three years' agreement, or 8s. for a five years' agreement. This step was rendered necessary by the state of the funds of the approved societies, and was justified on the ground of the fall in the cost of living which had taken place since the fee was last fixed. The doctors were at once up in arms, and the vast majority of them threatened to resign from the panel if the Minister of Health carried out his proposal. After much parleying, the Minister of Health on October 31 proposed that an impartial Eoyal Commission should be appointed to investigate and report on the whole system established under the National Health Insurance Acts, including medical benefit and the remuneration of the practitioner, also that, if the doctors desired, a special court of inquiry should deal at once with the question of remuneration. The doctors met on November 14 at Westminster, and accepted the offer of a special court of inquiry to report as soon as possible on the proper capitation fee to be paid as from January 1, 1924, on the understanding that both they and the Minister would be bound by the court's recommendation.

CHAPTEE V.

PROTECTION DEFEATED.

PARLIAMENT reassembled on November 13 in the shadow of an imminent dissolution. The Prime Minister had practically committed himself to an appeal to the country at an early date, and the only question was whether the election should be held as soon as possible—that is, at the beginning of December—or be postponed till the end of January, so as not to interfere with

the Christmas trade, and to allow more time for "educating" the electorate on the issue which had so suddenly been sprung upon them. Mr. Baldwin decided in favour of the former course. The first business of the House of Commons was to pay tribute, through the mouths of the party leaders, to the memory of Mr. Bonar Law, who had died universally mourned on November 2. Immediately afterwards Mr. Baldwin informed the House that he had advised the King to dissolve Parliament on the coming Friday, November 16, so that the election would automatically be fixed for Thursday, December 6. It was announced about the same time that a Committee, with Lord Milner as chairman, had been appointed to advise the Government on the preparation of the proposed tariff.

The business of the House during its brief period of session was to carry through its remaining stages the new Workmen's Compensation Act which was to come into force on January 1, and to discuss a Vote of Censure on the Government brought forward by Mr. Bamsay Macdonald. Complaints were made by the Liberals that they had not been consulted on the arrangement of public business, and they threatened to obstruct the Workmen's Compensation Bill, but they eventually withdrew their opposition, and the measure became law before Parliament rose.

The debate on the Vote of Censure found Labour and Liberals united in opposition, the attack being pressed home by Mr. Lloyd George no less vigorously than by Mr. Macdonald. Nevertheless the Government secured a majority of ninety-five. Mr. Macdonald laid stress equally on the Government's failure to effect a settlement abroad and to relieve unemployment at home, and strongly condemned Mr. Baldwin's action in precipitating an election on what he declared was a sham issue. He also characterised as a "bribe" the proposal of the Government, announced on the previous day, to give a subsidy of 11. per acre on all arable land, provided the farmers paid not less than 30s. a week to their men. Mr. Baldwin, in his defence, explained that the election was necessary in order to secure for the Government a release from Mr. Law's pledge, without which they could not tackle the problem of unemployment. In regard to his fiscal proposals he made the important statement that the Government did not intend in any circumstances to put a tax on wheat, flour, meat (which was to include mutton and bacon), cheese, butter or eggs. He also repudiated the suggestion of having offered a "bribe" to the farmers. In the matter of foreign policy he had to admit failure, but threw the blame on France, which once more, in the recent negotiations with America, had brought their efforts to naught. It might, he said, be difficult to maintain indefinitely attempts to work together with Allies who made it so hard, and the spirit necessary for co-operation and entente could not be preserved if the present situation were allowed to continue much longer.

The King's speech on the Prorogation contained the admissions that the economic conditions in Europe were still causing the Government profound anxiety, and that in spite of the Government's efforts to stimulate trade and alleviate distress, the circumstances of large numbers of people in the country remained deplorable. In regard therefore to the country's main interests at home and abroad, the Government confessed that its record had been one of failure—a fact which its opponents were not slow to point out. The only positive achievements which the King's speech claimed were the treaty with Turkey and the prosecution of negotiations with the United States Government for the suppression of the illicit liquor traffic. Unquestionably the Government's conduct of affairs since Parliament rose for the summer recess had not redounded to its credit, and the prestige which it then enjoyed had been largely if not completely dissipated.

Just before Parliament rose—on November 15—the Select Committee on the Taxation of Betting which had been appointed immediately after the introduction of the Budget in April received a draft report from its chairman, Mr. Cautley, which was in favour of taxing betting. After considering the draft, however, the Committee decided by a majority of four to strike out that part of the report which declared that a tax on betting was desirable, and it was generally felt that with this the whole proposal had died a natural death.

Even before Parliament dissolved preparations for the new election had been commenced with feverish haste. The election itself was regarded by all parties as at best a necessary evil. The Unionists were jeopardising by it their tenure of power; the Labour Party, it was believed, had not recovered from the financial exhaustion caused by the last election and was seriously short of funds; and the Liberals could hardly hope as yet, even if united, to make up the ground they had lost on that occasion. Still, if there was to be a fight, a better issue could not have been desired by Liberals than that with which Mr. Baldwin had gratuitously presented them. On any other issue they might have remained disunited; but in the cause of Free Trade they found no difficulty in sinking their differences and forming once more a single party. On the morning of November 13 a conference was held at which Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir John Simon and Sir Alfred Mond were present, and arrangements were made for a joint and united campaign of all Liberals, and for co-operation and co-ordination both at headquarters and in the constituencies. It was agreed that in the coming election in no circumstances should a candidate of one of the two Liberal wings be opposed by a candidate from the other. All candidates were to be adopted and described as Liberals, and supported by the whole strength of the party, without regard to past differences. It was **already certain** that Liberal candidates **would go to the poll in such numbers as to make united Liberalism a practical alternative to the existing Government.**

Among those who found their way back to the Liberal fold at this juncture was Mr. Winston Churchill, who had just set all England talking on the revelations contained in the second volume of his brilliant work on the War. His latest political utterances had left his party colour uncertain, but he now at the eleventh hour threw himself whole-heartedly into the Free Trade ranks. On November 16 he addressed a crowded meeting in defence of that policy at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, and followed this up the next day by delivering at the Keform Club in that city a vigorous attack on the Government, at the same time declaring himself a loyal supporter of Mr. Asquith. He received a number of invitations to contest constituencies in the Liberal interest, and his choice finally fell on West Leicester, a division which had once been represented by Mr. Eamsay Macdonald, and in which the Labour majority at the last election, against a split Liberal vote, had been over 4,000. The Labour candidate on this occasion was Mr. Pethick Lawrence, one of the financial experts of the Labour Party, and a principal exponent of the Capital Levy scheme.

In the Unionist camp, on the other hand, Mr. Baldwin's new policy gave rise to severe searchings of heart, and for a time it looked as though defections would be numerous. Some Unionist members immediately followed the example of the *Glasgow Herald*, and refused to give their support to the Government in the forthcoming campaign. Prominent among these was Sir Allan Smith, the member for South Croydon and chairman of the Industrial Group in the House of Commons. It was feared that there would be a split in the Government itself, but this was avoided. The only member who declared himself an uncompromising Free Trader and resigned accordingly was Lieut.-Colonel Buckley, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Department for Overseas Trade. Other Free Trade Ministers managed to swallow Mr. Baldwin's proposals with more or less weighty reservations. The first of these was Lord Derby, who commenced to preach Tariff Reform as "a temporary expedient to meet abnormal circumstances." His example was soon followed by the other most pronounced Free Traders in the Cabinet, Lord Salisbury and Lord Robert Cecil, the latter of whom was just at this juncture raised to the peerage.

To Lord Derby as a Lancashire magnate fell the onerous and delicate task of preserving the allegiance of the Unionist Free Traders who were so numerous and influential in that county. He was exceedingly anxious to have the assistance in this endeavour of Lord Birkenhead, also a Lancashire man and probably the most brilliant speaker in the Unionist party. Lord Birkenhead was unwilling to act except in conjunction with Mr. Austen Chamberlain; and when approached by the Prime Minister with a request to put their services at the disposal of the party, these gentlemen made it a condition of

complying that both should be admitted to the Cabinet, as Ministers without portfolio, if necessary. Mr. Baldwin was willing, but the inclusion of Lord Birkenhead in the Cabinet was strongly opposed by some of his colleagues, and the idea had to be dropped. It was at first feared that in consequence of this rebuff Lord Birkenhead would remain aloof, but in the end party loyalty gained the upper hand of personal considerations, and he took an active and strenuous part in Lord Derby's campaign in Lancashire.

The Prime Minister's address to his constituents at Bewdley in Worcestershire, issued on November 17, contained the first really complete and connected exposition of his policy, which hitherto had been communicated to the public in driblets. He began by calling attention to the gravity of the unemployment problem and its causes, among the chief of which he reckoned the bounty given to the importation of foreign goods by depreciated currencies and by the reduced standard of living in many European countries. Convinced as he himself was that only by a fundamental change in the fiscal system of the country could a remedy be found, and that no partial measures, such as the extension of the Safeguarding of Industries Act, could meet the situation, he was in honour bound to ask the people to release him from Mr. Bonar Law's pledge; this was the only reason which made the election necessary. What he proposed to do, should the nation approve, was to impose duties on imported manufactured goods with the object of raising revenue, of assisting industries suffering from unfair foreign competition, of securing a weapon with which to bargain with foreign countries, and of giving preference to the Empire. It was not his intention, however, to impose duties on the staple foodstuffs. To assist agriculture he proposed to give a bounty of *1*l** per acre of all arable land; and with this would go earnest efforts to develop the Empire by assisting emigration and co-operating in economic schemes. For the present emergency and pending the introduction of their more extended proposals, the Government would make every effort to increase the volume of work for the people, whether at its own cost or by its influence with large employers. Finally while regarding the solution of the unemployment problem as the key to every social reform, Mr. Baldwin expressed his conviction that they should also aim at the reorganisation of the various schemes of insurance against old age, ill-health, and unemployment.

At the same time the Labour Party issued a manifesto setting forth its programme. As a remedy for unemployment it rejected tariffs, which it declared fostered profiteering, and advocated a comprehensive scheme of national work; while for the encouragement of agriculture instead of a subsidy it proposed the providing of credit facilities for farmers and small holders and similar measures. For the raising of fresh revenue it relied not on tariffs but on a capital levy, to be imposed once

only, under the title of War Debt Kedemption Tax, on all **fortunes** above 5000Z., and to be applied solely to Debt reduction. **In** the field of foreign policy it advocated the calling by Great Britain of an immediate Conference of all Powers concerned, including Germany, to deal with the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, and also the resumption of free economic and diplomatic relations with Kussia. Needless to say, it outlined a comprehensive scheme of social reform, with the nationalisation of some of the main sources of production and channels of distribution as its basis.

The Liberal manifesto was issued on November 19, signed jointly by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George on behalf of the whole party. It occupied in character an intermediate place between Mr. Baldwin's address and the Labour manifesto, inclining on the whole to the latter. It gave the place of honour to foreign affairs, critising the Government most sharply for its mismanagement in this sphere. It called for an earnest endeavour to co-operate with America in bringing peace to the world, and undertook that the whole force of the Liberal Party should be thrown into support of the League of Nations. In regard to the evil of unemployment, it rejected with equal emphasis both the remedy proposed by Mr. Baldwin—Tariff restriction—and those of the Labour Party—Socialism and the Capital Levy—and proposed instead a bold and courageous use of the national credit, which the country had restored by enormous sacrifices, on enterprises that would permanently benefit the home country and the Empire. Agriculture it proposed to assist not by means of a subsidy but on lines similar to those advocated in the Labour programme. It laid stress on the need for economy in the public service, but not to the detriment of education, and advocated local option in the matter of the sale of drink.

While the turmoil of the election was gathering force at home, a new complication of the first importance had arisen abroad. Just before Parliament rose, the Council of Ambassadors at Paris had been called upon to consider the question of making effective its control over the growth of German armaments, and also of allowing the Crown Prince, who had just returned to his home in Silesia, to remain in Germany. France was for applying drastic sanctions and for demanding the expulsion of the Crown Prince, but England was strongly opposed to both these measures. There was grave fear for several days that France would act alone, but after repeated conferences Lord Crewe, the British ambassador, induced M. Poincaré to consent to the delivery of two Notes to Germany which were drawn up on the whole in the British sense. In one of these the German Government was called upon somewhat sharply to observe its obligations in the matter of disarmament, but was not threatened with the application of fresh sanctions. In the other the presence of the Crown Prince

in Germany was noted with some displeasure, but no demand was made for his expulsion. It was obvious that if Germany did not conform to the first of these Notes the problem of sanctions would again arise in an acute form, and there was still nothing to prevent France from taking independent action. Nevertheless relief was felt both in England and in France that a breach had at least been postponed, and in England the fact that for the first time in the life of the present Government France had deferred to British representations was thought to mark the turning over of a leaf in the relations of the two countries.

Satisfaction was caused in the country at large, and in labour circles in particular, by the settlement, on November 16, of the dispute between the Boilermakers' Society and the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation, which had been going on for nearly seven months. The Minister of Labour had intervened as far back as the beginning of September, but it required a further two and a half months of parleying to overcome the obstinacy of the men. The dispute had arisen out of the refusal of the boilermakers to accept an agreement entered into by the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades with the employers regarding overtime and night-shifts, on the ground that they had ceased to belong to the Federation when the agreement came into force in April, and their action was strongly resented by the other shipbuilding trade unions both as being disloyal to the Federation and as being responsible for throwing 60,000 of their own members out of work. It was the pressure of their own fellow-workmen not less than that of the employers and the Government which finally induced the boilermakers to accept the agreement with some modifications.

Nomination day for the election was on November 26. Fifty candidates were unopposed—35 Unionists, 11 Liberals, 3 Labour, and one Irish Nationalist, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, the "Father of the House." For the other 565 seats there were 1396 candidates, of whom 502 stood as Unionists, 444 as Liberals, 420 as Labour, and 30 under other denominations—Independent, Co-operative, Communist, etc. There were thirty-three women candidates. An analysis of the nominations showed that 116 of the contests would be between Unionists and Liberals, 100 between Unionists and Labour, and 52 between Liberal and Labour, while 249 would be "three-cornered," or in one or two cases even "four-cornered." A small number of Unionists—mostly in Lancashire—stood as Free Traders, but this did not prevent them from receiving the support of the central organisation. Among the Labour candidates there were a few who professed themselves to be Communists, but who nevertheless subscribed to the Labour Party programme.

The protagonists in the election campaign were Mr. Baldwin for the Conservatives, Mr. Lloyd George for the Liberals, and

Mr. Macdonald for Labour. Having safe seats, these gentlemen were able to tour the country, and they were all three received with great enthusiasm wherever they showed themselves. Mr. Lloyd George, it was noted with regret by many Liberals, reverted to his "Limehouse" style of 1909, and raised cheers by methods of questionable taste. Of the other popular leaders, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill found themselves too hard pressed in their own contests to be able to divert much of their energies elsewhere, while Mr. Austen Chamberlain judged it best to devote most of his work to his own constituency. Lord Birkenhead, however, made some brilliant oratorical efforts in Lancashire. Lord Curzon excused himself from taking part in the campaign on the ground that the Foreign Office required his unremitting attention. It was certainly part of the Unionist policy to keep foreign affairs in the background as much as possible, and in this they were assisted by M. Poincaré, who, whether by design or not, refrained during the campaign from further offending British susceptibilities.

The interest taken in the election by the public was at first somewhat lukewarm, but it gathered strength rapidly as the campaign proceeded. The dominant issue was almost everywhere the tariff, and in many ways the battle of the 1905 election was fought over again. Free Trade on this occasion found as staunch support in the Labour as in the Liberal ranks. Mr. Macdonald denounced Protection no less vigorously than Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill; and Mr. Clynes, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Smillie and other spokesmen of the working classes poured scorn on the idea that tariffs could cure unemployment. This fact did not lead to any rapprochement between the Liberal and Labour parties. Each fought for its own hand, intent on gaining, if not office, at least the second prize, the place of official opposition. On the other hand, there was in a number of constituencies a more or less formal combination of Liberal and Unionist forces to oppose Labour; otherwise the number of three-cornered contests would have been considerably augmented.

The sensation of the election campaign was the attitude taken up by the press organs of* Lord Eothermere and Lord Beaverbrook. (These press magnates had a few weeks earlier considerably extended their Trust by purchasing, at a cost of £6,000,000, the *Manchester Daily Dispatch* and the other papers owned by the Lancashire newspaper proprietor, Sir Edward Hulton.) This section of the Press, which according to its traditions should have been a strong advocate of Protection, gave its support not to Mr. Baldwin but to Mr. Lloyd George, and hinted not obscurely at the desirability of a Coalition Government in which Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Churchill, Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Austen Chamberlain should be the leading figures. Thus Mr. Baldwin's party, already rent on the Free Trade issue, was still further distracted, and its chances correspond-

ingly weakened. Nevertheless the general feeling among the Unionists was one of confidence that they would go back to Parliament with a clear majority over the other two parties. This was also the opinion reflected in the Stock Exchange, where the greatest "election risk" speculated upon was that of a Unionist majority of not more than twenty-five.

During the last week of the campaign complaints were made in a number of constituencies by opponents of Labour candidates that their meetings had been interfered with by "rowdy elements," but the polling itself on December 6 passed off without incident. The first result announced gave a severe shock to Unionist complacency. It was that of the Exchange division of Manchester—the scene of many memorable contests—where a Liberal defeated the retiring member, Sir E. Stockton, who stood as a Unionist Free Trader, and was thought to have an absolutely safe seat. The general result of the election was in harmony with this prelude. Out of 346 seats held by Unionists in the late Parliament the party now lost no fewer than 107, and in return gained only 18 from other parties, so that their numbers were reduced by 89 on the balance. Thus history repeated itself, and Protection once more proved a disastrous policy for the Unionist Party. The voting figures showed even more conclusively that, in spite of the changed conditions of world-commerce, the electorate of Great Britain was no less averse to Protection than it had been eighteen years previously. The total number of votes cast for Unionist candidates was 5,500,000 against over 8,500,000 for the Opposition.

The Unionists lost 40 seats to Labour and 67 to Liberals, gaining in exchange 3 from the former and 14 from the latter. Their total poll decreased by some 75,000. A number of Ministers failed to secure election—Sir M. Barlow, the Minister of Labour, Sir E. Sanders, Minister of Agriculture, and Captain W. E. Elliot, the Hon. W. Watson, Mr. J. C. Davidson, Major A. Boyd-Carpenter, and Mr. P. J. Ford, who held minor posts in the Government. The losses of the Unionists were particularly heavy in Lancashire, and included 8 in Manchester and Salford and 2 in Liverpool; but nowhere in England—not even in the "solid South"—did they hold their own, save in Birmingham, where they still retained all 12 seats by very large majorities. In Scotland they even gained slightly at the expense of the Liberals.

Labour gained 22 seats from the Liberals and lost 13 to them. Its total poll was 4,358,045—an increase of some 250,000 over that of the last election. But for the combination of Liberal and Conservative forces against it in certain constituencies, it would undoubtedly have won even more seats. To this fact it owed its chief "casualty"—the defeat of Mr. A. Henderson in West Newcastle. Its crowning triumph was the victory of Mr. Pethick Lawrence at West Leicester over Mr. Churchill by over 4,000 votes.

Liberalism gained most ground in Lancashire. Its total poll increased by some 180,000 votes. Its successes were preponderatingly to the account of the Asquithian or "independent" wing of the party, and its defeats to that of the Lloyd George wing, which lost not only Mr. Churchill, but also Sir A. Mond and many of Mr. George's most notable supporters in the last Parliament. Some prominent "Independents," however, who had lost their seats at previous elections again failed to get in—notably Sir Donald Maclean, Mr. W. Eunciman, and Mr. J. M. Eobertson.

Of the 33 women candidates 8 were elected—3 Unionist, 2 Liberal, and 3 Labour. The Communist member, Mr. Newbold, was defeated by an Independent Conservative, and none of the other Communists who stood as Labour candidates secured election.

The final results of the election may be tabulated as follows:—

	New Parliament.	At Dissolution.
Conservatives -	- 258	846
Labour	- 191	144
Liberals	- 158	117
Independents -	8	8

The Independents comprised 2 Irish Nationalists, 1 Sinn Fein, 3 Independent Conservatists, 1 Prohibitionist, and 1 Independent Christian Pacifist.

Thus after a lapse of only twelve months, the Parliament of 1922 was replaced by one of a very different complexion. The lesson of the voting might be summed up by saying that in the course of the year there had been in the electorate a strong drift to the left, so that Liberals gained at the expense of Unionists and Labour at the expense of both. While the Liberal gains could be explained by the Free Trade appeal, those of Labour were due chiefly to the growing volume of disgust among the public with the methods and outlook of both the older parties, and mistrust of their leaders; Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill probably drove as many Liberals over to Labour as they won from Unionism. The verdict of the election could only be interpreted as being not merely a rejection of Tariff Eeform but also a call for a new handling of the problems of unemployment and foreign affairs; and it therefore sealed the doom of Mr. Baldwin's Ministry, though it failed to indicate clearly his successor.

The fact that no party was left in possession of a majority in the House of Commons seemed at first sight to favour the designs of those who desired a Coalition Government the chief object of which should be to fight Socialism. It was reckoned by this section—of which the *Daily Mail* was the chief mouth-piece—that if Mr. Baldwin resigned the King would entrust the formation of a Ministry to some other prominent member of the Unionist Party, which was still the largest party in the

House, and an opportunity would then arise of making some working agreement with the Liberals. Accordingly strong pressure was brought to bear upon Mr. Baldwin from within the ranks of his own party to resign immediately. Constitutionally there were precedents both for this course and for his retaining office till he should have been defeated in the new Parliament, which was to meet on January 8. After visiting the King on December 10 and conferring with his Cabinet on the next day, he decided on the latter course, and all his Ministers remained in office with him.

Thus Mr. Baldwin frustrated for the time being the attempt to form a Unionist-Liberal coalition which should command a majority in the House of Commons. In default of such a coalition, the reversion of office naturally belonged to the Labour Party as the more numerous of the Opposition parties. The attitude of the party in this unexpected and exciting situation was considered at a momentous meeting of its Executive held on December 12, and was embodied in the following resolution: "The National Executive of the Labour Party rejoices that the Parliamentary Labour Party is to continue to be the official Opposition in the House of Commons, and declares its opinion that, should the necessity for forming a Labour Government arise, the Parliamentary Party should at once accept full responsibility for the government of the country without compromising itself with any form of coalition." This resolution was endorsed on the same day by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and was heartily welcomed by the rank and file of the party, which was as strongly opposed to the Liberals as to the Unionists. Thus as a result of the election the country found itself faced with the prospect of a Labour Government in the opening weeks of the coming year—a consummation which a short time previously the most sanguine of Labour politicians had not hoped to witness till about 1927.

The Labour Party having spoken, it was now the turn of the Liberals to define their position. This was done by Mr. Asquith, at a full meeting of Liberal members of the House of Commons held at the National Liberal Club on December 18. Mr. Asquith first took occasion to reject uncompromisingly the appeal made to him by certain sections of the Press, which had formerly treated him with the greatest contempt as a "spent force" and a "back number" to act now as the saviour of society by engineering a coalition with the Unionists. He denied that there had been any negotiations of any kind between himself and the leaders of the other two parties, and expressed the intention of his party to preserve its freedom uncompromised and unfettered. Coming to the actual political situation, he said that the dominant fact in it was that neither the Tory nor the Labour Party had any chance of retaining or obtaining office unless it abandoned for the time being the principal position which it fought the election to obtain. Liberal policy was the

only one which the electorate had not decisively rejected; consequently, whoever held office, it was the Liberals who, if they understood their business, would really control the situation. The present Government would go, and go with short shrift, as he himself would not lift a finger to save it; and it would according to present indications be succeeded by a Labour Government. But what was to happen then? It was commonly supposed that the Prime Minister could bring about a dissolution of Parliament at his will. This was a mistake. That prerogative belonged to the Crown, and the Crown was not bound to dissolve a Parliament at the advice of a Minister if it could find other Ministers who were prepared to give that Parliament a trial. The notion, proceeded Mr. Asquith, that a Minister whose followers numbered only 31 per cent, of the House could demand a dissolution seemed to him to be subversive of constitutional usage, and pernicious to the interests of the nation. He did not pursue the subject further, but what he had said was a clear indication that he contemplated the possibility of himself assuming office after Mr. Macdonald had had his run, and within the lifetime of the new Parliament.

Mr. Asquith's theory of constitutional usage was challenged in many quarters, and passages were quoted from Dicey and other authorities to show that the King could not reject the advice of any Prime Minister to dissolve Parliament. For the moment, however, the question was only academic, as the country turned with relief from politics to the business of keeping up Christmas in something like "the good old style." It was enabled to do so all the more easily by a somewhat unexpected turn for the better in the general situation both at home and abroad.

Deferring for a second time to English representations, France had consented to the two Committees which were to inquire into Germany's finances being set up under such conditions as made it possible for America to participate; and from that time relations between France and Germany seemed to have reached a certain equilibrium which gave as it were a breathing-space to all parties concerned. At home there was a slight improvement in trade, and this, coupled with the energetic taking in hand of new work by the great railway companies, not only prevented the anticipated increase in unemployment, but led to a slight decrease. Trouble threatened in the mining industry owing not to want of employment but to unsatisfactory conditions; but the rumblings of the storm were still distant. Some angry strictures were passed by Labour spokesmen on the Government for its action in clinging to office; but on the whole it was allowed to pass its last days in comparative tranquillity.

So ended a year which for the mass of the British public completed the process of disillusionment over the Lloyd George regime of the post-war period and its promises of a better world. Throughout the year the problems of unemployment at home

and reparations abroad continued **obstinately to defy solution**, and prevented the restoration of conditions which could truthfully be described as normal or healthy. After four years of waiting the fruits of the victory gained at the expense of so much blood and treasure were found at last to resolve themselves into a crushing burden of public debt and a woeful loss of prestige in international affairs. The sobering effect of this experience was seen in the return of seriousness to Parliamentary life. The restoration of the party system at the 1922 election had made the House of Commons once more fairly representative of the nation, and was followed by a revival of its authority, which for years had been at a low ebb. Cabinet responsibility to Parliament, which had been practically non-existent under Mr. Lloyd George, was re-established by the debates on the Irish deportations and on the Eussian ultimatum ; and Mr. Baldwin as Premier showed himself a genuine constitutionalist, utterly averse to governing either behind the back or over the head of Parliament. The Government's majority was not large enough to be "mechanical," and the Opposition exerted a pressure which kept Ministers constantly on the alert. Some of the more extreme members of the Labour Party, it is true, came near more than once to bringing Parliament into disrepute, but their tactics were not encouraged either inside or outside of the House. On the whole it may be said that the House of Commons in 1923 recovered the place in the counsels of the nation which it had held not merely before the Coalition of 1915 but before the "secret diplomacy" of 1906, and played a greater part than for many years previously in determining the national policy both at home and abroad.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THERE is not much that need be said concerning the constitutional development of the League of Nations during 1923. The Assembly was as successful as before, and its machinery worked with equal, if not greater efficiency. The Council dealt with a greater range of important questions than it has had in any previous year. It has continued to give greater and greater publicity to its proceedings, with the result that now practically everything except what concerns the appointment of individuals—which must evidently be done in private—is now dealt with in the presence either of the Press alone or of the Press and the public. The immense value of this tradition of publicity was shown in the Council's proceedings on the Corfu dispute between Italy and Greece in September.

Another satisfactory feature of the constitutional development of the League has been the work of the various technical and expert Commissions. All these Commissions have now built up an effective system of co-operation between the administrations of different National Governments.

Of the general work accomplished by the Governments through the machinery of the League during 1923 the most important has been that connected with the economic reconstruction of Europe, and in this direction three great reconstructive schemes have been launched. The first and most important was the plan for the financial rehabilitation of Austria. In August, 1922, the finances of the Austrian Eepublic were in such a state of confusion that its political and social dissolution appeared inevitable. At the eleventh hour the question was referred by the Allied Governments, who had tried unsuccessfully to deal with it themselves, to the Council of the League. The Council, with the support of the Assembly, worked out a scheme based on internal reform and an external loan, by which it was hoped that the Austrian currency might be stabilised, its Budget balanced within a period of two years, and its economic life thus restored [see ANNUAL EEGISTEB, 1922, pp. 148-9]. But at the beginning of 1923 it was still uncertain, in spite of the initial successes that had been obtained, whether the external loan could be raised, and whether in any event the Austrian Eepublic had

economic strength enough to achieve its own recovery. The early months of 1923 supplied a decisive answer. The external loan when floated on the various markets of Europe and America was, on the day of its issue, many times oversubscribed, and at the end of the year, the stock still stood at a premium. The internal results achieved through the scheme have been no less remarkable. The programme of reforms drawn up by the League of Nations Commissioner has been promptly and loyally carried through by the Austrian Government. The Austrian currency has been the most stable in Europe, not excepting the pound sterling. The cost of living has fallen to a considerably lower level than that at which it was when the scheme came into operation. The Bank of Issue, with the assistance of a foreign League of Nations adviser, has been completely successful. The savings of individual citizens have increased by more than fourteen-fold. In spite of the dismissal of Government officials, unemployment has steadily fallen until it stands to-day at a very low figure. So successful has the economic rehabilitation of Austria been that whereas eighteen months ago starving Austrian children were being received into German homes, to-day starving German children are coming to the homes of Austria.

The success of the Austrian scheme encouraged Hungary. Early in 1923 that country, overburdened as Austria had been with Eparation and other external charges, and threatened like Austria with complete financial disaster, on its own initiative appealed to the Council of the League to bring into operation on its behalf a scheme similar to that which had saved Austria. The Council were not able at first to respond to this appeal, but in September the three Powers of the Little Entente, who were of course the Powers principally interested in any reparation payments which Hungary might be able to make, jointly laid before the Council a proposal for a scheme of the sort which the Hungarian Government had requested. Their initiative changed the situation. The Eeparations Commission forthwith gave its preliminary consent. The Financial Committee of the League, which consists of some of the leading experts of the world, met in November to draw up proposals, and at the Council Meeting in Paris in December these proposals were provisionally approved. The plan put forward by the Financial Committee differed from the Austrian plan in some important respects, but principally in that the external loan was not to be based on the guarantees of other Governments, and that provision was made for the payment of certain claims for reparation during the reconstruction period. At the close of the year it was not certain that all the difficulties which remained would be overcome, but the lesson of Austria gave every ground for hope.

The third reconstructive scheme drawn up by the Council of the League related to the settlement of refugees in Greece.

At the end of 1922 Dr. Nansen had gone on behalf of the Assembly to Constantinople and Greece to inquire into the problems caused by the influx into Greece of more than a million destitute refugees. He had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to hope that these refugees could return to their homes in Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace. The only alternative was their settlement on the vacant lands of Greece, in agriculture or in industry* according to their several capacities. He recommended that for this purpose the Council of the League should assist the Greek Government in raising an international loan for the settlement schemes which were required. The Greek Government in January, 1923, professed to the Council their willingness to assign to the services of such an international loan revenues which they held would be more than sufficient for the purpose. Their position was not, however, sufficiently strong to inspire confidence in the money markets of the world. The Council had therefore to find some plan by which such confidence could be created. In July Dr. Nansen's High Commission and the Financial Committee of the League collaborated in the preparation of a scheme which received the acceptance both of the Council and of the Greek Government. Under this scheme a Eefugee Settlement Commission was to be appointed, consisting of two Greek members and two foreign members, one of the latter acting as Chairman with a casting vote. To this Commission the Greek Government were to make over a million and a quarter acres of agricultural land to become the absolute property of the Commission, and the revenues from it were to be the first asset for the service of the loan. At the September meeting of the Council the Protocols establishing the Commission were signed by all the Governments concerned; the Commission was appointed, and Mr. Henry Morgenthau, at one time United States Ambassador at Constantinople, was appointed as its Chairman. The first part of the Loan was floated, the Bank of England providing 1,000,000Z. sterling, and with this sum in November and December the Settlement Commission began its practical work. There is little doubt that but for this practical scheme of reconstruction the additional burden of destitute refugees, amounting to 20 per cent, of her total population, might well have added Greece to the number of States ruined by the war.

A number of disputes were brought before the League in 1923. The first of the year concerned the territory of Memel. Since Germany renounced its rights over Memel in 1919 the territory had been under the administration of an Allied Commission supported by a French occupying force. It was the intention of the Allies to concede the sovereignty over this territory to Lithuania on certain conditions, guaranteeing the autonomy of the town and providing a free economic outlet for the commerce of other nations through its port. The Lithuanians, however, feared that this plan would be dropped in

favour of an alternative scheme which in their view would lead to Polish domination over Memel, They therefore engineered in January, 1923, a *coup de force* and assumed the administration of the territory. In February the Conference of Ambassadors, representing the Principal Allies, came to terms with Lithuania on the general principles of the settlement. These general principles they were, however, unable to translate into a concrete convention, and after six months of failure they referred the whole question to the Council of the League. The Council dealt with the matter at its December meeting. They agreed that the settlement should be on the basis of the principles agreed on between Lithuania and the Ambassadors in February, and for the practical application of these principles they appointed a special Commission of Inquiry to draw up a report. The Commission was to consist of three persons, two economic experts nominated by the Transit Committee of the League, and as Chairman a distinguished American, Mr. Norman Davis, late Under-Secretary of State in the United States administration. This Commission was to report to the Council at its next meeting.

Another dispute related to the frontier to be drawn between Poland and Czechoslovakia in the neighbourhood of a village called Jaworzina. This again was a question which it lay within the competence of the Principal Allies to decide. After negotiations lasting for two years, however, they had been unable to agree on a frontier which satisfied the two parties, and rather than impose a decision against the will of either, the Conference of Ambassadors referred the question to the Council of the League. Before the Council the Czechoslovak Government contended that there were a number of legal issues involved concerning which the Council ought to ask for the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Council accordingly referred these issues, together with all the relevant papers, to the Permanent Court, which held a special session in November to consider them. Its opinion was received by the Council in time for a final decision to be taken in December. The Boundary Commission has since been instructed by the Principal Allies to draw the frontier in accordance with this decision. The dispute was in itself insignificant, the territory small, and the inhabitants involved less than 1,000. It had, however, assumed an altogether fictitious importance owing to the propaganda of the two parties, and had become a question of national prestige on which neither Government was able on its own initiative to give way. The intervention of the Permanent Court demonstrated the value of impartial judicial verdicts in such difficult international questions.

Much the most important political work of the year arose, however, out of the Corfu dispute between Italy and Greece. On August 29 General Tellini, the Italian Chief of an Allied Commission engaged in delimiting the frontier between Albania and

Greece, was, with four of his staff, murdered on the high-road to Janina, a mile or two from the frontier. There was no evidence that the murder was committed by Greek subjects, still less that it was committed at the instigation of the Greek Government. Nevertheless, Signor Mussolini, the Prime Minister of Italy, immediately issued an ultimatum, demanding in violent language material and moral reparation of an unprecedented character. The Greek Government having only accepted part of his demands, Signor Mussolini proceeded on the eve of the opening of the Assembly, and while the Council was actually in session, to despatch the Italian fleet to Corfu. After a brief bombardment, naval forces occupied the Island without resistance from the insignificant Greek garrison. As the Greek Government had already indicated a willingness to accept the decision of the Council of the League on the dispute, Signor Mussolini's action was in every respect a challenge to the authority of Geneva, and in the view of practically the whole world also a violation of the principles of the Covenant.

Signor Mussolini followed up his action by resounding challenges to the authority of the Council issued in the form of interviews to the *Daily Mail*. In accordance with instructions, the Italian member of the Council contended that the Greek Government had no right to bring the dispute before the Council, and demanded that the Council should not deal with it. Despite his representations, however, the Council held a series of very remarkable public meetings, during which the Italian contentions and the whole merits of the dispute were submitted to searching examination before the public opinion of the world. As a result the Council laid proposals before the Conference of Ambassadors, the offices of which as a mediatory body both parties had agreed to accept. The recommendations of the Council were at first accepted practically as they stood by the Conference of Ambassadors. Later, the Conference unscrupulously abandoned the most important clause of the agreement which had been arrived at, and accepted by Greece, and they imposed upon Greece a fine of 50 million lire, in spite of the fact that no evidence had been forthcoming that the Greek Government were in the smallest degree to blame. No responsibility for this decision rested with the Council of the League.

It was the unanimous opinion of all those who followed the proceedings at Geneva and Paris that, but for the intervention of the Council and the strong pressure from the Assembly, not even this unjust settlement could have been arrived at, and war would probably have resulted between Italy and Greece.

Of the work of the Permanent Court of International Justice during 1923, perhaps the most important was the settlement of the dispute between Germany and the Principal Allies concerning the right of passage through the Kiel Canal. This case, known by the name of *S.S. Wimbledon*, was the first brought before the Court in virtue of the obligatory jurisdiction clauses

of the Treaty of Peace. The Court also gave advisory opinions concerning six other questions, including several of great international importance.

In the League's administrative tasks also a great deal was accomplished during 1923. In the first six months of the year many grave questions arose concerning Danzig, and there was ground to fear that the Polish Government intended to bring about the settlement of them all by the virtual absorption of Danzig into the Polish State. This danger was averted, and all the outstanding questions settled by vigorous action taken by the Council in July. Since then the relations of Danzig and Poland have continually improved.

In connexion with the Saar Valley there was a crisis of considerable gravity during the early part of the year. It culminated in the holding of a special inquiry, by the Council at its July meeting, in the course of which it examined all outstanding questions with the members of the Governing Commission. The report of this inquiry which was published in full in the Council Minutes, provided a solution which gave general satisfaction both to British opinion, to the inhabitants of the Saar, and even to some extent to German opinion. The relations between the Governing Commission and the population are still unsatisfactory, owing to the predominance of French influence on the Commission. But it is expected that the Council will make changes in the personnel of the Commission which will lead to improvements.

The Permanent Mandates Commission held its Third Annual Meeting, which lasted no less than six weeks. During this time it examined reports of all the Mandatory Powers on "B" and "C" Mandated areas, *i.e.*, those situated in Africa and the Pacific Islands, and in particular devoted great attention to the question of the so-called Bondelswart Rebellion in South-West Africa [see under South Africa]. It also proposed a modification of the frontier between the Belgian and British Mandated areas in Tanganyika, in the interests of the native tribes. This modification the Governments readily accepted and they have already brought it into force.

In connexion with the Protection of Minorities, Greece and Bulgaria, owing to the intervention of the Assembly, reached an agreement under which their joint Exchange of Populations Commission is to supervise the rights of the minorities in their respective countries. Austria and Czechoslovakia agreed to establish a joint *ad hoc* Commission for the same purpose. Outstanding questions between the Council and the Baltic States were finally liquidated. On the other hand, two very grave infractions of the rights of minorities were committed by the Polish Government. These questions were referred by the Council—after much too great delay—to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion. The Court ruled that the action taken by the Polish Government was a

violation of its international obligations. The Council is still in negotiation with the Polish Government as to the practical means by which the wrongs it has committed can be set right. The question, however, is now a most difficult one and ought never to have arisen if the Council had not wasted so much time before referring the matter to the Court. The opinions of the Court are nevertheless of great importance as a precedent, and should do much to strengthen the system of minority protection which is one of the foundations of the New Europe.

Of the technical Committees of the League, the Opium Committee prepared a comprehensive programme for restricting the production of dangerous drugs, and the Council summoned the necessary Conference for next year; the White Slave Traffic Committee instituted an important inquiry financed by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene; the Health Committee developed the practical work of co-operation between national health administrations which it had begun; the Economic Committee produced treaties on Customs Formalities and Commercial Arbitration, which received a warm welcome from business communities; and the Transit Committee and the Second General Transit Conference held in November, produced four important international conventions, and took a good deal of administrative action in the interests of the community of States.

CHAPTER II

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

ORDER had been firmly established in Northern Ireland before the end of 1922, and during last year the peace of the area remained unbroken. Nationalist and Sinn Fein members still refused to take their seats in the Northern Parliament, and in theory the Catholic minority withheld recognition from Sir James Craig's Government. In practice, however, legal obligations were not repudiated. Nationalists who had been elected to local governing bodies, though protesting against the enforcement of an oath of allegiance, discharged their duties, and if a formidable gulf still divides the rival parties there are indications of an approach to a better understanding.

With the problem of maintaining order reduced to normal proportions, Ministers were free to turn their attention to constructive legislative measures with which hitherto it had not been possible to deal. The most memorable achievement of the year was the passing into law of the Education Bill, which was introduced on March 14 by the Marquis of Londonderry, Minister of Education. This Bill, based in the main on the

recommendations of the Lynn Committee, marked a new departure in Irish educational administration by establishing the principle of popular control. It provided for the creation of local Education Authorities to be formed by the county borough councils and county councils with power to appoint Regional Committees. Local Authorities were empowered to strike a rate to meet the cost of new schools and the maintenance of existing schools, but the salaries of teachers remained a State charge. In Parliament, though the measure gave rise to keen discussion, the Government had little difficulty in carrying the Bill through both Houses without substantial alteration. It was from the outside that the strongest opposition came. A fortnight after the introduction of the Bill the Catholic Bishops of Northern Ireland declared in a manifesto that "the proposed schools are impossible for our children." There was also hostility on the part of the Presbyterian and Church of Ireland authorities who demanded that the appointment of teachers in transferred schools should be delegated to representatives of the parents and managers or trustees acting with nominees of the Education Authority. Negotiations are still in progress with the Protestant Churches, but meanwhile the main clauses of the Act came into operation on October 1.

Equally vigorous was the controversy aroused by the Intoxicating Liquor Bill which was introduced on May 11 by the Prime Minister. Its provisions for the abolition of spirit grocers' licenses with compensation to the holders, the enforcement of heavier penalties for illicit distillation, the prohibition of the sale of liquor to persons under eighteen, and the transfer of licensing cases from a bench of justices to the Resident Magistrates were generally approved. Far otherwise was it with the withdrawal of the concessions hitherto enjoyed by *bona-fide* travellers and the decision to enforce the total closing of public-houses on Sundays which provoked loud protests from a large section of the working-class. While the Bill was still under discussion an election took place in West Belfast at which an Independent, Colonel P. J. Woods, a strong critic of the measure, carried the seat against the official Unionist, Sir Joseph Davison, with a majority of nearly 8,000. Another important piece of legislation passed during the year was the Trades Board Bill which affected eighteen trades comprising some 6,000 firms and between 65,000 and 70,000 workers. A new departure was made in that under the Bill wage rates were fixed for the least skilled workers in each trade and other grades were left free to arrange rates by negotiation.

The return of income and expenditure for the first complete year of the Northern Government issued on March 30, showed a balance of revenue over expenditure of 32,042Z. after providing for sinking fund charges of 63,735Z. and the payment to the Imperial Exchequer of the statutory contribution of 6,000,000Z. It was decided that members of the Northern Parliament who

had taken the oath of allegiance should be paid 200l. a year aB "expenses."

The fiscal separation between the Free State and Great Britain which took effect on April 1 led to complications in Northern Ireland which remains inside the British Customs area. Though up to the present there has been no differentiation of fiscal policy, by the division of what had been a single fiscal unit Saorstát Éireann and Great Britain are at present imposing protective tariffs against certain goods manufactured by the other. Accurate statistics are not yet available, but it is known that these charges have diminished the volume of commerce between North and South, and have dealt a crushing blow to the retail trade in dutiable goods across the land frontier, causing much inconvenience and economic loss to border towns on both sides.

The Boundary question still remains a bone of contention between the Northern and Southern Governments. At the opening of Parliament on February 27, Sir James Craig said a system had now been devised whereby the frontier had been made safe and secure, and the British Government had pledged itself to place at the disposal of the Northern Government any troops that might be necessary for the defence of the border. In July the Free State Government announced that they had nominated Mr. Eoin MacNeill as their representative on the Boundary Commission provided for in the Anglo-Irish Treaty to "determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as shall be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the West of Ireland." In a statement dealing with the nomination of Mr. Eoin MacNeill, the Northern Prime Minister refused to appoint a representative on the ground that "neither I nor any member of the Government of Northern Ireland was any party to the agreement entered into by the representatives of Southern Ireland and the British Government, and therefore we are exonerated from any breach of faith." "We shall carry on," Sir James Craig added, "as we have done in the past, and no territory within the Northern area will be surrendered unless by mutual agreement, and with the consent of those in the locality concerned." In the hope of finding a way out of this impasse, Mr. Baldwin early in November invited the heads of the Free State and the Northern Government to attend a Conference to be held in London for the purpose of discussing the question of the Boundary. Mr. Cosgrave accepted without prejudice to his claims under the Treaty, and Sir James Craig also expressed his willingness to enter into conversations which did not bind him to alter his attitude towards the Boundary Commission. The upheaval created by the unexpected dissolution of the British Parliament prevented the meeting of the London Conference, and for the time being the proposal remains in abeyance.

Under the Act of 1920 Northern **Ireland sends thirteen** members to the Imperial Parliament, and nine of these were returned in the December elections without opposition in support of Mr. Baldwin's policy. In North and West Belfast the official Unionist candidates had to face contested elections. Mr. T. E. McConnell won in North Belfast by a majority of 1,600 over Mr. Thomas Henderson, an Independent Unionist; in the West Division Mr. E. J. Lynn defeated Mr. Midgley (Lab.) by 2,720. Partition was the sole issue in the joint-constituency of Tyrone and Fermanagh, where, as was generally expected, the Nationalist and Sinn Fein candidates succeeded in retaining their seats with safe majorities. The returns were T. J. S. Harbinson (Nat.) 44,003; Cahir Healy (S.F.) 43,668; J. A. Pringle (U.) 37,733; Sir Charles Fall (U.) 37,682.

Amongst the notable events of the year was the State entry of the Governor, the Duke of Abercorn, into Belfast on February 26, when the Lord Mayor presented a gold key, and loyal addresses were received from a large number of public Boards and religious and social organisations. On the following day his Grace opened the new Session of Parliament, and in May a State visit was also paid to Derry.

Lord Carson of Duncairn performed in October the ceremony of cutting the sod of the new Silent Valley reservoir in the Mourne Mountains which the Belfast Water Commissioners are constructing at a cost of 1,000,000Z. During his visit Lord Carson was presented with an address and a solid silver casket to commemorate his political services during the period he acted as leader of the Ulster Unionists.

An experimental air mail service was opened between Belfast and Plymouth. The first flight was made on September 15 when the machine leaving Plymouth at 10 A.M. reached Belfast at 4.20 P.M. after calls at Birmingham and Manchester.

During the year there was a slight improvement in linen and shipbuilding, the staple industries of the Northern area. In spite of the chaotic condition of the exchanges and the pressure of foreign competition, linen exports show an increase of from five to six million square yards of fabrics in piece goods alone, and an increase in the total value of linen manufactures of all kinds estimated at some 250,000Z. Messrs. Harland & Wolffs shipbuilding output amounted to 86,714 tons, the highest figure for a single yard in the Three Kingdoms. The total tonnage launched from the Belfast yards was 127,433 tons as against 86,943 for the previous year.

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

THE situation which confronted the Free State Government in the opening weeks of 1923 was such as to give rise to grave alarm. General Mulcahy's forces had asserted their supremacy in the field, and military operations by their opponents were

limited to half-hearted attacks on isolated detachments and long-range sniping of barracks and posts **under** cover of darkness. Guerilla leaders found it safer and more profitable to concentrate **on** a systematic attempt to paralyse railway communications by the derailing of trains and the blowing up of bridges, culverts and signal cabins. By these means it was hoped to bring the economic life of the country to a dead stop. In addition the wholesale destruction of the houses and property of Free State supporters and of the Southern Unionists would have the effect, it was assumed, of discrediting the Government in the eyes of those who had something to lose, and of rallying to the Eepublican cause the solid body of peasantry with whom land hunger has always been a dominant passion. President Cosgrave's country house at Tempelogue near Dublin was burned down on January 13; and this was followed by the destruction of Kilteragh, the residence of Sir Horace Plunkett, who had devoted his life to the service of Irishmen of all parties. Mr. Stephen Gwynn, the well-known Irish writer, was informed that his house at Terenure was blown up on account of his "non-sympathy/" and any excuse or none served to justify the wrecking of historic castles and mansions and the expulsion of their owners. Efforts were also made to kidnap members of the Oireachtas. Senator Oliver St. John Gogarty, who had been carried off by armed men on January 12, managed to escape by swimming the Liffey; Senator John Bagwell, who was seized towards the end of the month, was released on the threat of drastic reprisals by the military authorities.

The first proof that steady pressure was beginning to tell on irregular *moral* was the publication on February 4 of the appeal of Liam Deasy, whom Collins had described as the most dangerous of the Republican leaders, for a surrender of arms. Deasy's appeal, written while under sentence of death, was repudiated by the Eepublican Executive, but was strongly endorsed by irregular prisoners in Limerick and Cork who asked permission to send delegates to urge its acceptance by their comrades still in the field. Encouraged by these signs, General Mulcahy offered an amnesty on February 8 if arms were surrendered inside ten days. Scattered bands in the South and the Midlands marched in with their guns; other irregular detachments dissolved and returned to their homes without a formal surrender. From documents captured later it became known that by the end of February the active guerilla leaders realised that they were, in their own phrase, "flattened-out," and the proposal to end resistance was defeated at a meeting of their "Army Executive" only by a single vote. Mr. de Valera, however, rejected the idea of a truce, and the campaign of destruction continued. The Government was now hitting back so fiercely in Ireland that the Eepublicans, who saw their followers losing heart, planned a counter-move by their sympathisers in Great Britain, Free State agents discovered the

plot, and acting on their information the British Government arrested, on March 11, 100 men and women, **who** were deported to Dublin and imprisoned in Kilmainham. The English courts decided that the Home Secretary had exceeded his powers, and the deportees were returned to Holyhead and released on May 17 [see p. 51].

Eepublican hopes of an arrangement on terms were encouraged by the arrival in Ireland of Monsignor Luzio who had been sent by the Vatican to inquire into existing conditions and secure, if possible, an understanding between men of good-will. Mr. Cosgrave and his colleagues took the line that Monsignor Luzio was merely "a distinguished visiting ecclesiastic"⁷ and not a formally accredited diplomatic envoy. He was received at Government Buildings, but it was made clear to him that his intervention would not be welcomed. While the wrangle over his powers was in progress, National troops on April 10 surprised a conference of irregular leaders in the Clonmel district. Liam Lynch, the "Chief of Staff," was fatally wounded in the encounter, and a few days later Austin Stack, one of the most determined of his colleagues, was captured. In Stack's possession was found a document drawn up for submission to his associates declaring that further hostilities were useless. Bowing to the inevitable, Mr. de Valera issued on April 24 a "cease fire" order. His followers were instructed to dump their arms but not to surrender them, and the Government declined any discussions till the dumps had been handed over.

Meanwhile on April 1, as a result of the decision of the Free State to collect its own revenue, a customs barrier had been set up. It was simple enough to make arrangements at the various southern ports, but the problem of establishing posts along the open line of the six counties border gave rise to many difficulties. Mr. Cosgrave's Government has not as yet formed a separate fiscal policy, and a Commission which was appointed to investigate the question reported shortly before Christmas against the protection of native industries on economic grounds. The effect, however, of the adoption of the safeguarding of Industries Act was that certain articles of British manufacture which had formerly entered the Free State free of duty have now to pay the tax imposed by that measure upon imports from the Dominions. How urgent it was for the Free State to set its financial house in order was made clear from the Budget statement issued in April. As against an estimated revenue of 26,000,000*., estimated expenditure amounted to 46,000,000*., and the greater part of the deficit was directly due to the losses entailed by the Eepublican campaign of destruction.

With the cessation of active hostilities the Government concentrated their efforts on the Land Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Hogan, Minister of Agriculture, on May 28. It followed the principle laid down in the Wyndham Act, and aimed at the completion of land purchase by converting all agricultural

rents remaining, estimated at between 800,000(M. and 1,000,000. into purchase annuities. The capitalisation of the annuities at 4£ per cent, would produce nearly 13½ years* purchase and 14½ years' purchase of the old rents and the new respectively. To bridge the gap between owner and tenant the Government added a 10 per cent, bonus which gave proprietors what amounted to an additional year and a quarter's purchase. Though the measure had to face a certain amount of criticism, it was recognised as an honest effort to deal with the problem, and passed through the Oireachtas substantially unaltered. At the same time strong measures were taken to deal with the *Jacquerie* which during the chaos of the civil war had raged in Connaught and parts of Munster. Cattle pastured on lands from which the owners had been expelled were rounded up by the troops and sold by auction to meet compensation claims, members of amateur Soviets who had parcelled out estates amongst themselves were arrested and interned, and the payment of purchase annuities was rigidly enforced.

A new complication was introduced towards the end of May by a strike of agricultural labourers in County Waterford against a cut which would bring their wages to the English level. The dispute flared up into an ugly conflict, in the course of which troops sent to enforce order were ambushed, meadows were spiked and crops destroyed, and these outrages were countered on the other side by the burning of labourers' cottages. In the towns labour troubles also developed, and the refusal of dockers to accept a reduction led to the closing down of most of the Free State ports and the partial paralysis of cross-channel traffic. The crisis, difficult enough in itself, was intensified by a domestic dispute in the Transport Workers' Union in which the authority of the Executive was challenged by Mr. James Larkin.

In the thick of the industrial fight the Dail was dissolved on August 3 for the general election rendered necessary by the Franchise Bill which conferred adult suffrage and re-grouped existing constituencies. At the nominations 369 candidates were put forward for 153 seats. The election was more peaceful than was expected. Its most exciting incident was the arrest of Mr. de Valera while addressing an election meeting at Ennis on August 15, when a volley discharged by the troops caused a wild stampede. Mr. de Valera was returned at the head of the poll in Clare but as against this all the Free State Ministers secured huge majorities. The final returns were Cumann na n'Gaedheal (Government) 63, Kerepublicans 44, Independents 17, Labour 14, Farmers 15. On the Treaty issue Independents, Labour and Farmers stood solidly with the Government so that the result was a smashing defeat for the Eepublicans.

A further proof of the growing solidarity of the Free State and of the new status it had acquired was forthcoming on September 10, when Ireland was admitted to the League of

Nations by the unanimous vote of the Assembly. Mr. Cosgrave, who was accompanied by Mr. Eoin MacNeill, Minister of Education, and Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, Minister for External Affairs, addressed the League. Nine days later the new Dail met, and as was expected, Mr. Cosgrave was re-elected President. The only Ministerial change was the appointment of Mr. Seumas Burke as Minister for Local Government in place of Mr. Ernest Blythe who took over the work of Finance Minister, which had previously been in the hands of the President. In October, Mr. Cosgrave, with a delegation which included Mr. Eoin MacNeill, Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald and Mr. Joseph M'Grath, Minister of Industry and Commerce, attended the Imperial Conference and was warmly welcomed by the British Government and the representatives of the other Dominions.

Industrial peace was secured towards the end of October by the decision of the dockers in the various Free State ports to accept the compromise suggested by the Government, of a reduction of a shilling a day, in spite of the opposition of Mr. Larkin and the secessionists. But if the situation was eased in one way a new element of trouble was introduced by a general hunger strike of Eepublican prisoners intended to force the hands of the Government into conceding their unconditional release. Some 8000 men joined in the movement, but the resolution of the majority broke down inside a fortnight, and the failure of Mr. de Valera to participate was a crushing blow. Two men died under the ordeal, but the other extremists resumed taking food after thirty-five days fast.

The hunger strike was finally abandoned on November 22, twenty-four hours before the flotation of the National loan of 10,000,000Z. Kerepublicans had proclaimed that the Government would not get the money in Ireland, and had issued proclamations declaring that they would repudiate liability if they were returned to power. So far from these threats acting as a deterrent the loan was over-subscribed, and had the lists been kept open for the allotted time at least 15,000,000Z would have been received.

CHAPTEE III.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

DURING 1923 France consolidated her military supremacy in Europe by occupying the Euhr district, by stimulating the Separatist movement in the German Ehineland, by strengthening her connexions with the countries of the "Little Entente," and by increasing her Air force. Her foreign policy during this year will always be associated with the name of M. Eaymond

Poincaré, who as Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs assumed sole responsibility for it, and was unwearied in defending it both in Parliament and on the platform. So indispensable was M. Poincaré held to be in this sphere that he was able to maintain his position throughout the year in spite of several rebuffs on matters of home policy which in ordinary circumstances would have caused his downfall.

At the Conference with Great Britain held at Paris in the opening days of the year, M. Poincaré announced the French intention of seizing from Germany *gages productifs* which she would keep until Germany fulfilled her obligations under the Treaty of Versailles. In pursuance of this policy French and Belgian troops were sent to occupy the Ruhr district on January 10. This step, which outraged large masses of public opinion abroad, was not without its opponents in France also. When, however, the question was brought up in the Chamber, the Radical Socialist group, led by M. Herriot, although disapproving of the French action because undertaken without the conjunction of England, yet either voted for the Government out of patriotic motives, or abstained; and needless to say all the groups further to the Right, who formed the great majority of the Chamber, supported M. Poincaré.

The only active opponents of his policy were the Communists. These made common cause with the Germans, and a number of them were arrested on the day of the occupation, January 10. A few days later followed the arrest of the deputy Marcel Cachin, after a stormy debate in the Chamber in which the suspension of his Parliamentary immunity was decided on.

The attempt to bring Cachin to justice led the Government into trouble. Accusing him of having stirred up the Germans to resist France by all means, legal or illegal, they made his case one of treason, and called upon the Senate to try it, in accordance with the constitutional law of 1875. The Senate, however, on May 24 declared itself incompetent to try the case. M. Poincaré was so hurt by this refusal (which was probably due to the hostility of the Radical-Socialists) that he offered his resignation to the President of the Republic. M. Millerand, however, would not accept it, considering that the divergence of views between the Senate and the Cabinet, serious as it was, did not imply a disapproval of the general policy of the Government; and on the next day the Cabinet, acting on the advice of the Upper House, agreed in principle to a modification of the constitution in the matter of the Supreme Court.

The French plans for exploiting the Ruhr were completely foiled by the policy of "passive resistance" adopted by the Germans, and a few weeks were sufficient to show that whatever the Ruhr occupation might do for France, it would not give her a *gage productif*. Nothing daunted, M. Poincaré early in the year proclaimed France's determination to withdraw her troops only in proportion as Germany paid her dues; and to

this policy he adhered with extraordinary stubbornness throughout the year*. It was in vain that both Germany and England pointed out the futility of expecting Germany to pay anything when cut off from her main source of revenue. M. Poincaré was not to be moved from his formula, and in order to buttress it more effectually he has not shrunk from enunciating propositions which conflict with common sense, such as that Germany's capacity to pay has nothing to do with France's claims on her. Only towards the end of the year, under strong pressure from England and America, has he with a bad grace consented to the appointment of a committee to go properly into this question of Germany's capacity.

Various attempts to deflect M. Poincaré were made during the year both from without and from within. On May 2 the German Government made certain proposals to the Allies which involved the French withdrawal from the Ruhr; these were summarily rejected by France without consulting her Allies, M. Poincaré at this time laying down a new principle, viz., that there should be no negotiations with Germany till passive resistance ceased. The second German offer of June 7 received a little more consideration, but produced no change in French policy in essentials. On June 29, on the Government presenting its request for new credits for the Ruhr, M. Poincaré's policy was strongly criticised in the Senate, but his defence so impressed the House that he obtained a unanimous vote. The Catholic members went so far as to declare that a letter addressed by the Pope a couple of days earlier to Cardinal Gasparri praying for the evacuation of the Ruhr did not bind their conscience.

The suggestions contained in the British Note of August 11 were politely but firmly rejected by M. Poincaré, and in September he scored a great success by inducing the British Premier, Mr. Baldwin, while passing through Paris, to consent to the issue of a *communiqué* stating that there was no difference of purpose or divergence of principle between them on the reparations question. Shortly after he had the further satisfaction of receiving from the new German Government under Dr. Stresemann an assurance that passive resistance in the Ruhr would soon be "called off" unconditionally. By this time, however, French public opinion was becoming restless owing to the absence of definite "results" from the Ruhr occupation, as evidenced by the rise in the cost of living, and towards the end of the year M. Poincaré's popularity and influence began perceptibly if slowly to wane.

There can be no question that so far M. Poincaré's policy has cost France dear. The Ruhr occupation has caused the entire cessation of reparation payments from Germany; it deprived the Lorraine ironworks for a considerable time of their supplies of coke, and so did great harm to French industry; it has entailed a huge expense for the upkeep of the military; it

has severely strained French relations with Britain and Italy; and it has estranged public sympathy from France throughout the world, and even in the United States, where it was strongest. The only gain she can show so far is a barren "victory" over Germany which contributes nothing either to her prestige or her security.

The Ruhr occupation, which owing to the "passive resistance" of the Germans had to be extended far beyond the original design, began soon to involve, directly and indirectly, a heavy drain on French resources and to complicate still further the already serious financial position of the country. The Budget for 1923 had been tabled at the end of the previous summer, but its consideration had been put off. As finally passed by the Chamber on January 26 its figures were 24 milliards of francs expenditure, and 20½ milliards revenue, leaving a deficit of 3½ milliards. To this was to be added the deficit of the special Budget of recoverable expenses—the costs of restoring the devastated regions which Germany was supposed to pay but did not—and this brought the total deficit up to 14 milliards, or, as some reckoned, 17 milliards. When the Budget was sent up to the Senate, the Financial Committee of that body refused even to consider it. Instead, the Reporter of the Budget in the Senate, M. Henry Berenger, drew up a draft Budget which showed a surplus of 896,000,000 fr., and the Senate, after reducing the surplus to 781,000,000 fr., passed this with acclamation, and submitted it to the Chamber. This body, in view of the general improvement in the economic situation since the beginning of the year and the increased yield from taxation, concurred in the view of the Senate that a surplus could be shown. By means of frantic efforts on the part of both Houses, the Budget was passed by July 1. In its final form it showed receipts 23,437,000,000 fr., and expenditure 23,402,000,000 fr., leaving a surplus of 35,000,000 fr. This surplus was unreal, as the receipts included 400,000,000 fr. of anticipated borrowing; but even so the figures were a vast improvement on those of the earlier Budget, with its deficit of 3½ milliards.

The delay in passing the Budget had necessitated the voting of six-monthly supplies. To avoid the recurrence of this delay, which was bound to have a prejudicial effect on the collection of taxes, the Government proposed that the Budget of 1922 should hold good for 1923. The Socialist parties vehemently opposed the idea of a two year Budget, but the Government made it a question of confidence, and it was supported in the Chamber with 390 votes to 160 and in the Senate with 177 to 112.

In internal affairs the most noteworthy feature of the year is the continued progress which has been made in the work of restoring the devastated regions. Some 50,000 houses were built or repaired, about 150,000 hectares of land brought under cultivation, 15,000 kilometres of roadway restored, some 5,000 bridges, tunnels, etc., reconstructed, and 400 factories rebuilt,

The output of coal was nearly double that of the previous year, and approached the pre-war figure. The quantity of cattle is still scarcely half of what it was ten years ago, but the population is now almost the same. The ravages of war are in fact in a fair way to being obliterated, and the former productivity of the devastated district is being rapidly restored. At the same time the trade of the country as a whole improved, and the trade balance, which for the two years 1919 and 1920 had shown a deficit of 36 milliards, almost reached equilibrium.

In the earlier part of the year feeling ran high between the Eepublican elements in the Chamber and the Eoyalists, led by M. Leon Daudet. Matters were brought to a head by a brutal assault made on May 30 by some Eoyalist youths on three Eepublican deputies who were going to a public meeting. In consequence of this incident the Chamber found it advisable to declare its policy on June 2 by a resolution stating its determination to uphold Eepublican institutions and expressing its disapproval of violence, from whatever quarter it proceeded. As the Government was accused of sympathising with the Eoyalists, M. Poincaré, in order to make his attitude perfectly clear, brought forward a few days later a motion of confidence in the following terms : " The Chamber, disapproving of the campaigns of violence which tend to destroy the moral unity of the country, more than ever indispensable in face of the difficulties of foreign policy, and approving of the declarations of the Government and relying on it to carry out a programme of social progress calculated to unite all those Eepublicans who, accepting the lay laws, repudiate all compromise with both the anti-constitutional and the revolutionary parties, passes to the order of the day." This motion was so framed as to dissociate the Government from the Clericals (who were hinted at in the reference to the lay laws), the Eoyalists (" anti-constitutional"), and the Unified Socialists ("revolutionary"). Only 11 votes from the Clerical Eight were registered against the lay laws, and 15 from the Communists, in favour of revolutionary methods. The motion in its entirety was passed by 354 votes to 162, with 45 abstentions.

The minority comprised the Socialists and the greater part of the Eadical-Socialists. From this point these members formed a compact *Bloc des Gauches* which at once made preparations for coming forward as a united party at the next election, in May, 1924. Its first step was to call upon those of its members who held posts in M. Poincaré's Government—M. Albert Sarraut, Minister for the Colonies, M. Strauss, Minister for Health, and M. Laffont, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—to resign, "on account of the Cabinet's indulgence towards the Eoyalist faction, and the support it receives from all parties of the Eight for reactionary purposes." The Ministers, however, refused to abandon M. Poincaré, and the matter was not proceeded with further.

In view of the coming elections, interest attaches to a formulation of the differences between the *Bloc National* and the *Bloc des Gauches* contained in a book called "La Politique Nouvelle" by two of their prominent spokesmen, M. Alfred Tarde and M. Eobert de Jouvenel. According to these authors,, the *Bloc National* approves of the Euhr operation while the *Bloc des Oauches* would prefer to try another Conference like that of Genoa; the former is opposed to State control of industry while the latter favours it; and the former is optimistic in regard to the country's finances and is confident that it will surmount the present crisis, while the latter is pessimistic and ready to declare a semi-bankruptcy. A fourth difference may be added in the fact that the *Bloc National* is clerically-minded, while the other *Bloc* is eager to resume the conflict with the clergy.

A number of bye-elections in the summer went against the Government, one of the most prominent members of the Badical-Socialist Party being returned to Parliament in the person of M. Franklin-Bouillon. About the same time a working-class district of Paris persisted in electing to the municipal council the ex-naval officer Marty, who had been degraded and imprisoned for having after the Armistice tried to deliver his boat to the Soviets, although the election was quashed several times. To satisfy public feeling, the Government finally pardoned Marty on July 20. A little before it had sanctioned the return to France of the ex-Minister of the Interior, Malvy, who had been banished by the Supreme Court for "defeatism" during the war. Another incident which tended to calm public feeling was the acquittal on July 9 of Ernest Judet, the former editor of the *Eclair*, who had fled to Switzerland when accused of communicating with the enemy during the war, and had then voluntarily returned to France to stand his trial.

At the beginning of the year M. Eaoul Peret was re-elected President of the Chamber of Deputies, and M. Leon Bourgeois of the Senate. A few weeks later, however, M. Bourgeois resigned for reasons of health, and was succeeded by M. Doumergue, of the Eadical-Socialist Party. M. Poincar[^]s party affiliation during the year has been somewhat uncertain. Nominally he belongs to the Radicals, but he has relied for support in his foreign policy on the *Bloc National*. The founder of the *Bloc National* in 1919 was M. Millerand, and his readiness to become again their leader was indicated by a speech which he delivered at Evreux on October 14, and which was strongly resented by the Socialists as an incursion by the Head of the State into the field of party politics. M. Millerand had, however, on taking office announced that he would not remain a figurehead, and in this very speech he pleaded for a revision of the Constitution to allow the President a wider range of action,

The breakdown of the first Lausanne Conference in Feb-

ruary was a severe blow to France, and still further discredited M. Poincaré's Eastern policy, which had fallen into disfavour since the Chanak incident in 1922. At one time there was a danger of trouble arising between France and Turkey on the Syrian frontier, and in March one of France's most experienced soldiers, General Weygand, was sent out as High Commissioner of Syria. When, however, peace was made with Turkey in July, it was decided to replace him with a civilian High Commissioner.

Among the more important measures passed during the year were the reduction of the period of military service from two years to eighteen months, and the restoration to growers of wine and cider of the right to transform part of their produce into alcoholic beverages for their own use—an unfortunate measure which had the effect of stimulating the home consumption of alcohol. The Minister of Education, M. Léon Berard, caused some surprise by issuing an order on May 3 making Latin obligatory in the examination for the baccalauréat. The Chamber, after hearing the opinions of experts, approved of the step taken by M. Berard.

The "post-war" problems of rents and pensions were satisfactorily solved during the year. Landlords were allowed to increase their rents to 75 per cent, above pre-war level—not a great concession in view of the fact that prices have risen on an average 333 per cent. Military and civil pensions were considerably augmented, the maximum for civil pensions being raised from 6,000 francs to 18,000. On the other hand, Parliament refused to sanction a bonus to all civil servants of 1,800 francs to meet the increased cost of living, as this would have meant to the Treasury an outlay of more than a milliard.

Towards the end of the year lively discussions took place in Parliament on proposed changes in the electoral law, which as it stood established universal male suffrage with proportional representation of minorities but a certain premium for the majority. The moderate Republicans wished to do away with this premium, while the Radical-Socialists desired a return to the former system of *scrutin d'arrondissement*. The existing law was finally retained by 408 votes to 127. The Chamber once more voted in favour of woman's suffrage, but it is to be feared that the Senate will again reject the measure out of fear of clerical influence over the female sex.

After repeated rejections, a Summer Time Bill was at length passed after Easter, but not till M. Poincaré had made it a question of confidence. It came into force on May 26.

On July 7 the Chamber ratified the Washington Agreement for the limitation of naval armaments, and a few days later the Senate did the same.

ITALY.

During the whole of 1923 Signor Mussolini retained the position of virtual dictator to which he had been elevated at the end of the previous year. Though due in the first instance to a *coup d'état*, this regime did not really mark any great breach with Italian political tradition, as instances had not been wanting in recent years of powerful individual action on the administrative machinery, and the mentality of the people was not averse in principle to such a system. Consequently the public on the whole welcomed the concentration of power in the hands of a man whose integrity was proved, and whom on that account the country trusted and continues to trust. Signor Mussolini's personal hold on the people was amply testified by the enthusiastic reception accorded to him throughout the country during a tour of some weeks' duration which he undertook at the end of May. In the Chamber on May 30 his home policy came in for some criticism, but a vote of confidence in him was passed by 231 to 83.

One of Signor Mussolini's first steps on attaining supreme power was to strengthen the Fascist hold on the administration. Through the instrumentality of the Fascist Grand Council, which had been granted a representative status with revisory powers side by side with the provincial authorities and at headquarters, he gradually brought about the necessary changes in administrative personnel throughout the country. The prefectures, police bureaux, and public departments were largely re-staffed with officials of proven Fascist allegiance, and the pressure exerted upon municipalities, through dismissals and resignations of mayors and councillors, and successive Fascista elections held for those bodies, eventually eliminated all the Socialist and Communist elements, whilst reducing the representation of other political groupings to negligible minorities.

The supremacy of Fascismo during the year was not seriously challenged. The Cabinet formed in the autumn of the previous year had included originally representatives of non-Fascist groups in the Legislature, i.e. men of liberal, democratic, or "Popular Party" complexion, friendly to the new order, and determined to realise the principles for which Fascism stands, namely, the encouragement of patriotism, efficiency in administration, furtherance and freedom of education, economy in expenditure and balancing of the budget, the restoration of a healthy relationship between capital and labour, and last but not least, a stronger stress on Italy's rights and status in international affairs.

When, however, in the spring, the Parliamentary opposition groups held their meetings—the Socialists at Milan and the Popolari at Turin—to review their respective positions, resolutions were passed by the latter on April 18 giving qualified support only to the Government, and thereupon the party

representatives in the Cabinet, the Minister of Labour, Signor Cavazzoni, and three Under-Secretaries, tendered their resignations. Despite the Party leaders' reaffirmation of allegiance, the resignations were accepted by Signor Mussolini on April 23 in terms that made no secret of Fascist resentment. This led to a breach between the leaders of the Popolari party and the rank and file, and to preserve the cohesion of the party, the Vatican, recognising that Fascism had adopted the essentials of its programme—religious instruction in state schools, tolerance of public manifestations of religion, processions, etc.—aware also that the Secretary General's personality was a stumbling-block to harmonious relations, by means of an informal intimation to Don Sturzo, which as an ecclesiastic he could not disregard, brought about the resignation of the Party Secretariat on July 10. But for this step the passage of the electoral reform measure—one of the chief items of the Government programme—might have proved difficult, and the result would have been a renewal of the anti-clerical demonstrations which had already occasioned some concern.

Anti-Fascist feeling of a sporadic nature manifested itself during the first half of the year, and on the eve of the re-opening of the session it assumed, in South Italy especially, the form of perfervid loyalty to the Crown. The Chamber and Senate, however, re-opened without incident on May 16, and the effervescence at Catanzaro, Catania, Palermo, Naples, Avellino, and in Sardinia subsided rapidly. Serious differences, however, arose within the party itself of so far-reaching a nature as to endanger party discipline; and, after several months of heated polemics, accompanied by some regrettable disturbance of the peace. Signor Mussolini was constrained to the drastic step of abolishing all existing political provincial directorates and substituting for them associations limited to the discussion of mere party questions and subject absolutely to the central authority in Rome. One great cause of friction was the decision of the Fascist Grand Council, published on February 13, declaring membership of the party incompatible with Freemasonry. This step was regarded as necessary in order to close the ranks against a multitude of eleventh-hour adherents, some of whom, owing to their antecedents, were of doubtful advantage to the cause of Fascism, a fact of which the frequent regrettable incidents in the country at this time afforded abundant proof.

The military side of Fascismo was reorganised by the enrolment of the National Militia which opened at Milan in January. This voluntary association developed in efficiency and also in dignity, being now staffed by a distinguished body of officers, and it entertains relations of perfect comradeship alike with the regular military forces and the Carabinieri, to which it acts as a kind of reserve. It thus supersedes the Guardia Regia which had been instituted for home defence by the Nitti Cabinet

when making its post-war reductions in the military establishment. The disbandment of the Guardia Kegia, of whom the better class men were merged in the Carabinieri force and, where vacancies were available, in the artillery and heavy cavalry, was effected generally without disturbance, except at Naples and Turin, where some rioting occurred which was easily quelled. This reorganisation of the military forces has rendered possible a reduction of the term of service with the colours to eighteen months, and an extension of the range of exemptions.

In finance the note of Signor Mussolini's policy has been retrenchment. This has been signalled in public expenditure by the suppression of one Government department, the Ministry for the Restored Provinces, decreed on March 1, by the fusion of the two Ministries of Agriculture and Industry into one, to be styled Ministry of National Economy, and by the revision of war pensions. In pursuance of the same policy, the Minister for Public Instruction, Signor G. Gentile, announced on March 6 the reconstruction of the Delia Crusca Academy of Florence, which for many years had been engaged on the compilation of the great National Dictionary, with such meagre results as to make its usefulness questionable. The number of Academicians was reduced to the minimum of office-holders necessary to keep the institution in being, and the lowering of the grant from 80 to 24 thousand lire postponed the completion of the work *sine die*. As an earnest of his intention to support his colleague at the Treasury, Signor Mussolini, on March 7, handed the estimates of his departments, Interior and Foreign Affairs, to Signor De Stefani, with a *ne varietur* proviso to the end of the financial year, June 30.

On June 14 the Senate voted the extension of the provisional budget to the close of the financial year June 30, 1923, to July 1, 1924, on the lines foreshadowed by the Minister of the Treasury, Signor De Stefani, in his public speech at Milan on May 13, in which it was estimated that the deficit in that year would barely exceed one milliard lire (10,000,000 sterling at present exchange rates), and that the State railways would balance receipts and expenditure within three years.

Income Tax ("Ricchezza Mobile"), charged upon the pay of non-commissioned officers, railway operatives' salaries, and also upon all payments to public servants whatever their rank or condition, was the first among Fascist finance reforms to be enforced as from January 1. On the other hand, the abrogation of legacy and succession duties in the first degree of relationship, i.e., parents and children, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, sanctioned by Royal decree on August 23, was hailed with general relief, the incidence of these duties having been so burdensome as to lead to wholesale evasion. Along with this measure went the abrogation of the "luxury" taxes and the substitution instead of an 8 per cent, sales duty with an extensive free list, whilst as an offset the excise upon spirits, tobacco,

taxes, stamp duties, freight and passenger fares, and other minor taxes underwent successive increases in the year. In his financial statement to the Senate on December 8 the Minister of the Treasury took credit for the fact that the two-thirds of the year ending June 30 which had come under his administration had closed with a deficit of only 3,041,000,000 lire (30,000,000/. sterling approximately), 25 per cent, less than his predecessor's estimates.

On June 16 the Parliamentary Commission examining the proposed modifications of the electoral law accepted the lines laid down by Signor Mussolini, tending to assure a permanent majority for the predominant political party in the country. The existing parliamentary body had been elected under a qualified method of proportional representation. The special features of the new Bill provided for votes to be cast for party lists in regional constituencies. The votes for each party list were to be added to give a general total for each and to the party which obtained the largest number of votes there was assigned two-thirds of the seats in the chamber while the remaining third was divided between the others proportionately to their respective strength. The majority and minority reports, 10 against 8 votes, were discussed for several weeks, but on July 15 Signor Mussolini obtained a further vote of confidence by 313 to 140 votes, the articles of the Bill were ordered to be read, and the measure was passed after a brief debate on July 21 by 223 against 123 votes, being ratified by the Senate in the autumn session on November 14 by a majority of 121 votes.

The relations between the Government and Labour during the year were on the whole friendly. On January 28 Signor Mussolini, speaking at an important printing works in Rome, protested the Government's unremitting care of the workers' interests, and gave assurances that no concessions which had been won, such as the eight hours' day, would be wrested from them. This was the first of a series of social-political speeches throughout the country in which Signor Mussolini asserted and strengthened his hold upon the sympathies of the working classes. The decision to transfer the celebration of Labour Day from May 1 to April 21, the Anniversary of the Foundation of Rome, was a far-sighted one, Signor Mussolini's purpose being to divest Labour Day of all Socialist significance. A grand muster of the National Militia was held in Rome and in the country representative Fascist organisations paraded in state. The acclamations accorded to the Black Shirts, and the absence of any Socialist display on May 1, showed that the country in this instance also was behind Signor Mussolini.

The preliminary negotiations between the General Labour Union of Italy and the Fascist Corporations, begun on July 17, had satisfactory results, the representatives of industry being invited to join the Fascist Grand Council, and on August 8 the Government scheme to regulate all labour contracts was

formulated. The differences, however, **between** the Seamen's Union and the Shippers Association (a settlement of which **had been** attempted in the draft agreement drawn up by Signor D'Annunzio for the former), still persist, all recent attempts to **reach an** amicable settlement having failed.

The most important event in foreign affairs was the murder on August 27 in Greek territory of the Italian members of the Graeco-Albanian Boundary Commission, General Tellini, Major Corti and Lieutenant Bonaccini, which opened up grave political questions. On August 29 immediate satisfaction was demanded from Greece, on penalty of the occupation of Corfu. The occupation by an imposing naval and military force actually took place on August 30. The bringing up of the question before the League of Nations on September 3 created a serious problem, for the Italian Government denied the competency of the League to deal with the question, Signor Mussolini even going so far as to threaten Italian withdrawal from the League. A settlement was eventually reached by the reference of the issue to the Ambassadors' Conference, Italy agreeing to evacuation so soon as payment of an indemnity of 50,000,000 lire should have been made, as it actually was on September 30.

The Fiume "question/" the settlement of which was already long overdue (according to Signor Mussolini's own statement) when the Eapallo Treaty and the Santa Margheritta Agreement were in 1922 submitted to the Chamber for ratification, still remained unsettled, in spite of the evacuation of Sussak by Italy and the deposition of the Fiume Government which was suspected of Slav proclivities. Disturbances have been of daily occurrence, and trade has remained at a standstill, while the Joint Commission appointed to adjust differences has simply marked time. On September 15, Yugoslavia and Italy submitted their Treaties to the League of Nations for registration, and have thus forestalled any risk of conflict. The appointment of the Italian General Giardino as Governor *ad interim* would seem to foreshadow the ultimate Italian status of Fiume. But negotiations are still proceeding, and their outcome is uncertain.

The visit of the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs on March 27 and that of the Austrian Chancellor, Mgr. Seipel, which followed, were not mere complimentary occasions. At the former an understanding was reached which at that stage of Euhr developments seemed to provide an issue, but which unfortunately subsequent events rendered nugatory. At the second the foundations were laid for friendly co-operation with Austria which took the form of a commercial agreement, signed on April 28 and subsequently ratified. Mgr. Seipel proceeded on April 1 to the Benedictine Abbey of Monte Cassino, paying his respects to the Pontiff after a twenty-four hours' absence, which was to stand technically for a first arrival, inasmuch as through his not being invested with sovereign rank the Protocol for visits to the Vatican could not apply to him.

The visit of the King and Queen of Spain to Italy, November 19-26, accompanied by General Primo de Rivera, was invested with unusual ceremony. Their sojourn in Eome included two visits—a state and a private visit—to the Vatican, and the royal, official, and public welcome was most cordial in all the great cities visited—Rome, Florence, Bologna, and Naples. The presence of General De Rivera lent a political colour to the occasion.

The visit of the King and Queen of England to Italy (May 7-12) was marked by significant manifestations of sympathy. The King's speech at the formal reception at the Capitol on May 11, recalling brotherhood in arms and emphasising the identity of both peoples' aims and interests, was warmly received. Though not invested with political character, the visit yet signified a closer understanding of national points of view, not without some incidence upon the developments of Italy's foreign policy in subsequent months.

The exchange of complimentary visits and cards, on March 12 and 14, between Signor Cremonesi, Deputy Mayor and Royal Commissioner of Rome, and the Pontifical Vicar, Cardinal Pompilij, was interpreted as a proof of the improved relations between the Government and the Vatican. This mark of reciprocal deference was only one sign of the detente since the advent of Fascismo, of which other instances were the unhindered public religious manifestations, processions, etc., which characterise the frequent Fascist patriotic demonstrations throughout the country.

On February 2, reports were received of the re-occupation of Sidi el Chemri beyond Horns, and of Sidi el Uled beyond Azizia. This opened the advance into the hinterland of Cyrenaica and Tripoli which had been arrested through the great war, and was followed by the recovery of Sliten, Tarhuna, Misurata and other important positions in the course of the year. After the introduction of limited self-government and the opening of the Cyrenaica Provincial Legislature by the Governor, General Bongiovanni, an interesting step was taken towards further pacification and economic development through the introduction of military colonists. The first "centuria" of these settlers selected from the National Militia was reviewed on March 21 in the Colosseum by Signor Mussolini, who addressed them prior to embarkation.

Stringent Press regulations empowering suspension of periodicals by administrative order without reference to the judiciary were published on July 12. Aimed ostensibly at the "extremist" organs, this measure was regarded by the Press Federation as an infringement of constitutional liberties, and on July 23 a resolution was passed petitioning the Government to hold the law in abeyance. This petition, though nominally ignored, was acceded to in practice, for it was only on December 12 that some half-dozen "subversive" press organs were actually suppressed under the terms of that order.

The reform of the educational codes, including religious instruction in primary and secondary schools, was passed on September 2 by the Cabinet, and came into operation with the reopening of the scholastic year. The measure had been discussed with some heat throughout the summer, and the controversy culminated with a students' agitation which led, in December, to the closing of several Universities and in which Signor Mussolini discerned a grave infringement of the national discipline, which he places in the forefront of his policy. On December 13 he issued a severe warning to all concerned, and the disturbances eventually subsided.

In January a Eoyal Decree was issued, abolishing all war-time rent restrictions as from the following July, with provisions, however, to safeguard tenants against exactions and landlords against undesirable occupants of their premises. Arbitration Commissions were set up in all provincial centres to deal with cases upon their merits, according time-extensions of varying length but not to reach beyond July, 1924.

On June 19 alarming reports were received of the eruption of Etna. The King and afterwards Signor Mussolini proceeded to the spot. Happily the lava traversed uninhabited districts, and whilst cultivated and wooded areas on the N.W. mountain slope were devastated, observations taken from the air,—for the first time,—enabled the lava flow to be timed, and the exodus of the inhabitants from villages within the danger zone to be regulated, and so to preclude loss of life.

The proceedings of the Legislature during the year were not without importance. In the first session, which opened on February 6 for the Deputies and on February 8 for the Senate, Parliament ratified the Washington Naval Disarmament Convention, and the commercial agreements entered into with Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, and Spain; while among domestic questions the Legislature sanctioned (March 16) the transfer to private enterprise of a number of Government undertakings, including the railways, telephones and parcels deliveries. On June 8 Signor Mussolini in the Senate reviewed the position at home and abroad, and on June 9 the Chamber delegated powers to the Cabinet to proceed with the reform of the civil, commercial and maritime law codes.

At the opening of the brief Parliamentary session in December, Signor Mussolini, speaking in the Senate, reviewed the foreign policy of Italy and observed that whilst the acceptance of Mr. Bonar Law's proposals for the Separations settlement would not have harmonised with Italian interests, he had expressed his concurrence with the British policy in its broad lines. Dealing with Russia, he submitted that the time was ripe for the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government, adding that a *do tit des* policy best furthered Italian interests, and should stimulate the opening of new markets for Italian export trade, whilst access to a practically untapped source of raw material such

as Russia is, could not but prove of advantage to Italian industries.

This session transacted only more or less formal business. Signor Mussolini did not ask for the renewal of the full powers accorded to him by Parliament, and which lapse on December 31. This is certainly a long step in the direction of normal parliamentary government. That Signor Mussolini himself desires to see Fascismo rule on strictly constitutional lines is shown by the following pronouncement made by him since the rising of Parliament in December: "I feel to-day that Italy is well forward upon the course of her renascence, and that the network of demagogic fallacies which encompassed her is broken, a network that choked and hemmed in the will and desire of my countrymen to work, and to win speedily the fruits of their endeavours. It behoves Italy to recover quickly from her century-old ills, in order that she may take her due place upon the same level with the other great nations in the world."

CHAPTEE IV.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

AT the end of 1922 the combined Allied Powers and Germany itself were faced with the task of making some practicable arrangements for the payments in money and kind to which Germany was pledged by agreements concluded during previous years. The depreciation of the German currency which had followed all decisions for securing reparations hitherto had convinced economic experts in most countries that this problem could be solved only if Germany were granted a moratorium of several years, which would give her an opportunity of rectifying her finances and her trade balance, so as eventually to become capable of making regular payments in a sound currency. It was further recognised that Germany's capacity to pay depended on her maintaining internal peace, for which purpose it was essential that agitators who aimed at overthrowing by violence the Constitution set up after the war should not be allowed to win new adherents, that the smouldering Bolshevik propaganda should not burst into flame again, and that the Separatist designs which were still fostered here and there in the West and South should not receive encouragement.

But the public opinion and the policy of France, which was supported in this matter by Belgium, were guided by quite other considerations. In those countries it was confidently asserted that Germany's capacity for making reparation payments was far greater than was admitted by German and foreign experts; and the conclusion was drawn that Germany's

creditors should recover payment from the recalcitrant debtor by the forcible seizure of pledges. In the French mind the problem of reparations was further bound up with that of "security." The Nationalist agitation in Germany, which other countries thought to allay by means of a reasonable treatment in the economic sphere, was regarded by French politicians as revealing the real inner mind of Germany, and the opinion gained ground in France that the territorial and military guarantees of the Treaty of Versailles were not sufficient for her purposes. On this ground also an intensification of the pressure on Germany was demanded.

The step by which practical expression was to be given to these feelings was the occupation of the Ruhr district by France and such Powers as were willing to help her. It was a step which could be carried through quickly, as the Ruhr adjoins the districts on the Rhine already occupied.

It was not primarily the desire for reparations but considerations of security and schemes of domination which at the opening of the year led to the inception of the Ruhr enterprise, followed as it was bound to be almost immediately by the disorganisation of Germany. On all sides efforts were made to dissuade the French Government. The German Government in December, 1922, drafted a special Franco-German pact which separated the problem of security from that of reparations, and so rendered possible a harmonious solution of the latter. When this project failed to find a hearing in Paris, Chancellor Cuno on the last day of the year in a speech at Hamburg proclaimed once more the willingness of Germany to carry out her reparation obligations. A new scheme of payment was elaborated which Herr von Bergmann was to lay before the approaching Conference of the Allied Premiers in Paris.

The Conference which opened on January 2 was nominally necessitated by the cessation of Germany's payments and her request for a postponement. The French were for immediate action and proposed the invasion of the Ruhr. But as is well known, England refused to take any part in France's policy of pledges and sanctions. So far was this from causing difficulty to France that it actually increased her freedom of action. For the body which was principally charged with the task of carrying out the provisions of the treaty was not the Federation of the Allies but the Reparation Commission; and in this body France held the presidency, and so exercised a dominating influence so long as England was passive.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Conference M. Barthou summoned a meeting of the Commission. He laid before it a complaint of France that Germany during 1922 had deliberately fallen short in her deliveries of wood and coal. German delegates were called before the Conference in order to explain these shortcomings. They were at pains to point out that the deficiencies were less than the French alleged,

and that they should not be ascribed to malice prepense. Nevertheless on January 9 the Commission pronounced Germany guilty of deliberate default, the British representative dissenting.

Mr. Boyden, who had been invited to the proceedings as the representative of the U.S.A., had declared that he did not question the guilt of Germany in the matter of deliveries, but that it was impossible to pick a single incident out of the whole reparation problem in order to make a small deficiency the excuse for applying most serious sanctions. The majority on the Reparation Commission, following the lead of France, proceeded on the strength of the Commission's verdict to carry into effect the two main ideas of the French programme of January 2, the seizure of the Ruhr coal as a "pledge," and the occupation of the Ruhr district as a "sanction/" without the co-operation of England. Even while the Commission was debating, troops had been collected in Dusseldorf for the invasion. A mission of mining and smelting engineers had been formed to organise the exploitation of the Ruhr district, and French and Belgian troops had been put under orders to accompany this mission. Italy on the other hand contented herself with sending engineers, and took no part in the subsequent occupation measures.

On January 10 the French Ambassador and the Belgian *Ghargi* (*Vaffaires* in Berlin handed in identic Notes, representing the impending step as justified by the deficiencies established by the Commission and as being in accord with Paragraphs 17 and 18 of Annexe II. to Section VIII. of the Versailles Treaty. The Mission, it said, desired to supervise the activity of the Coal Syndicate, and for this purpose claimed the right of requiring information and documents of every kind from the local authorities, commercial corporations, and private concerns; further, it would be authorised to alter the distribution of coal and coke planned or being carried out by the Coal Syndicate. Military compulsion or political interference, went on the Note, was not for the present contemplated, but would be resorted to if the proceedings of the Mission and the quartering of the accompanying troops met with impediments. At midday on January 11 the Mission with its escort entered Essen.

The action of France and Belgium placed the German Government for the first time since the war in the position of being able to assert a will of its own in the face of the victorious Powers, and at the same time made this assertion a matter of necessity. The Imperial Chancellor in his speech in Parliament on January 10 described the invasion as an open breach of law, all the more flagrant in view of the steps which he had just undertaken to satisfy French requirements in the matter of security and to proclaim Germany's willingness to pay. The occupation, he concluded, robbed Germany of just that district the products of which had enabled her to

make payments so far. Germany's answer to the appeal to force would be an appeal to law.

In pursuance of this, two steps were immediately undertaken. One was a formal protest against the illegality of the invasion, and the other was the recall of the German Ambassador in Paris and the German envoy in Brussels, along with the announcement that reparation payments to the countries which had broken the Treaty would be suspended. A similar step was taken by the Coal Syndicate which had been designated by France as the immediate object of the invasion: it left Essen, and removed its headquarters to Hamburg. This was the beginning of the "passive resistance" which was the keynote of German policy during the next few months.

The German Government felt itself emboldened to adopt this attitude by the external no less than by the internal situation. No sooner had Great Britain declined to participate in the French policy than the United States proclaimed its resolution of keeping clear of all entanglements to which it might give rise, and recalled its troops from the occupied Rhine district. Above all, however, the policy of passive resistance was able to count on the approval of the working-class population of the Ruhr. These workers had often shown a stubborn spirit of resistance against the German capitalists; they were still less likely to submit to the control of foreigners. The Christian Trade Unions were under the leadership of the Centre Party, which belonged to the Government Coalition. The Social Democrats, it is true, were not represented in the Cuno Government, which they mistrusted on account of its connexion with the great industrialists. But they welcomed resistance to the occupation not only because they hated oppression, but because they were as a party devoted heart and soul to the unity of the nation and the Reich, and recognised that it now devolved on the workers of the Ruhr to defend this unity. Their leader, Hermann Muller, proclaimed on January 13 in the Reichstag that the workers in the Ruhr would be loyal to their country, and the Government obtained an almost unanimous vote of confidence.

The problem now arose how this population, which could no longer work for reparations, might find opportunities of employment under the occupation regime. The representatives of the invading Powers inquired of the colliery owners whether it was not possible for coal to be delivered to the Allies and paid for by them until the German Government had finally decided on its attitude. The coal-owners showed themselves not averse to this proposal, which offered a prospect of maintaining normal conditions; but they did not want to do anything which might impede the German Government in its policy of resistance. The Government saved them the necessity of deciding. While they were still discussing with the French, a rescript came from the Imperial Coal Commissioner forbidding all deliveries to the

occupying Powers. When the Inter-allied Commission nevertheless demanded the continuation of the deliveries, Herr Thyssen, as representative of the owners, declared that he would follow only the instructions of the German authorities.

Meanwhile the occupation on both sides of the Euhr had extended itself to the most important points in the district. It stretched on the North as far as Eecklinghausen and on the East to Hamm, and on the South it stopped in front of Elberfeld. In order to overcome the resistance of the German Government and the population, the French and Belgians resorted to two methods. In the first place they tried to disunite the two parties to the resistance, by threatening with expulsion those officials who did not conform to their instructions. The first to suffer in this way were the local functionaries—higher civil servants, mayors, and police officials. Afterwards it was the turn of the transport officials who refused to work under the orders of a French *rigie*. This procedure was extended to the Ehineland, where, for example, the German customs and railway officials were dismissed. The removal of the railway officials belonged, however, both as to effect and purpose, rather to the second method which was adopted for overcoming the German resistance, namely, to paralyse as completely as possible the economic activities which the French were unable to exploit for their own benefit. Thus automobiles and other vehicles were requisitioned; on January 31 the export of coal and coke from the occupied district was prohibited, and on February 14 that of iron and steel. Soon, too, attempts were made to deprive the population of their money. Transports were held up, and banks and public pay offices were occupied and robbed of their cash deposits.

The small military forces which had at first accompanied the Commission of Engineers were by degrees considerably increased. Naturally collisions were frequent between them and the Germans, not unattended by fatalities. But on the whole the population remained remarkably quiet. Its task was a doubly difficult one. For one thing it had itself to organise the passive resistance. Though the German Government had by its orders initiated this policy of self-defence it was unable to undertake the conduct of the resistance, as its instruments, the district and local officials, were continually being withdrawn from it by the expulsions. In individual cases employers and workers had constantly to determine how far they would regard as binding an order issued to them. If they disobeyed an order of the occupation authorities, they exposed themselves to prosecution for incitement to passive resistance, for sabotage, etc., followed by a severe sentence of imprisonment. On the other hand, the Euhr population did not dare and did not wish to let themselves be goaded into answering **the** oppressive measures of the invaders and their **provocative orders** with active resistance. It was clear to them that such

a course would create a state of war which Germany was not in a position to endure, and that the moral respect which their defence won for them rested on the self-control which they showed by simply repudiating illegal demands without resorting to violence.

The resolution of the workmen was put to a specially severe test when the French after March proceeded to seize the raw material and machinery in the factories. The object of this measure was to show that France was able to take possession forcibly of the reparations which had been refused to her since the Armistice. The workmen answered these attacks by spontaneously ceasing work. This happened at the great Thyssen works in Hamborn, the Phoenix, and the Concordia Mining Company at Gelsenkirchen. Then, on March 31, a similar attempt was made on Krupp's at Essen. A small band of soldiers with two machine-guns occupied an automobile garage, in order to requisition a motor lorry. The workmen here also stopped work and gathered in front of the factory, behaving, however, quite peaceably. Some members of the management tried to smooth matters over, and the soldiers could have withdrawn without let or hindrance. Nevertheless after a stay of some hours the leaders of the troops began to show uneasiness. Suddenly a machine-gun opened fire on the workers, with the result that 13 persons were killed and 30 seriously wounded. On the French side pains were taken to disclaim responsibility for the incident. It was explained to the workers that they had paid the penalty for the incitement resorted to by the management. The French authorities insisted on having this presentation of the matter, which exonerated them, confirmed by a process at law. Eight directors of the firm of Krupp, including Herr Krupp von Bohlen-Holbach himself, who voluntarily submitted to stand trial, and two members of the management staff, were condemned to long terms of imprisonment, amounting in the case of some of the directors to ten and even twenty years. But by the time the verdict was announced, the workers had drawn quite other conclusions from the proceedings. A protest was issued by the collective Trade Unions against the acts of violence committed by the French, against the confiscation of coal, of vehicles, and of wages, charging the French authorities with trying to turn free labourers into slaves, and specially stigmatising the massacre at Essen. The Ehenish Social Democrats also on April 9 protested sharply against the invasion and the French separatist designs.

By April the French had not made any headway. Instead of the large deliveries which they would have received from Germany in accordance with the agreements, they had now been able to remove only insignificant quantities of coal. Nor had the political designs of France fared any better than **her** economic. Neither in the Euhr nor the Ehineland were **there** any manifestations of a desire to break away from Berlin,

or to weaken the Reich. Bather was it just here that the feeling of national responsibility seemed to have gained strength, and that too without being compromised by any leaning to a militarist nationalism.

Meanwhile the question presented itself whether Germany could stand indefinitely the economic strain of passive resistance. The suspension of the reparation deliveries and the cutting off of the Ruhr district from the rest of Germany caused an unemployment in the Ruhr and the Rhineland which increased with every new impediment to intercourse and measure of oppression. The German Government and unoccupied Germany had to undertake the task of maintaining the inhabitants of the district which was their own most valuable source of revenue. As the struggle went on, it became necessary to send larger and larger sums into the Ruhr, and this district correspondingly declined in importance as a source of supply and a market for unoccupied Germany, where manufacture had to be carried on with raw material bought at an enhanced price abroad. The Government received, it is true, through the "Deutsches Volksoffer," which was a kind of self-taxation, donations for the maintenance of the Ruhr population. But in the main it had to pay for this by means of credits, its ability to cover which was completely uncertain. Thus inflation had to be resorted to on an unlimited scale, which could only pre-
page the most disastrous results for German currency and economic life.

The Government took care that these results should not interfere with the most important task of the moment, the organisation of passive resistance. When the Franco-Belgian invasion took place the value of the mark had already sunk very low, being only one 1,800th part of its original figure; the dollar was quoted at the beginning of the year in Berlin at 7,260 marks. The Ruhr invasion caused this figure to mount nearly sevenfold by January 31, although the new inflation had not yet commenced, but was only anticipated. To make matters easier for the Government, the Reichsbank took the bold step of sacrificing a considerable portion of its gold reserve. It managed to make the dollar stable from the end of February at M21,210. This stability was fallacious; but it lightened for the time being the anxieties of the Government, and encouraged the population. Prices became fixed, and so did the salaries of officials, the arrears of which were paid up at the beginning of April. People were sanguine that the stabilisation could be maintained. Nothing was done to reform the State finances, to diminish expenditure, or to increase taxation. The Government seemed to be unwilling, so long as the struggle in the Ruhr continued, to endanger the unanimity of the resistance by opening discussions on the financial position of the country, hoping no doubt to secure some satisfactory arrangement in foreign affairs before things had gone too far in the economic sphere at home.

In foreign affairs also a waiting policy seemed to be the best way of giving effect to the principle of passive resistance. In the name of legality Germany refused to renew reparation payments until the occupation was countermanded, and scrutinised intently the effect which the ill-success of France in the Ruhr so far and the growing moral disapproval of her proceedings in other countries might have on her attitude. But France, feeling that her prestige was concerned, was equally obstinate. She declared that the Ruhr would only be evacuated if the payments were renewed, and in stages corresponding to such payment.

In April the German Government could no longer defer making an attempt to open negotiations, even though it still placed great reliance in passive resistance. In various public declarations, *e.g.*, in the protest manifesto of the Rhenish Social Democrats above mentioned, Labour had demanded a new and clear expression of Germany's readiness to fulfil her reparation obligations. It was deemed fitting also that a similar declaration should be made to the British Government, as it had notified its opposition to the political methods and designs of France, and also its earnest desire for a restoration of the Entente and the fixing of Germany's payments and their distribution among the Entente Powers. The conversations which M. Loucheur held with English statesmen were followed with the closest attention in Germany. On April 16 the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Herr von Rosenberg, made in the Reichstag a statement on the situation. He again called for the evacuation of the Ruhr district, and refused to accept the principle proclaimed by the French of evacuation by stages corresponding to payment; he, however, once more recognised Germany's obligation to pay. He also expressed the wish for a peaceful understanding with France, which he said had the choice of surviving or perishing with Germany. This last warning showed that the leading German statesmen cherished no illusions about their country's power of endurance, and genuinely desired negotiations. The leader of the German People's Party, Herr Stresemann, showed this even more clearly in the course of the debate by sketching plans of a conference with America as a participator, and emphasising in a conciliatory tone France's interest in the reparation payments. England, it appeared, was ready to act the part of intermediary between the two countries, since Lord Curzon, in a speech in the House of Lords on April 21, had spoken in respectful terms of passive resistance, and had at the same time expressed a desire for a settlement which would give France security without dismembering Germany.

Unfortunately, in the interval between the speeches of the German and the English Ministers, something had happened which gravely compromised Germany's position in the negotiations and her ability to continue passive resistance. The currency policy of the Government and the Reichsbank **had**

broken down. In face of the great demand for bills against imports, the Bank could no longer keep up the exchange value of the mark, and on April 18 it again began to fall.

This catastrophe did not for the time being affect the foreign policy of the Government. The reparation offer which it made on May 2 in response to the English suggestion coincided in essentials with the proposals which Herr Bergmann had desired to bring forward at the Paris Conference and which had shortly before become generally known. The total liability still left over after the payments of the preceding years was fixed at 30,000,000 gold marks. Of this sum two-thirds was to be raised by July 1, 1927, and one-sixth by July 1, 1929, and the remaining sixth by July 1, 1931. The interest due to 1927 was to be paid out of the loan. The obligation of giving guarantees was recognised, but they were not as yet specified. The offer was summarily rejected by France, and created disappointment in England also, where it was regarded as being both vague and inadequate. The British Government indicated in its answer the points which were unsatisfactory, and at the same time expressed its desire for a new offer which should provide a better basis for negotiations. After long discussions with the leading economic circles, the Government on June 7 handed in a second Reparation Note. In this quite another system of payment was proposed. The Government declared itself willing to submit the whole question of Germany's liability to the judgment of an international tribunal, and to lay before this body all data requisite for forming a conclusion. Further, promise was made of yearly payments, to be guaranteed to the extent of 1*3 milliards of gold marks yearly by the property of the Reich and of private individuals. The railways and private concerns were to be saddled with bonds which would bring in 500,000,000 gold marks yearly. Further, the duties on food-stuffs and other articles and the brandy monopoly were pledged for 300,000,000 gold marks. The offer was accompanied with an urgent request for negotiations with a view to a conference.

The British Government had now the opportunity it desired—to play the part of intermediary. It did in fact labour hard through a course of wearisome negotiations to secure a joint answer from all the Allies. But it became increasingly clear that France desired to retain a free hand for dealing with Germany, and was confident of extorting from her all that she wanted by compassing her complete political and economic downfall. Even before the presenting of Germany's second Note, France and Belgium had agreed that a joint answer with the other Allies could be given only after the abandonment of passive resistance. To this point she always came back in answer to England's suggestions. In the meanwhile all the results which had been prophesied from the invasion had come to pass: a terrific crash in the currency accompanied by growing distress among the mass of the population and by a

general embitterment which gave rise to social unrest and movements for political disintegration.

Between May and July the Ruhr district became completely disorganised economically. Owing to the inability of the French authorities to replace the German functionaries and to procure rolling stock, the railway service, here and in the Rhineland, was brought to a standstill on one stretch after another. In the mines production ceased in consequence of the military occupation of the works between April and June. The furnaces were damped down, and the more advanced processes also came to a standstill. The restrictions imposed on the population by the occupation authorities became harsher. A pass from an Allied official was required for crossing the border of the occupied district in either direction. Confiscation of money became common; and even the transport of provisions was frequently impeded. The greatest severity was shown in the punishment of acts of resistance and sympathy or of sabotage, which were more often the work of political hotheads than of the rank and file. On such occasions whole localities were sometimes cut off from communication with the outside world.

In these circumstances the outlay of the Reich for the occupied district had to be enormously increased. When passive resistance ceased almost 2,000,000 completely unemployed were counted there, besides 800,000 on short time. In order to raise the means for financing the resistance, the Government had to have recourse to the note-printing press. As inflation increased so the currency fell, causing a constant rise in prices. Wage and salary earners had to insist on their payments being accommodated to the shifting cost of living. This payment "according to the index figure" became everywhere in the summer the regular practice, and naturally it accelerated the depreciation of the currency.

The Cuno Ministry and the Reichsbank were strongly blamed for the inactivity which they displayed in face of this *ddbdcle*. And in fact they were very slow even now in adapting taxation to the depreciation of the currency and the burdens of the Ruhr struggle. The Reichsbank allowed its discount rate to stand from April 23 to August 1 at 12 per cent., during which period the mark fell to a fortieth of its value. It also allowed the money which it lent out to be paid back at face value, after that had become relatively worthless. In this way the undertakings which it financed were greatly favoured. Till August powerful financial interests could still derive profit from the depreciation of the currency, or protect themselves against its worst effects. In this way, it must be admitted, industry was kept going, and an appearance of prosperity maintained. On August 1 there were still only 114,000 unemployed in unoccupied Germany; this fact may serve as some excuse for the authorities.

All the same the popular unrest was not stilled. The distress was already severe enough to goad some, in their despair, to acts of plunder and disturbance of the peace, such as occurred particularly in July in various large towns. Especially dangerous was the attitude of the two extreme parties, on the "right" and the "left." The ill-success of passive resistance caused an increase in the number of those who saw a prospect of salvation—whether for the nation or for the working class—only in a fight of despair. In Prussia, it is true, the Minister Severing had successfully opposed both sides. In March he had dissolved the activist organisations of the German-Popular Party and the National Socialists, and prevented the Communists, who managed in Frankfort to organise a demonstration which led to bloodshed, from forming "fighting unions." But elsewhere the provincial system of the Reich favoured now, as formerly, the creation of groups addicted to violence. The National Socialists found a safe haven in Bavaria. The Bavarian Government, it is true, expressed its disapproval of their activities, but could not suppress them. For between it and the German Nationals who were opposed to the Revolution, as also the Bavarian particularists, a strong sympathy had grown up. A common antipathy to Berlin, to the Republic and to Socialism threw into the background differences of opinion over methods and objects. The leader of the National Socialists, Adolf Hitler, a German Austrian, by his passionate oratorical appeals, reinforced by terrorism, won numerous converts for the idea of restoring Germany by force of arms. In Saxony and Thuringia, on the other hand, the Communists were brought by the Social Democrats into the Government. They also formed fighting unions, "proletarian hundreds," which were nominally intended only for defence against assaults by the military or members of the German People's Party, but were able at the same time to spread terror in the revolutionary interest.

But discontent with the political and economic conditions and mistrust of the Government extended far beyond the ranks of the extremists. It was loudly asserted that the people was the prey of "profiteers" and "usurers," and an "active" foreign policy was demanded. But the exploiters' den was sought in many different places, nor was there agreement on the kind of political activity desired. The more thoughtful pointed to the financial inactivity of the Government, and demanded above all things a more stringent taxation of those who could bear the strain, and the issue of a fixed-value government loan which would once more enable the individual to preserve his savings without speculating to the injury of the national wealth.

The Government took up both these ideas, and drew up a list of tax proposals (discount for prompt payment of income tax, Rhine-Ruhr offering, motor tax) and a bill for a fixed-value

loan to lay before the *Reichstag*, which was to resume its deliberations at the beginning of August. Nevertheless in Parliamentary circles the view gained ground that the Cuno Government, judged by its performances both in internal and external policy, was not fitted for the further conduct of affairs. A change of Government seemed to be advisable for the reason that the Social Democrats, in face of the growing unrest, recognised the responsibility that devolved on them as the strongest party in the State, and were ready to participate in a Government formed on as broad a base as possible. A prospect was at last opened up for a "Grand Coalition" which should embrace all parties from Social Democracy to People's Party, provided only that the representatives of large industry did not exercise an undue influence in the latter. Almost the only possible Chancellor for such a Coalition was Herr Stresemann, who was known to be prepared to deal ruthlessly with the interests of property when it was necessary to raise money for the nation, and who at the same time was capable of understanding the point of view of foreign peoples. Herr Cuno had no wish to stand in the way of the Coalition, which he had himself vainly tried to bring about at the beginning of his period of office, and he resigned with his Ministry after the first sittings of the *Reichstag*. The new Ministry took over from the previous one the Minister of Defence, Gessler (Democrat), the Minister of Labour, Brauns (Centre), and the Minister of Food, Luther (German People's Party). The Social Democrats provided the Vice-President (Schmidt), the Minister of the Interior (Sollmann), the Minister of Finance (Hilferding), and the Minister of Justice (Badbruch); from the Democratic Party came the Minister of Communications (Oeser), from the Centre the Minister of Posts (Hoefle), from the German People's Party the Minister of Commerce (von Ekaemper), and the Chancellor, who was also Minister of Foreign Affairs. A special Ministry for the Occupied Districts was created under Herr Fuchs, who had formerly been Governor of the Rhine Province.

The new Ministry was anxious to open negotiations with France, but desired first of all by means of a sound financial and economic policy to render possible the continuance of the policy of passive resistance, and to inspire in the world at large greater confidence in Germany's capacity and readiness to fulfil her obligations. The tax proposals of the Cuno Government were accepted by the *Reichstag* and supplemented by a tax on business. A further plan of Stresemann and Hilferding was to create a new and stable currency. This step required preparations of some magnitude; the others were on the point of being carried out when an economic catastrophe supervened which rendered them impossible. The mark exchange had touched a million to the dollar at the end of July, and from that moment depreciated with constantly accelerated velocity. The worst effect of this was that it made sound business calculation im-

possible, and **all** prices had to **be constantly multiplied**. These price increases along with the furious depreciation of the currency reduced the purchasing power of the **population to a minimum**, in spite of the application of the index, which in fact rather made matters worse. Living conditions became frightful; the infant mortality of the third quarter of 1923 exceeded that of the corresponding period of 1922 by 21 per cent, although the birth-rate had declined by 15 per cent. In spite of high prices most of the larger business concerns began to lose more and more heavily owing to high wages, diminishing purchasing power, the impossibility of calculating correctly, and heavy taxation. Exports, which had already been reduced to a minimum in the summer, ceased almost completely, as one object after another reached or even passed the world market price.

In these circumstances Germany was unable longer to continue passive resistance. The only policy open to the Government in foreign affairs was to seek by means of far-reaching offers in the matter of reparations to obtain from the occupying Powers tolerable conditions for the cessation of the resistance. But M. Poincaré rejected all overtures as insults. The German Government had no option but to withdraw on September 26, in concert with the representatives of the occupied districts and of the constituent States, all ordinances regarding passive resistance, without obtaining the slightest assurance in return from the other side.

The Order was accompanied by the announcement that the Government would use all the forces of the State to put down any attempts that might be made to create disturbance. This was necessitated by the fact that the political and economic catastrophe had greatly strengthened the ranks of the extreme elements. Hitler had held a great review of the "volkisch" bands. On the other side in Saxony the Premier, Zeigner, and the Communists had continued to intrigue against the Reichswehr and the Defence Minister, Gessler, whom they accused of favouring illegal military organisations while they themselves were collecting proletarian troops. To these movements in the East of the Reich was now added an increased activity on the part of Separatists in the Rhenland. These had, it is true, no great number of adherents either among the middle or the working classes; their leaders, among whom the notorious Matthes was now prominent, were able to command only a following from the dregs of the population. The movement, however, which called for an autonomous "Rhenish Republic" was formidable because it was openly supported by the French, and because the general despondency of the population rendered its power of resistance doubtful. Immediately after the cessation of passive resistance all these tendencies led to independent action on the part of sections against the Reich. On September 26 the Bavarian Council of Ministers declared the suspension of ordinary civil law for the free State of Bavaria, at the same time

placing the whole executive power in the hands of Dr. von Kahr, **who** was nominated General State Commissary. Herr von Kahr had been Premier of Bavaria in 1920-21, and it was under his Government that the reaction against the revolutionary regime had been carried through. He was known as a loyal supporter of the Monarchy and of the privileges of the provincial Government. The reason given for his appointment was the danger which threatened from the "volkisch" bands. Several meetings called by Hitler were in fact forbidden, and the Unions protested loudly. It looked as if the "volkisch" movement was to be smothered in favour of the particularist-conservative one. But even so the establishment of an independent dictatorship threatened the integrity of the Reich. The Imperial Government declared a state of siege throughout the Reich, and entrusted its enforcement to the heads of the Beichswehr, the Minister Gessler and General von Seeckt. A conflict immediately arose between the executive officers of the Beich and those of Bavaria. The Beich Minister forbade the issue of a **paper** which supported the nationalist programme—the *Volksischer Beobachter*. The prohibition was not enforced in Bavaria. Hitler and his adherents were disturbed but little in their propaganda; on the other hand Herr von Kahr openly proclaimed his programme to be the fight against "Marxism/' and suppressed not only the Socialist defence organisations, but also the Social-Democratic and Democratic press organs. He also annulled the Bavarian decrees endorsing the Law for the Defence of the Republic.

The Badical Socialists in Saxony and Thuringia, fired by the example of Bavaria and the establishment of a military police force in Berlin, also armed for battle. The Saxon Finance Minister, Bottcher, in a Communist gathering at Leipzig, called on the proletarian hundreds to arm. The Saxon factories were in danger of a reign of terror. In Thuringia safety detachments were sent to the Bavarian border, behind which Captain Ekhard, who had been a leader in the Kapp *putsch*, and had escaped from prison, drew together "volkisch" troops.

It was in quite another quarter, however, that a rising of the "volkisch" party actually took place. In Kiistrin a troop of 400 volunteers, who had in vain applied for enrolment in the Beichswehr, tried to break into the fortress. The Beichswehr remained loyal to the Republic, and forced the rebels to capitulate. About the same time, on September 30, the Ehine Separatists created a disturbance in Diisseldorf. They **had** summoned their partisans to a great demonstration, but the population showed its aversion to the renegades by keeping away from the streets. Members of the police force who had remained in the streets to preserve order were attacked by the Separatists. Other policemen came to their help, and a fight ensued in which ten persons were killed and 74 injured. **The** French garrison helped the Separatists and disarmed the

police. The German policemen who had performed their duty were brought to trial by the authorities of the garrison, and severe sentences were passed on them in December.

In the midst of the general confusion a new crisis arose in the central Government. The German People's Party was alarmed at the influence which it was now in the power of the Social Democrats to exercise, especially through Minister Hilferding, who was known as a champion of nationalisation. It also desired that laws should be passed for increasing production in which no regard should be paid to the principle of the eight hours' day, and demanded the passing of a Bill which gave the reconstructed Government power to issue orders of this nature with the force of law without first submitting them to the *Reichstag*. Herr von Eaumer found himself in opposition to the representatives of his own party, and laid down his office of Minister of Commerce. The Social Democrats consented to a compromise. They let Herr Hilferding fall, and agreed to the passing of the Special Powers Bill which was wanted for the Government. But they stipulated that the regulations affecting the hours of work should be fixed by a Bill carried in the ordinary course and not by the power conferred by the special law, and that this Bill should not violate the principle of the eight hours' day. On the basis of this compromise Herr Stresemann was able to reconstruct his Cabinet at the beginning of October. The post of Finance Minister was transferred to Dr. Luther, who had hitherto been Minister of Food. The Ministry of Commerce was given to Dr. Koeth, an experienced business man. This new Stresemann Cabinet had to master the refractory elements in Saxony, Thuringia, and Bavaria. It was successful in putting down the terror in the two first-named States. The military commander in Saxony, General Miiller, demanded from the Premier, Zeigner, in the sharpest terms a declaration of submission on account of the speech of Minister Bottcher. As this demand was not complied with, detachments of the *Reichswehr* moved on October 22 into Saxony to restore order and tranquillity. The Zeigner Ministry was forced to resign, and Herr Zeigner was soon after tried on a charge of private misdemeanours during his term of office. Thuringia was also occupied by the military for the purpose of disbanding the proletarian hundreds. About the same time a rising of Communists in Hamburg, in which barricades were erected, was put down with some bloodshed.

In Bavaria the conflict between the *Reich* and the State Governments took a different turn. The military commander there, General von Lossow, sided with the Bavarian authorities; he allowed the *Völkischer Beobachter* to go on appearing, and in this way placed himself in opposition to his superior, General von Seeckt, who demanded his resignation. General von Lossow, however, declared that he would yield no obedience to a

Government which was under "Marxist" influence, remained at his post, and was appointed provincial commander by the Bavarian Government. At the same time this Government as "Guardian of the German People*" exacted a special oath of allegiance to itself from the Bavarian troops. The central Government thereupon issued a manifesto accusing Bavaria of violating the constitution, and reminding the Bavarian division of the loyalty which it owed to the Reich. But this manifesto was not allowed to be published in Bavaria, and the recalcitrance of that "Land" remained in fact unpunished.

This success encouraged Hitler to take a decisive step. In company with General Ludendorff, who had long been likewise a leading figure in the "volkisch" circles of Munich, he seized von Kahr and von Lossow at a meeting in a brewery on November 8, and proclaimed a new German Government, to be established by a "volkisch" rising. Herr von Kahr at first announced himself an adherent of the rebels, styling himself "Viceroy of the King of Bavaria." But on the very next day he joined the Bavarian militia against Hitler and Ludendorff. These, as it proved, had greatly overestimated their following, and they had to capitulate. The differences between the "volkisch" elements and the particularists, which had been kept in the background, now again became evident. The Bavarian Government from now on took sterner measures against the Deutschvolkische and their armed bands. It was in consequence accused by them of treason, and its position in the Diet became weaker. It sought in vain for a grant of special powers, and consequently a new election is shortly to be held.

During the political disturbances, which were practically ended with the failure of the Hitler *putsch*, the Stresemann Ministry had to direct its whole energies to the task of dealing with the economic catastrophe. Bills were framed for increasing production in the factories, chief among them the Working Hours Bill, which did away with the rigid eight hours day. In order to diminish administration expenses, a large reduction of the Civil Service was contemplated. A Cartel Court was established in order to bring prices under stricter control. To crown all, a new currency was created. After a long consideration of a number of projects, and hearing of expert opinion, the Government decided to found a "Rentenbank," which should issue a currency token to be called the "Rentenmark." The new currency was covered by the mortgaging of the whole wealth of Germany. Side by side with the new money the depreciated mark remained legal tender, but after the issue of the Rentenmark no new mark notes were to be printed. As several weeks had yet to elapse to the first issue of the Rentenmark in the middle of November, and the need for a stable medium of payment was urgent, it was at the same time ordered that the small pieces of the fixed-value loan of August should be circulated as currency tokens,

The proclamation of the new currencies was detrimental to the old one, which continued to suffer from the expenditure still needed for the unemployed of the Ruhr, even after the cessation of passive resistance. The exchange value of the dollar which on October 9 was 1*2 milliards had in ten days risen to ten times that figure, and the upward movement did not slacken till at the beginning of November the billion mark had been passed. When the Eentenmark came into circulation it was, as a gold mark or somewhat less than the quarter of a dollar, worth exactly a billion paper marks. Then the movement at last came to a stop, and the population was relieved of the terrible nightmare of "money vanishing in the pocket." But meanwhile production, consumption, and human energy had ebbed more and more. The number of unemployed in unoccupied Germany had risen by October 1 to 530,000, by November 1 to 880,000, and by December 1 to 1,450,000 persons, besides 1,800,000 on short time. These unemployed had to exist on 10 to 15 per cent, of their pre-war wage, and those in work were not very much better off, as the prices of the chief food-stuffs were already 30 to 100 per cent, above world market level. Institutions for the sick and aged were brought almost to a standstill. The provisioning of the towns was endangered by the fact that farmers declined to deliver goods for paper money which they could not save. To overcome the economic selfishness and political animosity of these circles which might make the catastrophe even worse, Herr Stresemann looked out for a representative of the large landed proprietors to whom he could offer the Ministry of Food, and he found one in the person of Count Kanitz, who up till then had belonged to the German Nationalist People's Party.

Equally great was the distress in the occupied district, and here it had a political bearing also. Victorious France pursued a policy which has also with a certain amount of justice been designated "passive resistance," only that it was completely devoid of the heroism which had characterised the resistance of the Euhr population. She refused to regulate the conditions for a resumption of work in the Euhr district by means of an understanding with the German Government, and preferred to negotiate with the employers themselves, laying down for them conditions which could scarcely be fulfilled. She made the population suffer still further by delaying to take the steps necessary for reviving production. Thus the railway functionaries were called upon to bind themselves in writing to give unconditional obedience to the occupation authorities, and even when this condition was fulfilled the *rtgie* filled up the vacant posts very slowly. The employers were ordered to furnish to the occupation authorities without payment the reparation coal, the current coal tax with arrears, and the railway requirements. The works of one concern made a vain attempt to satisfy the French conditions, and long negotiations of the employers with

the MICUM (Mission interalliée de contrôle des usines et mines) came to nothing. They were, however, again resumed on November 22, and led to an agreement on the basis mentioned. Owing to the stringent conditions of this agreement, the employers laid down for the workers exceedingly harsh regulations in the matter of hours of work and level of wages, which involved the sacrifice by the latter of the gains of the revolution.

The object of the French was obviously by means of economic pressure to reduce the inhabitants of the district to a condition in which they would consent to the formation of a West German State dependent on France, which was the political objective of the invasion. The importance attached to this object became particularly clear in the Separatist disturbances which broke out on October 21 in the Eifel. In Aix the "Eifel Republic" was proclaimed; at various places in the district occupied by the French the public buildings were seized. Here again the public resisted. In the northern districts the movement collapsed after a few days. The insurgents were composed of such disreputable elements that the French themselves were ashamed of them and withdrew the support which they had at first given to them. The movement lasted longer in the Moselle district and the Palatinate, where the Separatists were able to maintain complete control over the town of Speyer and other administrative centres till the end of the year, although here also they consisted only of worthless adventurers.

The new collapse of Germany revived efforts on the part of other peoples towards the end of the year for a new international settlement of the reparations questions. In October the United States Government made proposals for new Committees of Inquiry, which were warmly supported by England but were declined by France on the ground that the Separations Commission was the competent body to deal with the matter. However, the Separations Commission had finally to consent to a treatment of the question which took into account other views besides the French. On November 23 it heard a statement from German delegates on the financial and economic condition of Germany, and resolved a week after to appoint two International Committees of Experts, one to examine Germany's efforts to balance her Budget and stabilise her currency, the other, the possibility of seizing the capital that had wandered abroad.

During these negotiations the Reich was without a Government capable of political action. The Socialist members of the Stresemann Cabinet resigned soon after the military operations in Saxony because they had not given their consent to these operations, and because they did not find the different treatment accorded to Saxony and to Bavaria justified. In consequence the Special Powers Act lost its validity, and the Stresemann Ministry, which was now joined by the Eifelander Herr Jarres (German People's Party) as Minister of the Interior, required a

new vote of confidence. But a motion to this effect from the Government parties was defeated on November 22. Eight days elapsed before a new Cabinet was formed. Various politicians who tried their hand failed to find a suitable basis for co-operation between the German Nationalist People's Party and the Moderate parties. At length on December 1 the leader of the Centre, Dr. Marx, succeeded in forming a "Middle-Class Ministry" of intermediate colouring, in composition almost identical with that of the Stresemann Cabinet after the exit of the Social Democrats. Herr Stresemann himself remained in office as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Of his colleagues Herren Fuchs and Koth did not return. The Ministry for the Occupied Districts was transferred to the Minister for Posts, Herr Hofle, and the Ministry of Commerce to Herr Hamm (Democrat). A member of the Bavarian People's Party, Herr Emminger, was induced to take up the Ministry of Justice, and in this way an attempt was made once more to draw Bavaria closer to the Reich.

On December 3 special powers were granted to the Marx Ministry, though it was required before exercising them to consult a committee of the Reichstag. It immediately took steps to renew diplomatic relations with France and Belgium, in order not to leave the fixing of a *modus vivendi* in the occupied district entirely in the hands of the representatives of the local population. On December 15 the German delegates were received by the Premiers of both countries. There was, however, no proper discussion. The answer of the foreign Governments was imparted in writing, and stated them to be ready only under certain reservations to listen to German proposals. All the same the German Government took the opportunity to draw up a detailed note on the relations of the occupied district to the unoccupied and to the Reich, which on December 24 was handed in at Paris and Brussels. Another thing for which the Government was very anxious was to obtain the consent of the Entente Powers to a foreign credit for procuring food for Germany. France wanted to make its consent to this also conditional on Germany's accepting the policy of January 11. Whether this policy is finally to prevail or not is a question which in the coming year will occupy a dominant position in the history not only of Germany but in that of most other States.

AUSTRIA.

The course of Austrian history during 1923 was determined almost entirely by the programme of reconstruction drawn up by the League of Nations at Geneva in the October of the previous year (v. A.R., 1922, p. 179). According to this programme a loan had been promised to Austria in the name of some of the chief members of the League provided she would comply with certain conditions, chief of which were to abstain

from further inflating her currency and to reduce the discrepancy between her income and expenditure. Austria, by means of rigid economy and merciless taxation, fulfilled these conditions to the satisfaction of the Powers, and was granted the loan in due course; and with the aid of this sum, and a smaller advance received earlier in the year, she was able not only to arrest the process of impoverishment and decay to which she had been a victim since the war, and which threatened her with complete dissolution, but also to lay the foundations of a financial and economic revival, the prospect of which has made Vienna the abode once more, not of gloom and despair, but of gaiety and light-heartedness.

The period immediately following Austria's acceptance of the Geneva programme was, as had been anticipated, the most trying for the population. The cessation of inflation led to a restriction of business for the time being, and this, combined with drastic reductions in the Civil Service, caused widespread unemployment. The months of January and February witnessed serious disturbances. Not only did great demonstrations of the unemployed take place towards the end of January, but the Social Democrats in Parliament, in their zeal for the working classes, used all means to obstruct the Chancellor's efforts to economise, and on February 6 created stormy scenes in the National Council, while a little later there was a fatal conflict between Socialists and Monarchists near Vienna.

On January 19 it was announced that the internal loan of 280 milliards of Austrian paper kronen had closed with a subscription of about two-thirds, a sum which, though regarded as satisfactory, could not carry the Government very far in view of the fact that on November 6 the deficit had been over 5,000 milliards. At the end of January it seemed doubtful whether Austria would be able to hold out till the loan promised to her was available, and accordingly Dr. Seipel, accompanied by the Foreign Minister, Dr. Grunberger, and the President of the National Bank, Herr Eisch, went to Paris in order to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations for immediate financial assistance. As a result of the Council's discussions, an Austrian financial mission, headed by Dr. Kienboeck, Minister of Finance, proceeded to London to arrange for a short-term loan for the purpose of tiding Austria over until the long-term loan could be floated. After considerable negotiation a sum of 3,500,000Z. sterling was placed in the countries which had already agreed to participate in the League of Nations credit scheme, and by the end of February the British share—1,800,000J.—was fully subscribed.

Everything now depended on whether Austria would inspire sufficient confidence in the financial world during the next two or three months to procure for her the loan of 27,000,000J. originally determined by the League of Nations as the sum required for restoring her finances. The first reports of the

Controller-General appointed by the League, Dr. Zimmermann, were not altogether favourable. He criticised severely the obstruction of the Social Democrats, the wastefulness of the railway regime, and the slowness with which the reduction of the Civil Service was being carried out. Nevertheless, he announced in February that he would not give up his post on April 1, when his provisional appointment ended, and this was regarded as a hopeful sign. On April 12 he left Vienna to attend the League of Nations Austrian Credits Committee, to which he presented further reports; and at the end of the proceedings a long-term loan of 650,000,000 gold kronen was authorised by the Committee. In his fourth report, which was published in Vienna on June 5, and in interviews given during a short visit to London at about the same time, Dr. Zimmermann, although still somewhat critical of the Austrian Government, gave facts and figures which showed that the position was more encouraging than anyone a few months previously could have dared to hope. In the eight months that had elapsed since the League of Nations scheme was floated, savings banks deposits had increased by 750 per cent.; unemployment had fallen between February and May from 169,000 to 122,000; the customs and tobacco tax yield, on which the international loan was to be secured, showed in April an improvement of 760,000 gold kronen over the average of 12,400,000 gold kronen for the first three months of the year; and the Budget deficit for May was 2,400,000 kronen less than the monthly average (23,500,000) since January.

These figures bore eloquent testimony to the vitality of Austria and her capacity for recovery, provided she were given the opportunity. Accordingly there was no difficulty in raising the loan. On June 11 the British portion, amounting to 14,000,000Z. sterling was issued and quickly oversubscribed, and on the same day the American portion of 25 million dollars met with an equally favourable reception. On June 30 it was announced that Austria's portion of her own loan, 13 million dollars, was fully subscribed, and similar success attended the Italian portion in July. With her coffers thus replenished, Austria was relieved of anxiety as to the stability of her currency, and she immediately began to attract foreign capital for investment, to the great benefit of her industry and commerce. And not only did the loan remove from the Government all temptation to further inflation, but it also secured to it the possibility at least of making the Budget balance by the end of 1924. This became henceforth the chief object of Dr. Seipel's policy, and the progress made by the end of the year augured well for its ultimate attainment.

As already mentioned, Dr. Seipel had to carry out his reforms in the teeth of constant opposition and obstruction from the Social Democrats, who demurred both **at the burdens laid on** the working classes, and at the derogation to **the**

State's sovereignty involved in foreign control of its finances. In one case he had to make a somewhat important concession to them. In April it had been decided, on grounds of economy, to reduce the number of Ministries by placing those of Foreign Affairs and Justice under the Chancellor, and incorporating the Ministry of War—which, with an army of only 25,000 men, was hardly necessary—in that of the Interior. The Social Democrats, however, who cherished the "proletarian Army" as their own creation, insisted on its remaining under an independent administration, and the Chancellor had to give way, and instead of abolishing the Ministry of War he added the Ministry of the Interior to his own already overburdened office.

By the time the elections for the National Council were due in October, the Social Democrats had accepted the Geneva programme as inevitable, and differed from the bourgeois parties only in desiring to shift some of the burdens from the working to the capitalist classes. Dr. Seipel somewhat rashly provided them with an excellent war-cry by proposing just before the elections to allow owners of property, who had been hard hit by the depreciation in the currency, to increase rents. In spite of this, his party maintained its position in a poll in which 90 per cent. of the electors voted. In the old House of 183 members there had been 85 Christian Socialists (Government Party), 69 Social Democrats, 20 Pan-Germans, 8 Land League, and 1 Democrat. In the new House of 165 members there were 82 Christian Socialists, 66 Social Democrats, 10 Pan-Germans, and 7 Land League. Practically, therefore, the Social Democrats gained at the expense of the Pan-Germans. The losses of this group could be explained by the decline of interest in the *Anschluss* idea, due to the calamitous condition of Germany. The election was interpreted as giving a verdict for the Geneva programme on the one hand, and for the protection of tenants on the other. As soon as the National Assembly met, Dr. Seipel tendered his resignation, but he was immediately re-elected by 98 votes to 66.

The election for the Vienna City Council was held at the same time as the General Election. Here the Social Democrats retained their predominance, securing 78 seats against the Christian Socialists 41. Under the Social Democratic regime the housing conditions of the poorer classes had been considerably improved. In other respects, too, Vienna this year began to change its character, becoming predominantly a commercial centre. A principal part in effecting this change was played by the Jewish section of the population. It was one of the new Jewish financial magnates, Herr Bosel, who towards the end of the year by a generous subvention enabled the Vienna University to continue its work, and so put a stop to the anti-Semitic agitation among the students which at one time was carried to such lengths as to necessitate the closing of the University for two days (November 19 and 20).

Towards the end of November the Budget programme for 1924 was made known. It estimated a deficit of 836.2 milliard kronen (2,789,000Z.), against 2664.2 milliards (8,880,000Z.) for the previous year. As the deficit allowed under the reconstruction scheme is only 147 milliards, the Finance Minister, in order to remove the discrepancy, proposed to double the income tax, treble the turnover tax on businesses, and largely increase postal rates.

Evidence of the country's economic progress during the year was afforded by Dr. Zimmermann's report for November, which stated that deposits in savings-banks in September amounted to 32,000,000 gold kronen against 2,000,000 in the previous September, that the monthly deficit in October was 13,000,000 against 38,000,000 in September, 1922, and that the number of unemployed in receipt of assistance had fallen to 75,775. Exports in August amounted to 87.3 million gold kronen, against an average of 69,000,000 for the first three months of the year. The only set-back to the continued progress of the country came in the last month of the year, when one or two serious strikes broke out. Through the Chancellor's mediation the men were induced to resume work, but were left in a dissatisfied condition.

Dr. Seipel in the course of the year visited a number of foreign capitals—Budapest in January, Belgrade in February, Eome in March, and Warsaw in September. The result was in every case an improvement in Austria's relations with her neighbours. A compromise was arrived at with Hungary on the question of the Burgenland, and an Arbitration Treaty between the two countries was ratified by the National Council on May 7, similar to those already in force with Switzerland and Czechoslovakia. An agreement was reached with Yugoslavia regarding pre-war debts and frontier traffic. On April 28 a Commercial Treaty for one year, but renewable after six months, was made with Italy, and in September an Arbitration Convention was concluded with Poland.

Thus for the first time since the war, the close of a year has found Austria in a better position than its opening. International goodwill towards her, seconded by the unstinted efforts of her own population, have made her once more an active member of the comity of civilised nations. Her recovery is not yet complete, but the League of Nations has every reason to be satisfied with the success of its experiment so far, and Austria can already look back to Dr. Seipel's appeal to that body as the turning-point in her post-war history.

CHAPTER V.

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

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

THE constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Eepublics which the Constitutive Federal Congress drew up in Decemjjgr, lg22^has with some modifications been adopted by tEFTJentral Executive Committee of the Union. On July 14 the Committee approved the laws on the establishment of a Federal State Bank, a Central Commission for granting concessions, and a Council of Labour and National Defence. At the same time it was decided that the decrees and orders of the All-Eussian Executive Committee should be binding throughout the whole territory of the Union. The paper *Isvestija* was made the official organ of the Union. The question of a Second Chamber to represent the separate Soviet Eepublics remains to be discussed at the Second Congress of the Councils of the Union.

In the beginning of the year Eussia took an active part in the first Conference of Lausanne, which ended in a deadlock on February 4. The Soviet Delegation laboured hard to procure an agreement that the question of the Straits should be a matter for Turkey and the other Powers of the Black Sea only, but without success. The Turks yielded to the British point of view and left the Eussian Delegation in an isolated position, so that it went home without having achieved anything.

The trial and subsequent execution of the Catholic priest Budkiewicz provoked indignation and protests not only in Poland but also in many other countries, including Great Britain. Diplomatic Notes were exchanged between the British Mission in Moscow and the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. In consequence of the insolent tone of the notes signed by an official of the Commissariat, M. Weinstein, Lord Curzon ordered Mr. Hodgson, the Head of the British Mission, to demand satisfaction, and to leave Moscow in case it was not given. Meanwhile an incident had occurred which aggravated the situation. British fishing trawlers were seized early in April off the Murman coast by a Eussian gun-boat. A British cruiser was thereupon sent to that coast in order to protect British fishermen operating in that region, and on April 28 a Note was despatched by the Foreign Office claiming that British subjects should be granted the right to fish in northern waters outside the three-mile limit. M. Litvinov replied in his Note of May 9 that the Soviet Government could not accept the principle of a three-mile limit, being of opinion, in view of the range of modern guns, that a twelve-mile limit should be established; they were, however,

prepared to refer the dispute to an International Conference of the Powers interested.

A more serious character was imparted to the dispute by the despatch from the British Foreign Office on May 9 of a Note which included the following claims: the immediate cessation of anti-British propaganda in the East; the recognition by **the** Soviet Government of the compensation claims of British subjects; and the withdrawal of the offensive letters of M. Weinstein in reply to Mr. Hodgson's protest against the execution of Budkiewicz. The British Government declared that they would cancel the Russian Trade Agreement of March, 1921, if the Soviet Government did not give a satisfactory answer within ten days. This Note caused a great sensation both in Great Britain and in Russia, and the Soviet Press fiercely attacked the British Government.

Within three days—on May 12—M. Litvinov handed in the reply of the Soviet Government. It began by saying that the Russian Government was surprised at the hostile tone of the British ultimatum. On their side the Russian Government had to complain of acts of provocation committed by Great Britain, and its constant neglect of the interests of Russia in the matter of the Straits, of the Galician and Memel questions, and so on. The Soviet Government was well aware of the activities of British agents against the Russian Government in the Caucasus and in Central Asia, but it had abstained from making use of intercepted documents, the authenticity of which always appeared to be questionable. There was no truth in the allegations of anti-British propaganda, which were based on forgeries and on cipher-telegrams fabricated *ad hoc*. The fostering by Russia of friendly relations with peoples of the East could not be considered as an infringement of the Trade Agreement. Except in the case of the trawlers there had been no violation of any interests of British citizens. The Soviet Government was prepared to compensate Mrs. Stan Harding for imprisonment by the Soviet authorities and Mrs. Davison for the execution of her husband, if the British Government granted compensation for the imprisonment and execution of Russian citizens during the British occupation. With regard to fishing in northern waters, the Russian Government could only repeat the statement of its point of view contained in its previous Note, **and** once more declare its readiness to accept any settlement of the question laid down by an International Conference. The Notes of M. Weinstein had been written in an atmosphere of popular excitement engendered by attempts of a neighbouring State (Poland) to intervene in Russian affairs. The Note particularly complained of had been twice returned by Mr. Hodgson **and had not been sent in the end**; it could **therefore** be regarded as **non-existent**. There was no ground for the rupture of commercial relations, and the conflict could be easily settled if both parties would show goodwill, On May 14 M. Krassin

arrived by aeroplane in London with the object of bringing about a settlement of the conflict.

After some days of negotiation (for an account of which v. English History, p. 57) the British Government issued a Memorandum on May 29, in which it set forth demands in regard to fishing outside the three-mile limit, compensation to Mrs. Stan Harding and Mrs. Davison, and the cessation of propaganda. In a Note of June 12 the Soviet Government practically accepted all the British demands.

Relations between the two countries after this became better and better, and in July, M. Bakovski, President of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissaries, went to London to act as Head of the Russian Trade Delegation.

On April 25 the Lausanne Conference was reopened. M. Vorovski, Chief of the Russian Trade Delegation in Berne, arrived in Lausanne with a Delegation representing Soviet Russia, the Ukraine, and Georgia. The Delegation was, however, not allowed by the Secretariat of the Conference to take part in its work because of Russia's refusal to adhere to the Convention of the Straits to which the Allies and the Turks had agreed. When the Swiss Political Department on April 30 asked the General Secretary of the Conference what the actual position of the Russian Delegation was, the answer given was that the Delegation was not a member of the Conference. No visa was granted to a Soviet diplomatic courier in spite of the request of the Russian Delegation. Nevertheless M. Vorovski declared on May 8 to representatives of the Press that it was not the intention of the Soviet Delegation to leave Lausanne. On May 12 M. Vorovski was shot and two members of his Mission were wounded by a former officer of the Russian White Army, Conradi, a Swiss citizen, who stated to the authorities that this action was meant to revenge the members of his family murdered in Russia. He denied that he belonged to any political party. Some days later M. Polunin, Secretary of the Mission of the Imperial Russian Red Cross, was arrested under suspicion of complicity. An exchange of Notes took place between the Foreign Commissary, Chicherin, and the Swiss Government which, according to Moscow, had not taken proper measures for the security of the Delegation and was therefore responsible for the assassination of M. Vorovski. The Swiss Government broke off the correspondence on account of the offensive tone of the Soviet Notes. Arrests were made among the Swiss colonies in Petrograd, Moscow, and Kiev, and groups of Communists plundered Swiss shops in Petrograd. The Council of People's Commissaries ordered that no visas should be issued to Swiss citizens either for entering or for leaving Russia. The trial of Conradi and Polunin took place in November and ended in their acquittal.

Meanwhile the work of the Lausanne Conference went on. On July 17 Soviet Russia was asked to participate in the signing

of the Convention of the Straits, according to which the control of the Straits was to be entrusted to a Commission of the League of Nations consisting of representatives of the Great Powers, Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Russia under the chairmanship of Turkey. In his reply to this Note M. Chicherin stated once more the objections of his Government to the Convention, protesting against the interference of the "so-called League of Nations," and declaring that the new instrument meant a new menace of war and the violation of the interests of the Turkish nation. In spite of all this the Soviet Government declared its readiness to sign the Convention and thus co-operate in the establishment of peace; and to this end M. Jordanski, Head of the Soviet Delegation in Rome, would proceed to Constantinople to sign there the Convention on behalf of the Soviet Governments of Eussia, the Ukraine, and Georgia, as the representatives of these Governments could not go to Switzerland.

During the year some slight symptoms manifested themselves of a *rapprochement* between Eussia and France. A representative of the Societe Anonyme Internationale de Petrole went in May to Moscow to open negotiations on a concession in the Baku district, and the Soviet Government also permitted other representatives of French industry to visit Eussia with the object of entering into commercial relations.

Various efforts were made during the year to obtain recognition by the United States, but they all proved fruitless. Mr. Hughes explained in a letter to Samuel Gompers, the Chairman of the National Federation of Labour, that America could not recognise Soviet Eussia, first, on account of the continuous Bolshevik propaganda, and secondly because the Soviet Government had not yet shown any intention of altering its original views on international relations, and of guaranteeing security of person and property to foreign subjects. In December M. Chicherin despatched a Note to President Coolidge in reply to his remarks on Eussia in the Message to Congress. He proposed that America should enter into friendly relations with Eussia, but Mr. Hughes informed the Soviet Government through the intermediary of the American Consul in Eeval that he "did not see for the moment any cause for negotiations." The American Government, added Mr. Hughes, did not intend to barter with its principles. It viewed seriously the Bolshevik propaganda in America, and as long as this propaganda continued under the direction of Moscow no negotiations would be opened. At the same time the American Ministry of Justice published documents illustrating the subversive character of the Bolshevik propaganda in America. M. Chicherin, however, flatly denied the authenticity of these documents.

In May negotiations were carried on in Bucharest between a Soviet Mission and the Eumanian Government for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. The Eussian Delegation, however, demanded that Rumania should previously recognise

the Soviet Government, whereupon Eumania declared that the moment for the recognition has not yet arrived. The Russian Delegation thereupon left Bucharest. In December an agreement was signed between both Governments at Tiraspol with regard to frontier conditions on the Dniester.

Discussions were also opened with Yugoslavia, and the negotiations with Italy for *de jure* recognition have proceeded smoothly. The Soviet Government has confirmed an important oil and mineral concession in the Caucasus region to an Italo-Belgian company. A Trade Agreement was concluded with Denmark and similar negotiations have been opened with Sweden.

The new Church policy has had a marked success during the year. The Church Council which opened on May 2 numbered 850 representatives, of whom 329 supported the idea of the Reformed Church. The Chairman of the Council, the Moscow Metropolitan Antonin, read a message to the Government saying that the separation of the Church from the State meant the emancipation of the Church and the liberation of religious activities from changing political influences. On May 4 the Metropolitan Antonin announced the decision of 46 bishops to dismiss Patriarch Tikon from his post and from his ecclesiastical dignity because he had corrupted the true teaching of Christianity and had become a traitor to the Church. The Patriarchate was declared by the Council to be a counter-revolutionary institution which should be abolished. In June the ex-Patriarch was imprisoned, but later on, after he had declared that he would not attack the present Government, he was taken into the Donskoi monastery. The Council adopted the following resolutions with regard to the organisation of the Church: The parish is the unit of the Church organisation; then come the district vicariats with the bishops at their head. The dioceses remain under the administration of archbishops and diocese councils. Each diocese is to be divided into districts which shall include not less than ten churches. The district vicariats shall be maintained by voluntary donations.' The highest organ of the Church is the Church Council consisting of eighteen members under the chairmanship of a bishop. This council is the representative of the Church in its relations with the State.

The year was signalised by an increase in the revenue of the State. During the first nine months of the fiscal year, 1922-28 (October, 1922-June, 1923), State taxes yielded 1,801,000,000 gold roubles, the communal dues and taxes 683,000,000. The Budget for 1923-24 was drafted at 1,650,000,000 to 1,700,000,000 gold roubles. A new currency was introduced of which the unit is the "Tchervonetz," equal in value to the 10 rouble note.

The expectations of a satisfactory harvest have not been fulfilled. According to an official estimate issued in September the harvest was placed at 2,750,000,000 pud as compared with the anticipated 3,000,000,000 pud and with 2,790,000,000 pud

of 1922. This decrease has taken place although the area of cultivation has increased in 1923. It was estimated that from this small harvest only a couple of million pud could be exported. An English-Eussian Company for the Corn Trade has been founded with which already three contracts have been concluded on a credit basis. Similar agreements have been entered into with French, Austrian, and Dutch companies.

During the year the health of Lenin did not improve, and the year passed without his exercising any actual influence in State affairs. The influence of Trotski seems also to have diminished. Eumours have been spread that he suffers from malaria. Towards the end of the year he was engaged in a fierce polemic with his colleagues of the Pravda, advocating the right of criticism and opposing the terrorisation of the Communist Party, which according to a recent statement of Zinoviev consists of 311,000 members. The Pravda replied with bitter attacks on Trotski "for his political bankruptcy and adherence to Menshevism." The chief opponents of Trotski, who are now dominant, include Stalin, Kamenev, and Zinoviev. M. Tchubar became Head of the Ukrainian Soviet Eepublic after Eakovski's departure to London. Tchubar has also been elected Vice-chairman of the Federation of Soviet Republics.

The former Tcheka, now called *Chief Political Department* —G(ossudarstvennoie) P(oliticheskoe) U(pravlenie)—though included in the Commissariat of Home Aff&irs is in fact an independent body. It consists of eight sections: the operative section, the section of information, the foreign, the general, the financial, the section for registration, the transport section, and the detective section. The Head of the Department is now M. Unschlicht, former Head of the Moscow branch, and the general activities of the Department are under the supervision of Dserschinski, former Chief of the Tcheka.

ESTONIA.

Political life in Estonia during the first half of the year was dominated by the question of giving religious education in schools. At the request of the Left Parties of the Diet a paragraph was included in the school code, prohibiting the teaching of religion in the elementary and middle schools. The parties on the Eight were greatly disturbed at this decision of the Diet, and the Christian People's Party decided to take the plebiscite of the people on the question. The plebiscite was arranged for the second half of February, and an overwhelming majority expressed itself in favour of the introduction of religious teaching (330,000 voted for the proposal, and 130,000 against). As a result of this vote the Eiigikogu (the Estonian Diet) was dissolved on March 9 and new elections took place in the beginning of May. There were elected 100 deputies who belonged to fourteen various parties. The Eight wing consisted of 32 deputies, the Centre of 38, and the Left of 30 deputies. A

Coalition Cabinet was formed under **the** Presidency of M. **Konstantin** Pats, composed of members of the Agriculturist Party, of the Democratic Union (*i.e.*, the Estonian People's Party, the Christian People's Party, and the National Liberals), and of the Labour Party.

In her foreign trade Estonia pursued a policy of moderate protectionism. Towards the end of the year an economic depression made its appearance, owing principally to the rather mediocre harvest. Accordingly a general demand was expressed for a restriction of imports in order to prevent the balance of trade from being passive, as in 1922. The Budget for 1924, which was presented to the Diet in November, showed an estimated revenue of 6,308,400,000 Estonian marks and an estimated expenditure of 6,731,781,400 marks.

The outstanding event in the foreign policy of the year was the conclusion of a Customs Union as well as a political agreement with Latvia. Commercial treaties or economic agreements were concluded with Sweden (July 7), Germany (June), Denmark and Italy (November). The Commercial Treaty concluded with Hungary in 1922 was ratified on March 3, 1923. Relations with Russia were troubled for some time owing to an attack on the Estonian Consulate General in Petrograd by Estonian Communists, but the incident was settled amicably in due course.

FINLAND.

The Cabinet of M. Kallie remained in power throughout the year, save only that a change took place in the office of War Minister. General Jalander resigned his post in August and General V. T. Nenonen took over the portfolio of War Minister. In December the Minister of Finance, M. Eyti, and the Minister of Justice, M. Akeson, tendered their resignations. The outstanding event in internal affairs was the dissolution of the Communist Party in August. Communist journals were confiscated, and the leaders of the party were charged with high treason and imprisoned.

Commercial relations with foreign countries were fostered by the conclusion of a number of new treaties. In April the Trade Agreement with France was ratified by the French Chamber. Commercial treaties were signed with Denmark (in August), with Poland (in November), and with Great Britain (on December 14). In November Finland secured a loan in the United States to the amount of 10,000,000 dollars and in Great Britain to the amount of 2,000,000Z. sterling. The State Bank (Finland's Bank) has raised the discount rate to 10 per cent.

No solution has been arrived at of the Karelian question (see ANNUAL EGGISTEB, 1922, p. 190), which has occupied the League of Nations throughout the year. The Council of the League decided in February to consult the Permanent Court of International Justice on the legal aspects of this question. In July

the Permanent Court came to the conclusion that it had better not deal with this question, as Soviet Russia was not a member of the League and might not recognise its competence. The Council of the League, however, adopted a different attitude. In its report, drawn up in September, the opinion was expressed that this view of the Permanent Court should not hinder the Council from taking any steps necessary in the Karelian question, and the Assembly of the League of Nations carried a resolution requesting the Council to pursue the matter further. The Soviet Government protested against the intervention of the League of Nations in a purely Russian matter, for according to the view of the Foreign Commissariat Karelia is a part of Soviet Russia.

LATVIA.

The events which took place on May 1 and the stormy debates which followed in the Diet brought about a Cabinet crisis. By the end of June a new Cabinet was formed with M. Meierovics as President and Minister of Foreign Affairs. On June 22 a Trade and Navigation Treaty was signed with Great Britain, and a Treaty was also concluded with the United States concerning the reciprocal extradition of criminals. With Estonia relations were strengthened by the conclusion of a defensive alliance; by an agreement for the exemption from duties of foreign ships in Estonian and Latvian ports; by a Customs Union; and, finally, by a Treaty regulating the settling of accounts between both States. On August 16 Latvia received *de jure* recognition from the Chinese Republic. The country participated in the Economic Conference of the Baltic States and Poland at Helsingfors (March 2-10), in the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva (September), and in the Financial Conference of the Baltic States at Reval (October 16-19).

The report of the Bank of Latvia on December 12 showed a balance of 122,463,780*84 lats. The 23,000,000 lats of notes in circulation were secured by 700 kilos of gold, 250,000 dollars, and 851,459Z. sterling. During the year railway communications with Russia were finally regulated.

LITHUANIA.

In March, 1923, the Diet (*Seimas*) was dissolved owing to the Government's difficulty in obtaining an absolute majority. New elections took place with the following result: Christian Democrats, 40; People's Party, 15; National Minorities, 14; Social Democrats, 9. A new Cabinet, based on the coalition of the Christian Democrats and the People's Party, was formed under the Presidency of M. Galvanauskas, President of the former Cabinet, who also retained the portfolio of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

In regard to Vilna, on March 13 the Conference of Ambassadors decided to recognise the Polish-Lithuanian frontier as

established by the Polish occupation **troops**. The Lithuanian **Government** contested the right of the Conference to take any decision on the Vilna district because it had never belonged to the Allied Powers. This district, it argued, had been ceded by Eussia to Lithuania by the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920. The Lithuanian Government further referred to a resolution of the Council of the League of Nations of January 13, 1922, which said that no solution of this question would be recognised if not accepted by both parties. The Conference of Ambassadors, had further, in accordance with a resolution of the Council of the League of Nations, decided that the neutral zone situated between the occupied and non-occupied part of Lithuania should be divided between Lithuania and Poland. Lithuania, however, could not accept this decision. In September Lithuania presented both questions, the recognition of the frontier and the partition of the neutral zone, to the Council of the League of Nations, but in view of the Italo-Greek conflict it declared its willingness to postpone the discussion of these questions till the next session of the League, in 1924.

In January irregular Lithuanian troops invaded Memel, removed the Directory, and installed a provisional Lithuanian Government. The French High Commissioner was unable to resist with his small force, but on January 16 protested formally against the invasion. Thanks to the co-ordinate action of the Allied Powers and of the Lithuanian Government, order was soon restored, and a new Government formed. The Council of Ambassadors decided on February 2 to transfer the sovereignty of the Memel district to the Lithuanian Eepublic under certain conditions, as, for instance, that the Memel district should have autonomy, and that free transit should be granted to Poland as well as to Lithuania. In the spring Lithuania granted an autonomous status to the district (see also under League of Nations, p. 147).

POLAND.

The new Eepublic of Poland entered on the fifth year of its existence under the Government of General Sikorski, who was appointed at the end of 1922, during the critical days which followed the assassination of the President on December 14. The Lithuanian *coup* at Memel on January 10 threatened for a time the North-East frontier, and the Council of the League of Nations in order to settle the question of the dangerous neutral zone between Poland and Lithuania made the experiment of dividing it between the two parties. Poland occupied the part allotted to her on February 15, while the Council of Ambassadors awarded Memel to Lithuania exactly a month afterwards.

Almost simultaneously, on March 14, the Allied Powers took a step of historic importance for Poland, when through the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris they recognised the *de facto*

Eastern, Northern, and South-Eastern frontiers of the Polish Republic, thus confirming Polish sovereignty over Vilna, East Galicia, and the territories which were recognised as Polish by Soviet Russia in the Biga Peace Treaty. Soon afterwards relations between Poland and Russia, which had been improving for some time, were temporarily clouded by reason of the persecution of Catholic priests by the Soviet authorities, and the sentence of death passed upon the Polish Archbishop Cieplak and his coadjutor Mgr. Budkiewicz on March 25.

Towards the middle of the year the position of the Sikorski Cabinet, which relied upon the support of the parties of the Left, was weakened through fierce party strife. The moderate Peasant Party under M. Witos, who had supported General Sikorski, began to waver, and entered into negotiations with the powerful *Bloc* of the parties of the Right. Early in May a bargain was struck between M. Witos and the *Bloc* by which the peasants obtained the consent of the *Bloc* to the gradual execution of the plan of Agrarian Reform. The Witos party joined the *Bloc*, and after losing about one-fourth of its members, who under M. Dabski seceded and joined the Radical Peasant Party, succeeded in overthrowing the Government of General Sikorski. On May 27 M. Witos became Prime Minister for the third time, relying on the coalition of his party with the parties of the Right for Parliamentary support. This alliance did not bode well for the success of the Government, all the more so as the financial position with the unceasing currency inflation and consequent fall of the exchange value of the mark created an atmosphere of unrest and anxiety throughout the country. In little more than a month, on June 30, the Finance Minister, M. Grabski, who came into office with the Sikorski Cabinet, resigned, finding it impossible to carry out his plans of financial reform, for the forming of which he had invited the advice of Mr. Hilton Young, the British financial expert. He was followed by M. Linde, who, however, gave little satisfaction, and resigned two months later, on September 1.

In foreign affairs during this period two events of importance occurred. On July 10 a Conference of the Baltic States and Poland took place for the purpose of co-ordinating their policies, and on July 23 Poland signed a Treaty of friendship and a commercial Convention with Turkey.

Internally, the financial position claimed the exclusive attention of the Government and public opinion. In spite of enormous progress in economic reconstruction, as shown by the favourable trade balance, and by increased production in mining and industry, which in most branches exceeded the pre-war level, and in spite of great agricultural development stimulated by three consecutive bumper harvests of all crops, the national finances went from bad to worse almost daily. The new Finance Minister, M. Kucharski, proved totally unequal to the immense task which confronted him. It soon became apparent that the

feeble Government of M. Witos would not be able to hold out against the increased pressure of public opinion which clamoured for energetic and drastic measures for the improvement of the National finances. To appease this clamour the Government underwent a voluntary reconstruction on October 27 by inviting two of the strongest personalities of the Eight to join it: M. Korfanty as Deputy Premier with the specific task of aiding the Minister of Finance, and M. Dmowski as Foreign Minister. This measure proved, however, inadequate to save the Government. The peasant allies of the Eight grew restless as it became obvious that financial difficulties would not allow even the limited programme of Agrarian Eeforms to be realised. Thus the *raison d'être* of the coalition vanished, and when a new group of fifteen deputies under M. Bryl split off from the Witos party the Government resigned on December 11, having lost its Parliamentary majority.

The outlook for the moment was serious, and the President of the Eepublic came forward in person with the watchword of "a ministry for financial reconstruction." He first of all brought the utmost pressure to bear upon the leader of the parties of the Left, M. Thugut, to form a Government, and when his efforts failed, the President, seeing the impossibility of a purely party Government, called upon M. Grabski, the former Finance Minister, to assume office and to form a non-party "business administration" with a programme exclusively devoted to financial reforms. M. Grabski, retaining the portfolio of Finance, formed his Cabinet with commendable despatch, and on December 19 appeared before the House. His first act was to demand for the Government emergency dictatorial powers for dealing with the finances of the country. During the few days between Christmas and New Year a Bill giving such powers to the Government of M. Grabski was unanimously passed by both Chambers of Parliament.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Throughout 1923 M. Svehla's Coalition Government, which assumed office on October 7, 1922, remained in power. The land reform, in spite of much adverse criticism, has been steadily proceeded with; in Slovakia the process of bringing the backward parts of the country up to the level of the rest, chiefly through the agency of general and technical education, has advanced considerably; and the Government's chief concern in legislation, next to the readjustment of the capital levy, has been the question of social insurance, both for workmen and small traders.

In the field of party politics the year has been devoid of startling events. The Opposition was formed by the Communists, Father Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, and the German party *bloc*. The Communists have very appreciably

modified their extremist attitude. They took part in the municipal elections held in September, and in numerous areas, including Greater Prague, they showed their readiness to engage in constructive work for the State. The Slovak People's Party still demands the autonomy of Slovakia, and the demand was met by the organisation of the new administrative districts (*zupy*), which were set up in 1923, and for which the first elections were held at the end of September. These districts of Slovakia are to form a Union which will be the supreme administrative body of the province, possessing a definite autonomy under the central administration.

The German parties likewise showed during the year a disposition to share in the responsibility for working the institutions of the Eepublic. A marked divergence of opinion manifested itself within the German ranks as far back as the autumn of 1922, when the "German Parliamentary Union" was broken up by the secession of the German Nationalists and the German National Socialists, on proposals being made by the other sections for an abandonment of the policy of passivity. In 1923 these latter sections formed a new political group consisting of the German Agrarians, Christian Socialists, and Progressives, with a programme comprising cultural autonomy, changes in the law regulating the language question, and the settlement of the War Loans question. This movement towards an active policy of co-operation on the part of the Germans is very gradual, and from time to time there is a recrudescence of Nationalist Radicalism, which has taken such crude forms as a demonstration of German University students against the professors of Jewish origin, and an attempt to limit the number of Jewish students at the State Universities by a *numerus clausus*. It is remarkable how strong a hold this Nationalist Radicalism maintains over the mind of the German Social Democrats. The Congress of that party which was held in December at Usti nad Labem (Aussig) is a case in point; the individual speakers reiterated their conviction that the party took its stand upon the basis of the Republic, and was anxious to pursue a constructive policy, and crowded audiences enthusiastically greeted all declarations in favour of united action on the part of the Czech and German Socialists. Nevertheless the Congress passed a resolution by which it identified itself with the Teplitz programme of 1919, which contains such demands as territorial autonomy with a separate Diet, educational administration, taxation and army for the Germans in Czechoslovakia.

The political outrage which led to the death of Dr. Rasin, together with the hostile attitude towards the State taken up by certain Nationalist and Radical Socialist groups, led to the introduction of a special Bill for the Protection of the Republic, which was passed on March 7, 1923.

Considerable difficulties were presented by the problem of

Carpathian Ruthenia, the autonomous status of which is established by the Treaty of St. Germain. It was not possible to grant autonomy immediately to a people in so backward a political and cultural condition as were the Carpathian Ruthenians at the time when they were incorporated into Czechoslovakia. The way, however, has been paved by the introduction of numerous improvements, especially in the domain of education and hygiene, and by the strengthening of the administration. Dr. Beskid, a native Ruthenian with considerable administrative experience, has been appointed Governor of the province.

During October (15 to 27) President Masaryk and Dr. Benes paid a State visit to Paris, Brussels, and London. The visits originated from a personal invitation addressed to President Masaryk by President Millerand in the summer, and the British Government thereupon expressed a cordial hope that President Masaryk would visit London also. The President was received in Paris with all the pomp and ceremony reserved for France's most honoured guests; in London a less public and more intimate character was given to his reception in response to the wishes of the President himself. He lunched with King George, spent an evening with the Prime Minister, was officially entertained by Lord Curzon on behalf of the Government, was the guest of the Lord Mayor at a City luncheon, and received the degree of D.C.L. at Oxford.

Towards Hungary, Czechoslovakia demonstrated its peaceful and constructive spirit by helping to remove all obstacles in the way of the projected loan. In the question of Javorina, the International Court of Justice at the Hague decided in November in favour of the view presented by Czechoslovakia, and with the settlement of this question, the last misunderstanding between Poland and Czechoslovakia disappeared.

The Czechoslovak exchanges remained fairly even during the year, the crown having fluctuated, relatively to the American dollar, only to the extent of 5 per cent. The Bank Rate, which at the beginning of the year was 7 per cent, was 5½ per cent, at the end. The State Budget was reduced by some 3,000 million crowns (18 per cent, of the whole), and various reductions of taxation (coal, water-power, transport, and profits taxes, and capital levy) have been made. The balance of the English Flour Loan (1,016,000Z.) was paid off, together with two issues of Treasury Bills. It has not been necessary to raise any loan abroad, and the quotations of existing Czechoslovak Loans on London, New York, and Amsterdam exchanges improved considerably since the beginning of the year.

During the year commercial treaties were concluded with Greece (Jan. 10), Holland (Jan. 20), Lithuania (April 27), Great Britain (July 14), France (Aug. 17), the United States (Aug. 29), Norway (Oct. 15) and Latvia (Nov. 9).

HUNGARY.

Hungary during 1923 has passed through another year of economic difficulties and political complications, external and internal. She has come more and more to see her one hope of salvation in a foreign loan, and her endeavours to secure this have been the outstanding feature of her history during the year.

From the economic point of view the year has been one of uninterrupted and pathetic decline. A rapid depreciation of the currency set in towards the middle of February, between when and the end of July the crown fell from 13,000 to 90,000 to the *L*, and while the official quotation has remained at this level till the end of the year, 150,000 crowns and more are willingly paid for the *L* in private dealings. The cost of living has increased in even greater proportion and is now far above the pre-war level, as it is shown by the index numbers—385 in January and 6,750 in December—while wages are only 40 per cent, of the pre-war standard. During the same period the notes in circulation have increased from 74,128,848,631 crowns to about 880,000,000,000, and the deficit from 41,000,000,000 to about 625,000,000,000 crowns. The maintenance of an excessive number of civil servants and the tremendous loss on the State enterprises account both for the deficit and the corresponding increase of the notes in circulation.

These figures amply prove the failure of the policy of deflation initiated by the present Minister of Finance at the price of enormous effort on his own part and sacrifices on the part of the nation. The "Central Office for Foreign Exchanges*" has perhaps helped to prevent a still greater fall of the crown, but has on the other hand had a disastrous influence on the export and import trade and on industry. Neither did the extremely heavy taxation—fixed by the law of August 18, at twenty times the rate of last year—save the country from an enormous deficit in the year's accounts. Fortunately the excellent harvest of the year made an increased exportation possible, and the Government in August sold 12,000 wagon-loads of wheat to Switzerland, thanks to which a further depreciation of the crown was prevented just in time for the negotiations concerning the foreign loan.

The idea of the foreign loan of course originated long before this date, and it had long figured prominently on the Government's programme, but from this moment it became the one object on which the whole of Count Bethlen's activity was concentrated.

He was assisted in his endeavours by a Cabinet entirely devoted to him, especially after the replacement of Count Banffy by Geza Darivdry, the Present Minister of Foreign Affairs (December 19, 1922), the nomination of Emil Nagy (June 12) to the post of Lord Chief Justice, and that of Count K&roly Cs&ky to the Ministry of Public Defence.

The elimination of the Habsburg question, especially after the declaration of the Lord Chief Justice (June 25) condemning **all** Habsburg propaganda as treasonable, cleared away one of the obstacles in his path. But many other battles had to be fought by Count Bethlen before the inner condition of the country was such as to make it practicable for him to embark on negotiations for the loan with any hope of success.

As in the last year, the Socialists continued to attack the Government on account of the political internment camps, the agitation carried on in the Christian-national extremist press, and the alleged partiality of the law courts. In this fight for a larger measure of democracy the Labour Party was often assisted by the Liberal bourgeois opposition, especially after the constitution of the "Eeform Party" (February 16) headed by the late Canon Giesswein. It was thanks to this opposition that the projected reform of the Parliamentary by-laws, restricting to half an hour the time allowed for speeches, was abandoned (February 22). The same fate befel the Government's proposal for the "defence of order" with its regulations for limiting the liberty of Press, the right of assembly, personal liberty, etc. Curiously enough the opposition to this proposal was reinforced by certain elements of the Government Party itself (January 9). The project was subsequently recast, and brought forward in December under the title of the "reform of the penal code," and is now under discussion in the Lower House.

This was the first time in the year that Count Bethlen experienced such a strong opposition within his own party. It required, however, many more hard blows to make him realise the advantages of rallying the liberal and saner elements of Parliament to his side instead of relying upon the extremist elements of the Government Party. His change of position was made clear on August 1 on the occasion of the discussion in Parliament of the increase in taxation above mentioned, when the extremist elements would have certainly brought about the fall of his Government but for the assistance given him by the Liberal Opposition. This support was of course due less to its love of the Government than to its strong desire to diminish the influence of the extremists. It attacked the Government strongly enough on the occasion of the discussion of the act of indemnity (January 8-26), thanks to which the first regular Budget since 1913 was at last introduced by the Government (February 28). The discussion of this all-important subject was constantly disturbed by the scandalous behaviour of the extremists, who struggled desperately against the gradual resumption of power by Count Bethlen. The society of the Hungarian "Fascisti" having been dissolved last year, and their leader Friedrich having lost most of his influence, a new association of irresponsibles was organised by Gombos, under the title of "Defenders of the Bace." The fact **that** Gombos was **at** that time President of the Government Party, and that most of

the professional politicians belonging to his society were members of that party, rendered his activity doubly prejudicial to the internal harmony which Count Bethlen was honestly seeking to bring about. The activity of Gombos, like that of the "Awakening Hungarians" and a great number of secret societies which cropped up last year, can be summed up as consisting in a blind antisemitism coupled with an equally blind pursuit of power.

Their first feat in 1923 was an attempt to blow up the "Metropolitan Theatre" which had been let to an American Jew, Mr. Ben Blumenthal (January 16). The author of the attempt being a member of the society of the "Awakening Hungarians," Mr. Bassay, M.P., of the Liberal Party, demanded the dissolution of this society, which was refused by the Minister of Interior. However, a few days later Count Bethlen declared in the Diet that the policy of the Government was not directed against the Jews (January 25).

In revenge for Mr. Bassay's attack on the "Awakening Hungarians," the irresponsible elements sent a bomb to his address, as well as to that of the editor of the Liberal newspaper *Az Est*. Happily neither of the bombs exploded. On March 15 the offices of the *Az Est* were attacked by a mob. This time, however, the police stepped in energetically and dispersed the mob. This first serious manifestation of Count Bethlen's will to restore order was greeted with an outburst of rage by Gombos and his gang, which was further accentuated by the expulsion of Eckhard (the president of the "Awakening Hungarians") from the Government Party. The attacks of the extremists in and outside the Houses of Parliament were conducted with such violence that it was thought at one time that the Bethlen Government would be unable to withstand the shock and that Gombos would come into power.

However, on March 21, the situation having become too serious for half measures, Count Bethlen decided to exert his authority energetically, and menaced with martial law all sedition-mongers. This sudden display of vigour was crowned with success, and Gombos was forced to leave the Government Party and enter into open opposition.

The carrying out of the Land Reform Law having dissatisfied a great number of the small-holders belonging to the Government Party, Gombos and his partisans tried to exploit their dissatisfaction in order to bring about the fall of the Bethlen Government. But an amendment of the Land Reform proposed by the Minister of Agriculture on June 7 reconciled the small-holders, and this manoeuvre of Gombos's also failed.

Soon after, as a result of the continual incitement of the extremist press, the irresponsible elements under the leadership of the brothers Kovics entered into a conspiracy the object of which was the overthrow of the Bethlen Government by violence. The "putsch," however, was discovered, and the

conspirators arrested (June 19). This new manifestation of the growing power and energy of the Central Government was answered on July 2 by a bomb attempt on the "Club" coffee-house, which happily did no damage. On July 4 another plot of a secret society against the lives of the Premier, the Minister of Public Instruction and several members of the Liberal Opposition was discovered, and as a consequence the Government decided on August 11 that public functionaries should no more be allowed to enter into secret organisations.

Meanwhile the Parliamentary groups of the "Awakening Hungarians" and the "Defenders of the Bace" had not yet abandoned the hope of forcing the Bethlen Government to resign. This time they chose the civil servants for their tools, trying to organise a strike among them, and also among the engine drivers. Thanks, however, to the clever tactics of Bethlen both attempts failed. This new victory enabled him to eliminate from his own party all the extremist elements, and thus oppose a more homogeneous front against the authors of disturbances who after each of their Parliamentary failures tried to take their revenge in the streets. Thus it came about that on August 30, when a new conspiracy of the "Awakening Hungarians" involving the recruiting of irregular troops was discovered, their defenders in Parliament, in spite of all their efforts, could neither prevent the prosecution of the organisers nor even an investigation being made into the very sanctuary of the "Awakening Hungarians."

After this, the activity of the extremists took the form of a violent Press campaign against the Jews and against Count Bethlen and his efforts in connexion with the foreign loan. However, neither the unsuccessful bomb attempt against the French legation (November 16), nor the dastardly bomb outrage on the Jewish Women's Club (December 25) when several were killed and injured, availed to stay the steady progress of the work of inner consolidation and union.

In addition to attacks from within Count Bethlen's Government had also to face a succession of difficulties abroad. With the exception of Austria, with which friendly relations were definitively established after the visit of Chancellor Seipel to Budapest (January 6) and the conclusion of a satisfactory arrangement concerning Western Hungary (February 26), the surrounding States have shown nothing but ill-will towards Hungary. The reiterated efforts of the Government to conclude commercial treaties and other economic arrangements with Bumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia again came to nothing owing to the mistrust of those States, the reasons for which, as alleged on January 30 by their spokesman, Mr. BeneS, were the activity of the Hungarian irregular bands and secret organisations, and the propaganda of the Hungarian irredentists against the peace treaty.

The frontier incident at Lokoshaza (January 10), where shots

were exchanged between the Eumanian and Hungarian guards, gave rise to a violent outburst of anti-Hungarian propaganda. Hungary was accused of concentrating troops on the Eumanian frontier, and the situation became so serious that Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia ordered partial mobilisation (January 13). Even after the investigations of the Inter-allied Military Control Commission (January 17), which proved the charges brought against Hungary to be groundless, further complications could only be avoided through the intercession of the Great Powers. After this a more conciliatory attitude was for a time adopted by Czechoslovakia, until feeling was again roused by the frontier incident of Him-Per6ny on April 20, when a Czech soldier who had crossed the Hungarian frontier was unfortunately killed. The Czechs in revenge expelled a great number of Hungarians from their territory. The mixed commission which investigated the incident was unable to agree in fixing the responsibility.

The situation of the Hungarian minorities in the successory States became this year even worse than before, and the expropriation of Hungarians from their land continued. The League of Nations, was appealed to by the Hungarian Government on July 5 to send a commission to Transylvania to investigate the matter, but it refused to do so.

This rebuff proved once more the decisive influence exercised abroad by the "Little Entente" in all matters concerning Hungary, and convinced the Government of the necessity of coming to a working agreement with it for the sake of the foreign loan which had become the goal of all its efforts.

The first steps towards the obtaining of this loan were undertaken by Count Bethlen and the Minister of Finance, Mr. Kallay, between April 29 and May 5, during their first pilgrimage to Paris, London, and Koine. It became at once manifest to them that in spite of the support of England and Italy, the French would not agree to the suspension of the rights of guarantee of the Reparations Commission without the consent of Prague, Bucharest, and Belgrade, neither would they create a precedent which could be exploited by Germany. The resolution of the Reparations Commission, passed on May 23, was a virtual rebuff to Hungary, for although admitting in principle the possibility of suspending the guarantees, it laid down that a certain part of any loan to be granted to Hungary would have to be deducted for reparations. This stipulation would have rendered the loan worthless to Hungary, and consequently on June 17 the Government asked for a revision of the resolution. Meanwhile conversations were initiated by Count Bethlen in Prague with a view to obtaining a more conciliatory attitude on the part of the Little Entente. Thanks to the moderation of Dr. Benes, the Sinaia Conference of the Little Entente (July 28) adopted a resolution permitting the suspension of the guarantees (*droits de gage*). A series of stringent conditions, however,

accompanied this resolution, and in order to secure some modification of these Count Bethlen took advantage of the Geneva Conference of the League of Nations (August 31) to have a personal interview with Mr. Benes, at which most of the questions affecting the relations between Hungary and the surrounding States were satisfactorily settled.

The chief obstacles to the loan having thus been cleared away, the League of Nations authorised its Financial Committee to elaborate a plan for the financial reconstruction of Hungary (September 29). Concurrently, at its sitting of October 17 the Separations Commission declared its willingness to consider the suspension of its rights of guarantee under the Trianon Peace Treaty, and invited the League of Nations to draw up a scheme for a loan and for the economic reconstruction of Hungary. At the same time it declared that the payments to be deducted from the loan could be made, if necessity arose, from a second loan.

A basis having thus been laid down for further proceedings, a delegation of the League of Nations arrived on November 7 at Budapest to study the economic conditions of Hungary before presenting its report to the Financial Commission. The Conference of this latter was held in London between the 20th and the last days of November, and recommended that a loan of 250,000,000 gold crowns should be granted to Hungary, subject to the control of the League of Nations. This resolution had to be presented for ratification to the Council of the League of Nations which held its sitting in Paris between the 10th and 23rd December. By that time a series of new difficulties had cropped up. The Little Entente, supported by France, made new objections in regard to reparations which could not be entirely overcome, in spite of the warm support of Hungary's cause by Italy and even more by England. In consequence it was decided that the Reparations Commission should again examine the arguments of the Hungarian Government, and that the Conference of the Subcommission of the League of Nations to be held on January 16, 1924, in London should decide finally on the matter.

The difficulties encountered by Count Bethlen during the Paris Conference of the League of Nations prompted the extremists to start a violent propaganda against the foreign loan, knowing as they did that its failure would mean the fall of the Bethlen Government. However, it is to be hoped that Count Bethlen will emerge once more victorious from the struggle against the demagogues who represent after all only a minority of the people, and that the foreign loan, upon which depends Hungary's economic future, will finally be granted.

RUMANIA.

The event of outstanding importance in the internal history of Rumania in 1923 was the promulgation of the constitution

of Greater Eumania. This act may be said to open a new era in the affairs of the country in more than one direction. For one thing, it paves the way for the unification of the legal system of the whole country. The peace treaties, as is well known, extended Rumanian rule over territories which formerly belonged to Russia, Austria, and Hungary, and which in consequence possess legal systems different from the Rumanian. In order to secure a unified legal system for all these provinces, it was necessary to lay down the principles on which the law of Greater Rumania is to be based. Further, the new Constitution introduces some important political and economic changes. Among the former, the creation of life members of the Senate is noteworthy. Up to now, the Senate has been wholly an elected body; henceforth it will contain a limited number of life members such as the chief ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Much more significant are the economic changes brought about by the article in the new constitution which provides for the nationalisation of the subsoil (Article 19). The text of this article, which will serve as a basis for the mining legislation, to be introduced in the near future, is as follows:—

" The mineral deposits as well as every kind of resources contained in the subsoil are the property of the State. Exceptions are : The masses of common rocks, the quarries of building material, and the peat stocks, without prejudice to the rights acquired in this respect by the State by virtue of previous laws.

" A special Act on mining will determine the general rules and conditions of the utilisation of these resources. It will fix the royalties due to the proprietors of the surface, and will indicate at the same time the conditions and the extent of their participation in the utilisation of these resources.

" The rights acquired will be taken into consideration, as far as they are compatible with the proper utilisation of the subsoil, and with the qualifications to be made by the special Act.

" The concessions for mining exploitation granted by virtue of the existing legislation will be respected during the period for which they have been granted; the mining exploitations carried out by the proprietors will be respected while they continue the exploitation. No perpetual concession will be granted.

" Nevertheless, the concessions and exploitations referred to by the preceding clause will have to be accommodated to the rules which are to be established by the law, which will also fix the maximum period for the validity of such concessions and exploitations, which cannot exceed fifty years, to be calculated from the date of the promulgation of the present constitution,"

In the internal political situation there was little change during the year. M. Bratianu, who, as head of the Liberal Party had governed Rumania during 1922, remained Premier throughout 1923. In September there was a certain change of personnel in the Cabinet, M. Tancred Constantinescu becoming Minister of Industry and Commerce, and M. Bratianu himself taking the Ministry of Home Affairs. As a result of the split in the Populist Party which had taken place at the end of 1922, part of its members remained under the leadership of their old leader, M. Averescu, while the rest formed a new party under M. Argetoianu.

The chief feature in the international position of Rumania during the year was the improvement of her relations with Hungary, Russia, and Bulgaria. With Hungary, Rumania concluded several arrangements of minor importance and agreed to the issue of a loan under the auspices of the League of Nations, on conditions laid down by the Conference of the Little Entente, held in Sinaia in the summer. In regard to Bulgaria, a mixed Rumanian and Bulgarian commission carried out the greater part of the liquidation of reciprocal minor claims originating from the war. The negotiations of Tiraspol, at the end of last year, resulted in the cessation of the incidents on the Russian frontier which had been somewhat frequent previously, and paved the way for the full discussion of the relations between the two countries, to take place early in 1924.

The Lausanne Treaty, although it does not quite satisfy Rumanian wishes in the matter of the freedom of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, was nevertheless welcomed as finally removing a long-standing source of international discord.

The economic situation of the country continued to improve during the year. Considerable progress was made with the carrying out of the agrarian reform; it was almost completed in several parts of the country by the end of the year. The temporary inconveniences caused by the reform at first have been considerably mitigated. The harvest was in several respects excellent, and there was an exportable surplus which, together with the oil and timber exports, secured a considerable trade balance in favour of Rumania. The reconstruction of the devastated oil-fields made further progress, so that the production approached its pre-war figure.

In the Budget for the fiscal period, April 1-December 31, 1923, revenue and expenditure balanced. In December, the Finance Minister, M. Vintila Bratianu, brother of the Premier, submitted to Parliament the Budget for 1924, which also balances, despite the huge amounts set aside for the purpose of the external debt service.

During the year much has been done to re-establish the external credit of the country, which was adversely affected by the conditions prevailing during the war and after. An agreement has been reached between Rumanian post-war debtors and their British creditors, for the gradual redemption of their debts.

The payment of overdue coupons of Government issues has also been resumed.

KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES.

During 1923 considerable improvement has taken place in the internal situation and relations with the neighbouring States. Although the year started with a "Cabinet crisis, the political life of the country has been relatively tranquil, and economic conditions have become more healthy.

In December, 1922, the Coalition Cabinet composed of the Radical and Democratic Parties under the premiership of M. Pashitch resigned, owing to division in the ranks of the Democratic Party, the right wing of which, led by M. Pribishevitch, supported the centralising policy of the Radicals, while the left wing, led by M. Davidovitch, was against it. After several unsuccessful attempts to form a new Coalition Ministry, M. Pashitch obtained a mandate to form a Radical Government and to dissolve Parliament. The new Cabinet was formed on December 16 and the elections fixed for March 18.

The electioneering campaign caused splits in all the great political parties. Division broke out first in the Radical Party through the formation of a separate Radical unit under M. Protitch. The Democratic Party was divided between the followers of M. Pribishevitch and M. Davidovitch, and the Moslem Bosnian Party between those of Dr. Spaho and M. Maglajlitch. Only the Croatian Peasant Party under Raditch remained intact.

The split in all cases arose over the question of maintaining or revising the Vidov-dan Constitution of 1921. This being the case, it was to be expected that the election would be fought on the vital question of the Constitution, but when it came to the point, all the parties composed their internal differences, apart from some small dissident groups, and stood as racial groups pure and simple—the Radical Party as representative of the Serbs, the Raditch Party of the Croats, the Koroshetch Party of the Slovenes, and Dr. Spaho's Party of the Bosnian Moslems. These parties were the most successful in the elections; the Democratic Party which contained a part of the Serbs from Serbia proper and a part of the Serbs from the newly acquired territory was considerably reduced, and the dissident groups were practically wiped out. The election results were as follows :—

Radical Party, 108; Democratic Party, 52; Radic Party, 70; Korosec Party, 22; Dr. Spaho's Party, 18; Djemiet (Macedonian Moslem Party), 14; Agrarian Party, 9; German Party, 8; and other groups, 12 ; making a total of 313.

Although the Government Radical Party obtained only one-third of the seats in the new Parliament the Cabinet did not tender its resignation, as no other party was in a majority,

and decided to await the new Parliament, which met on April 16. In order to obtain a majority, the Government had two alternatives, either to form a Coalition with the Democrats, or to make an agreement with the Opposition *bloc* composed of Eaditch, Koroshetch, and Spaho, which was formed immediately after the election. The Government started negotiations with both, first with the Democrats and afterwards with the Opposition *bloc*. The first negotiations were unsuccessful, and the attitude of M. Raditch as leader of the Opposition *bloc* was doubtful. M. Raditch made a speech before the meeting of the new Parliament which showed the Government that they could not reckon on his neutrality, and accordingly the Government tendered its resignation. Parliament met on April 16, and after the election of its Chairman was prorogued on account of the Cabinet crisis. After consultation with the leaders of the political parties the King gave a new mandate to M. Pashitch, who formed a Eadical Government at the beginning of May. The Eaditch Party decided to abstain from attending Parliament, and Koroshetch and Spaho adopted a neutral attitude towards the Government and so enabled it to exist.

In its first declaration of policy to the new Parliament, the Government was careful not to define its attitude on the Constitution question. The discussion of the declaration lasted fifteen days, but the Opposition was unable to obtain from the Government any clearer statement on that vital question. The Constitution remained therefore unchanged, and the Government proceeded to its other business.

The political truce did not last long. The Eaditch Party announced a meeting for June 24 which was suppressed by the Government, and this caused great dissatisfaction in Croatia. Koroshetch and Spaho could not make up their minds to join Eaditch and leave Parliament, and the Government was thus enabled to go on until the end of the session, when Parliament went into recess for the summer vacation till September 20.

During the summer recess the municipal elections took place in Serbia and Montenegro, on August 16, and resulted in a victory for the Eadical Party. Thus the position of the Radicals was strengthened in the country, but relations between the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes became strained. The tension was relieved by the sudden and secret departure of M. Raditch from Croatia in August, and eased the situation for the Government, which now tried to come to an understanding with the Croats in the absence of M. Eaditch. Unfortunately the negotiations were fruitless, and the situation remained unaltered.

After the opening of the new session on September 20 it was expected that the Opposition parties would unite to bring the Government down, but their interests proved to be too divergent to admit of common action. The Revisionist Party could not co-operate with the Democratic Party on the question of the Constitution, and without the Democratic Party ar;

attack on the Government was futile, as the absence of M. Raditch and his party in Parliament left the [Revisionist *bloc* in a minority. This fact proved once more the inability of the Opposition to organise a common policy against the Government. In October further strenuous attempts were made to find a common basis for action on the part of the Opposition parties, but again without result.

The Parliamentary session was suspended between October 29 and December 3, and when Parliament met on December 3 the relations between the Government and the Opposition parties had become more strained. Moreover the position of the Government had been rendered more difficult by dissensions in the Parliamentary Radical Club, but thanks to the divergencies among the Opposition parties the Radical Government was still able to maintain itself.

In the relations of the Kingdom with the neighbouring countries there were several stormy moments, but fortunately matters never came to an open conflict, and some outstanding questions were peacefully and satisfactorily solved. The relations with Albania became once more normal, and with Greece the question of the free zone at Salonika Port was settled and an agreement signed. Diplomatic intercourse with Turkey was not renewed because Yugoslavia refused to sign the Treaty of Lausanne on account of certain economic and financial matters dating from 1913. A good understanding was established with Austria when the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Seipel, visited Belgrade in March and settled with the Belgrade Government all the outstanding questions between the two countries, especially the question of national minorities. During that visit the basis was laid down for the commercial treaty with Austria. The Treaty of 1921 was renewed with Rumania, and the frontier question was settled by exchanging the town of Zombolja for three Serbian villages on the Rumanian side.

The relations with other neighbouring countries, namely, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Italy were not so smooth.

The first conflict with Hungary broke out in January when the Hungarian authorities imprisoned M. B. Sever, the Yugoslav Commissioner of Preko-Murje, and sentenced him to death on the ground that he was spying. This led to an energetic protest from the Belgrade Government. Relations were not improved subsequently by the activities of the Hungarian Irri-dentist Societies against Yugoslavia. These were the subject of protests lodged by the Little Entente through the Rumanian Minister at Budapest, and by the Allies through the Italian Minister in that city. Later the great Allied Powers used their influence through the League of Nations with Hungary to persuade her to live on better terms with her neighbours, promising her credits for her economic restoration, if she complied.

Relations with Bulgaria improved at the beginning of the

year, thanks to the attitude of the Stamboliiski Government which commenced to take stronger measures against the Macedonian organisations and Bulgarian Comitadji on account of their raids into Serbian territory. In March a conference was held at Nish between the Serbian and Bulgarian delegates to decide the measures to be taken to deal with the raiders. The *coup d'etat* which caused the downfall of the Bulgarian Government and the assassination of M. Stamboliiski threatened to create an open conflict between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, but fortunately the storm was weathered.

Yugoslavia's relations with Italy were similar to those with Bulgaria. In February the Italian Parliament ratified the Treaty of Santa Margherita by which the Italo-Yugoslav question was settled. The Italians evacuated the Third Zone in Dalmatia as well as Sushak. In March a conference was held at Abbazia between the Italian and Yugoslav delegates for the delimitation of the frontier after the evacuation of the Third Zone. These negotiations were later transferred to Borne, but no agreement was reached because the Italians asked for the annexation of Fiume contrary to the Treaty of Rapallo. In September a fresh conflict broke out between Italy and Yugoslavia in connexion with Fiume. Mussolini addressed an ultimatum to the Yugoslav delegates bidding them bring the negotiations to an end by September 15. At the same time he addressed a letter to the Belgrade Parliament urging them to settle the question by an exchange of territory, offering Baros and the Delta to Yugoslavia and claiming Fiume for Italy. Mussolini was also against the registering of the Bapallo Treaty with the League of Nations and against the intervention of a third party to settle the Fiume question. The Belgrade Government, on the other hand, insisted on registering the Treaty, and this greatly displeased Mussolini, who appointed an Italian Military Governor in Fiume. This act caused great commotion in Yugoslavia, and led to a stormy discussion in the Belgrade Parliament. The Government, however, in the course of the debate, declared that the appointment of the Italian Governor of Fiume did not represent any change in the situation, and decided to continue negotiations with the Italian Government, and in case of no agreement being reached, to refer the question to the League of Nations.

In the economic conditions of the country a steady improvement was maintained during the year. The currency was stabilised at 380-390 dinars to the pound, and the Budget balanced for the first time by means of new taxation on land. The Budget for the year 1923-24 is fixed at 10,344,000,000 dinars, which covers all the State expenditure.

Two events which may be mentioned in conclusion are the birth of the Crown Prince Peter on September 6, at whose christening on October 21 T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of York officiated as godparents, and the wedding of H.R.H.

Prince Paul of Serbia to H.E.H. Princess Olga of Greece, on October 22. Both these ceremonies took place in the Eoyal Chapel at Belgrade.

TURKEY.

Turkey's military triumph over Greece in 1922 was followed in the next year by an almost equally signal diplomatic triumph over the Allied Powers of Western Europe. At the Conference which had opened at Lausanne towards the close of 1922, Lord Curzon, in the name of the Allies, offered to the Turks terms which satisfied in the main the requirements of their National Pact, but in certain respects gave the impression of being imposed by victors upon vanquished. Turkish national pride revolted at the fancied slight, and the negotiations made very slow progress. In the contest between Turkish obstinacy and Allied unity, it was the latter that eventually broke down. On January 29 a draft of the proposed treaty, embodying the results of ten weeks' labour, was handed informally to the Turkish delegation, with the intimation that it contained the last word in the Allied proposals, and that they must either take or leave it. But on the same day, before the official presentation could be made, M. Poincare sent instructions to General Pell6, French High Commissioner at Constantinople, to inform the Angora Government that the French Government did not regard the draft treaty as having yet reached its final form, or as being an ultimatum, and that France was prepared to continue negotiations and consider further modifications.

From this moment Turkey held the whip hand in the negotiations, and by persistent haggling was able to bring the treaty into complete accordance with her own views. When the draft was formally presented on January 31, Ismet Pasha, the head of the Turkish delegation, asked for more time to consider it. Lord Curzon gave him till February 4, being confident that by then his scruples would have been overcome. But after making every preparation to sign, Ismet at the very last moment drew back, insisting that it was necessary for him to consult the Government at Angora. The Allied delegates went home empty-handed and heavy-hearted. It was asserted on both sides, however, that the Conference had been only interrupted, not broken up. In fact, as between England and Turkey agreement had practically been reached, and it was chiefly certain demands of the French in the economic and judicial spheres that stood in the way of a settlement. The one positive result of this Conference was the signing of two Conventions on January 30 between Turkey and Greece for an exchange of populations.

On March 7 after wild scenes of disorder the Assembly at Angora decided that the draft treaty did not conform with the National Pact and therefore must be rejected, At the same

time the Government was directed to continue the negotiations for peace, and certain instructions were laid down for its guidance. A Note was despatched to the Allied Governments on March 8 stating the Turkish basis for new negotiations. This was considered by a Conference of Allied experts, representing Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, which met in London on March 21. The Conference sent a conciliatory Note to Angora on March 27, in which it invited the Turks to renew the Conference at Lausanne. Turkey accepted, and the Conference resumed on April 23, under the presidency of Sir Horace Kumbold, Ismet Pasha again heading the Turkish delegation. After two months of wearisome negotiations peace was at last signed on July 24.

The Treaty of Lausanne practically made Turkey once more the chief Power in the Near East. It gave her Constantinople and Thrace up to the Maritza, with command of the Straits subject to certain regulations for demilitarisation and freedom of transit, and though it finally severed from her Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, left her in undisturbed possession of the whole of Anatolia. The French had to waive their claim both to special judicial protection for foreigners and to the concession for building railways in Anatolia which had been granted to them in 1914, and which was now transferred to an American concern, headed by Mr. Chesters; also to accept payment of interest on loans in paper francs. The question of Mosul was left over for special negotiation with England. In accordance with the terms of the Treaty, the Allied troops evacuated Constantinople during September, and on October 3 the Turks celebrated amid scenes of boundless enthusiasm what they not unjustifiably termed "the second conquest of Constantinople."

The change in Turkey's external position was accompanied by changes equally profound in her internal organisation. The political assassination of Shukri Bey, a notable opponent of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, at the end of March precipitated a General Election. Mustapha Kemal with his chief associates formed a new political party which gained a large majority in the elections. On October 13 the National Assembly declared Angora to be the Turkish capital, and on October 29, in somewhat mysterious circumstances, it proclaimed Turkey a republic, with Mustapha Kemal Pasha as President. As Mustapha Kemal joined to this office those of President of the Council of Ministers and of the Assembly and Commander-in-Chief, he became virtually dictator. He at once appointed a new Cabinet with Ismet Pasha as Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

One consequence of these changes was to rob the Khalifate of any shadow of political power which it still possessed. This development could not be viewed with unconcern by orthodox Moslems, and at the beginning of December three leading "Opposition*" papers in Constantinople published a letter from

the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali, Indian Moslems of high standing and British subjects, urging that the Khalifate should be maintained in accordance with the *Sheriat* or Sacred Law of Moslem Turkey. The Assembly at once became suspicious that there was a plot against the Turkish Government instigated by Britain. Some treason trials were instituted, as a result of which Luthi Fikri Bey, Leader of the Turkish Bar, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but the editors who published the Khalifate letter were acquitted.

In spite of the drain on her resources due to military operations, Turkey succeeded during 1923 in maintaining the stability of her currency, the pound remaining firm at about one-seventh of its pre-war value. The expulsion of the Greek population from Asia Minor, while it removes a dangerous source of political unrest, deprives Turkey of its principal commercial element, and whether its place can be filled remains yet to be seen.

In May the Pan-Orthodox Congress at Constantinople decided to harmonise the Old Style with the Gregorian calendar by dropping thirteen days after October 1.

GREECE.

The year 1923, while one of comparative peace in external affairs—war with Turkey having been brought to a standstill by the Armistice signed at Mudania on October 10, 1922—has been one of great ferment internally, owing to the spread of the Eepublican movement among the Greek masses, and has been rendered noteworthy by the serious international crisis caused by the Italian occupation of Corfu.

The opening of the year saw a Eevolutionary Government or Convention still in power in Athens under the form of a complete military dictatorship exercised by a group of convinced and firm believers in a Republican form of Government as the only salvation for Greece, the throne of which country, vacated by King Constantino on his second abdication, continued to be occupied by his son and heir George II.

The movement in certain extreme Constantinist circles to secure once more the restoration to the throne of the ex-King was brought to an end by his sudden death from hemorrhage of the brain on January 11, at Palermo, in Italy, which he had chosen as his place of exile. Owing to the refusal of the Eevolutionary Government to allow the body of the ex-King to be brought for burial to Athens, his remains were transferred from Palermo to Naples and interred there. Ex-King Constantino's death, though for the time being it brought a respite in the strife between Constantinists and Venezelists, did not, as was expected in certain circles, put an end to Greek internal political dissensions, and the struggle between monarchists and republicans (who replaced the "Constantinists" and "Venezelists") gradually began to assume alarming proportions, and

would have culminated earlier in the year in what might have been described as a civil war but for the drastic measures, such as state of siege, rigorous censorship of the Press, prohibition of public meetings, etc., adopted by the Revolutionary Committee, which for the time being forced the "royalists," headed by one of the late King Constantino's chief supporters, General Metaxas, into what is usually termed an "underground" or "illegal" existence.

M. Venezelos, who on his downfall at the end of 1920 had announced his decision to retire from all active participation in Greek internal politics, and who had merely consented to represent his country at the Lausanne Conference for the negotiation of peace between Turkey and the Allies, continued to remain away from Greece, and in February he deemed it necessary once more to remind the Greeks through the "chief" of the Revolution, Colonel Plastiros, of his decision.

The end of February was marked in Greece by the abolition of the Julian Calendar and the adoption • to the Gregorian, which brought Greece into line with the majority of European countries, this being achieved by simply "dropping" thirteen days in February, the fifteenth of which was followed by March 1.

The precarious state of Greek finances and the failure of the Greek Government to obtain any foreign loan necessitated the introduction of a series of drastic financial measures by the Minister of Finance, M. Cofinas, such as the seizure of all gold deposits or credits in gold belonging to companies and private individuals, and the imposition of a very drastic Excess Profit Duty in the form of a tax of 30 per cent, on all profits over 6 per cent., this measure being made retrospective to 1921. At the same time for reasons of economy the British Naval, French Military, and Italian Gendarmerie Missions were dismissed, only the British Mission for the reorganisation of the Greek police being retained.

The internal political situation remained more or less in a state of calm during the first half of the year, troubled only now and then by slight outbursts of either monarchist or republican feeling, such as the enthusiastic royalist demonstrations organised by the population of the Peloponnese during the visit of King George II. to Patras and the Peninsula in May, and the discovery of a plot hatched by General Pangalos, the Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Forces in Thrace, and a group of extremist revolutionary officers in Thrace with the object of bringing about another military *coup d'etat* and the establishment of a more "radical" dictatorship at Athens. As the result of the disclosure of his plot General Pangalos and his immediate entourage were removed from their posts.

The signing of the peace treaty with Turkey was, after long deliberations and repeated postponements and crises which at times appeared to threaten the complete breakdown of the

negotiations and the renewal of hostile activities, finally accomplished at Lausanne on July 24. Peace was hailed all over Greece with a feeling of genuine relief, albeit the new post-war Hellas brought back by its envoys from Lausanne was humiliatingly shorn and reduced as compared with that "greater Hellas" which the genius and energy of M. Venezelos had built up at Sèvres in 1920.

With the conclusion of peace (ratified by Greece on August 26), and the approach of the General Election which the Revolutionary Government had announced its decision to hold immediately afterwards, internal politics once more came to the fore, and party and faction dissensions were renewed with increased bitterness. In order to avert the danger of civil war, the Revolutionary Government conceived the idea of creating a national coalition comprising all healthy and patriotic political elements irrespective of party tendencies, and the leadership of such a coalition was offered to M. Alexandre Zaimis, who, however, refused to accept the responsibility. The outbreak of a general strike in Greece towards the end of August caused a new postponement of the elections. In its efforts to suppress the strike the Government suspended all trade union law and established the system of the "open shop" in every industry, a measure which in the end proved successful, as the strike, after a short duration, collapsed.

Internal and external peace in Greece were once more menaced by the unexpected turn of events which followed the murder on August 27, by unknown persons, of the Italian General Tellini, President of the International Commission for the Delimitation of the Greco-Albanian frontier and of four members of his suite while motoring on Greek territory from Janina to Santi Quaranta. This incident suddenly shattered all hopes that had been entertained in moderate Greek political circles for the improvement of relations with Italy, and which the visit of M. Alexandros, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Rome in June and his conversations with Signor Mussolini had done much to encourage.

The Italian Government on hearing of the murder of General Tellini despatched an ultimatum to Greece demanding full and official apologies, the rendering of military honours by the Greek fleet to the Italian flag, the holding of an inquiry by an Italian officer on the scene of the murder, capital punishment for all found guilty, and an indemnity of 50,000,000 Italian lire to be paid to Italy within five days of the presentation of the Note. Greece in her reply to this ultimatum accepted the first three of the Italian demands with certain modifications, but rejected the fourth, fifth, and sixth clauses, namely, **the** inquiry into the circumstances of the murder under supervision of an Italian officer, capital punishment for the guilty, **and the** payment of the 50,000,000 lire indemnity, on the ground **that** they were incompatible with the sovereignty and honour of

Greece. To this Signor Mussolini retaliated by the occupation on August 31 by Italian troops of the Greek Island of Corfu, after a bombardment of certain parts of the town by Italian warships which resulted in the death of fifteen Greek and Armenian refugees and the wounding of a considerable number of citizens. The issue of a statement by Signor Mussolini that the occupation of Greek territory was " of a temporary nature " and " not an act of war " allayed the fears that were prevalent both in Greece and Italy and in foreign countries that the "incident" might develop into a *casus belli* and set up a new conflagration in Europe. The occupation of their territory having been carried out without any resistance from the Greeks, the Athens Government decided to refer the dispute to the League of Nations, and an appeal to the Council of the League at Geneva was accordingly made by Greece, requesting it (1) to appoint one or more neutral representatives to superintend in Greece the judicial inquiries already begun by the Greek authorities, and also the trial of those responsible for the murder, and (2) to instruct a Commission composed of three high judicial authorities, a Greek, an Italian, and a neutral, to settle the amount of the indemnities which Greece should pay to the families of the victims, while the Greek Government in its turn would deposit in a bank in Switzerland 50,000,000 lire as guarantee of the immediate payment of whatever indemnities should be decided upon. In view of Italy's refusal to accept the arbitration of the League of Nations in this matter and the further occupation by Italian forces of the Greek Islands of Paxos, Antipaxos, Samothraki, and Merlera, the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris made an offer of mediation to both parties on September 8 on the following terms, which were finally accepted by Greece and Italy: (1) Apologies to be presented by the highest Greek military authorities to the diplomatic representatives at Athens of the three Allied Powers (Great Britain, France, and Italy), whose delegates formed part of the Delimitation Commission; (2) a funeral service to be celebrated in Athens in honour of the victims and in the presence of the members of the Greek Government; (3) naval honours to be rendered by the Greek fleet to warships of the three Allied Powers at Phaleron (near Athens); (4) military honours to be rendered by a Greek unit to the bodies of the victims; (5) the Greek Government to ensure the necessary conditions for the search and exemplary punishment of the culprits; (6) a Commission consisting of representatives of Great Britain, Italy, and France under the presidency of a Japanese delegate to supervise the inquiry, which had to be concluded by September 27; (7) the Greek Government to undertake to pay an indemnity the amount of which should be determined in summary procedure by the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague, the Greek Government for this purpose depositing in the Swiss National Bank a sum of 50,000,000 Italian lire. On September

19 the ceremonial part of the "sanctions" imposed on Greece by the Conference of Ambassadors was carried out in Athens and the Phaleron without incident. The celebrations were marked by a practically complete absence from the streets surrounding the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Athens, where the funeral service was held, and on the sea front at the Phaleron of Greek citizens, who remained indoors during the hours appointed for the ceremonies. The International Commission of Inquiry having failed by September 25 to discover the persons guilty of the murder of the Italian officers, the Conference of Ambassadors in a Note to the Greek Government issued on September 26 decided to consider the incident closed, and ordered Greece, by way of penalty for the failure to ensure the capture and punishment of the culprits, to pay to the Italian Government the full sum of 50,000,000 lire deposited in the Swiss National Bank. On September 27 the evacuation of the Italian troops from Corfu was accomplished, and the Greek flag was once more hoisted on the Island.

The Corfu incident had necessitated the postponement of the elections, while in the meantime the efforts once more made by M. Zaimis to form a "conciliation party," which by uniting all moderate elements would restore internal peace to the country, failed completely, and on September 17 M. Zaimis announced his intention of abandoning his plan. The elections were postponed again in September, this time until December 2. In the meantime the bitter hatred between Venezelists and Metaxists (formerly "Constantinists") increased daily. The abolition of a preliminary Press censorship and its replacement by new restrictive measures prohibiting the publication of any reference to the Ministers executed in November, 1922, or to the late King Constantine, and all personal comments on the Revolutionary leaders, created a new crisis which resulted in the resignation of several Ministers of the Gonatas Cabinet. The feud between the two principal warring factions in Greek politics culminated at the end of October in the sudden outburst of a military counter-revolution with Corinth as its centre, which brought Greece perilously near to the long-dreaded civil war. The garrisons of five towns, mainly in the Peloponnese (including Patras), and on the island of Euboea, joined the insurgents led by the Generals Leonardopoulos and Gargalides, and Colonel Giras issued an ultimatum to Athens demanding the resignation of the Revolutionary Government and the appointment by the King of a Cabinet of Affairs to carry out the elections. The general leadership of the insurrectionary movement was, according to certain official reports, in the hands of General Metaxas, who, together with the editors of the Athens Royalist newspapers, had disappeared a few days before the outbreak. The rising, which spread to certain towns in Macedonia, remained of a purely military nature, about 2,000 troops in all being affected, and it was suppressed by the Government, to which the greater part of

the Army had remained loyal, in a few days, Corinth and Patras being occupied by the Government forces, which took prisoners the two leaders, Generals Leonardopoulos and Gargalides, while General Metaxas escaped to Italy and Colonel Giras to Serbia.

One of the results of the military rebellion was the new impetus given to the Republican movement which during the summer of 1923 had already gained considerable ground. Although a "National Conference" of prominent party leaders and politicians called by the Government and held in Athens in the beginning of November to discuss the future constitution of Greece pronounced itself against a Republic or any forcible change in the form of Government, the Republican elements, headed by General Pangalos and Captain Hadjikyriakos, the Commanders-in-Chief of the Greek Army and Navy respectively, continued their agitation against the Crown, and issued on November 4 a manifesto accusing King George II. of having expressed his sympathy with the military counter-revolution, and demanding an immediate plebiscite to enable the nation as a whole to decide whether it desired the further occupation of the throne by the present dynasty or the transformation of the Greek Monarchy into a Republic. A series of Republican meetings held all over the country and the growth of Republican feeling among even the moderate elements of the Liberal or Venezelist Party culminated in the despatch of a prominent Liberal member, General Othonaias, to Paris to consult M. Venezelos and to ascertain his views on the constitutional problem, while certain of the King's advisers recommended the Monarch to undertake a short voyage to some foreign country until the crisis was over. M. Venezelos, while proclaiming himself a Republican in principle, declared that any attempt to impose on the Greek nation a Republic by violence would be an abuse of material power, and a change in the Greek constitution could only be undertaken after the solution of the question by a national plebiscite. A mass meeting of Venezelists held in Athens on December 2 at which more than 90,000 people were present passed a resolution urging M. Venezelos to return to Greece "in order to restore national felicity and internal calm," an offer which was once more declined by the great Greek statesman, who reiterated his determination to abstain from active participation in Greek internal politics. The Venezelist and Republican demonstrations held throughout the country in the first days of December were followed by a Boyalist manifestation in Athens on December 10 which ended in serious rioting, in the course of which eight people were killed and many wounded. On December 16 the Greek elections, which had once more been postponed from the second of the month, were finally held in an atmosphere of unexpected calm and peacefulness. The result of the elections, which gave the Venezelists and Republicans a sweeping majority in the new Chamber (approximately 370 seats out of a total of 401), precipitated the constitutional crisis, and the

Government of M. Gonatas requested King George I I. to leave the country pending the result of the plebiscite. On December 18 King George and Queen Elizabeth left Athens, and were conveyed by a Greek steamer to Eumania. Admiral Condouriotis was appointed Egent, a post which he had already occupied on the death of King Alexander in 1920, and new appeals were launched by the Government, by political organisations, and by King George himself to M. Venezelos urging his immediate return to Greece. On December 25, yielding to these appeals, M. Venezelos informed Colonel Plastiras, the leader of the Greek Eevolution, that he had resolved to return provisionally to his native country in order to help his countrymen to overcome the serious political crisis, and on December 30 the venerable statesman, after three years of voluntary exile, embarked at Marseilles for Athens.

Once again the end of the year found Greece in the throes of party and political dissension. The Republican current, which towards the end of 1922 had still been only feeble, had gathered such force that it was bearing the nation irresistibly into the form of government which had been most typical of ancient Hellas.

ALBANIA.

During 1923 Albania enjoyed an unusual degree of internal tranquillity and security. Unfortunately, the harvest was bad, and the Government saw itself obliged to permit the importation of cereals duty free. The whole country, especially the mountainous districts, suffered cruelly from the famine, which also threw it back economically and financially.

Towards the middle of January, Ali E. Kolonia proceeded to Belgrade as Minister Plenipotentiary of Albania. Diplomatic relations between Albania and Greece were also inaugurated in February, M. Panourgias being appointed Greek Minister in Albania and M. Midhat Frasherî Albanian representative in Greece.

In May the International Commission of Frontiers commenced its operations on the side of Kortcha. The Greek delegate raised difficulties, and Yugoslavia on its side refused to evacuate the localities of Saint Naoum and Vermosh (the former situated on the Lake of Ochrida, the latter N.E. of Scutari), in spite of the decision of the Frontier Commission.

On August 27 the Italian section of the International Frontier Commission, consisting of General Tellini and five others, was massacred at Janina in Greece. In spite of this the delimitation was proceeded with, and the Southern frontier (Mount Gramos—Cape Stylos) was completed in November. This frontier follows the line which had been marked out by the protocol of Florence in 1914. The pyramidal frontier-blocks were set up and the Greeks evacuated the points assigned to Albania.

As the Greek press sought to incriminate Albania in the murder of Tellini, the Albanian Government ordered the publication of a Eed Book containing two documents which proved that the assassination had been organised and perpetrated by the Greeks themselves. The Albanian Press Bureau attached to this book a letter which the Hellenic Government considered offensive, and against which it protested to the Albanian Government. The latter thereupon disavowed the letter, and so prevented a rupture between the two countries. But they soon came very near quarrelling again over another question, namely, the right claimed by Greece to expel Albanians from its territory on the ground that they were Turks. Albania appealed to the League of Nations, citing previous undertakings given by Greece in this matter. The Council of the League of Nations, meeting at Paris, recognised the justice of Albania's plea (December), and the Mixed Commission for the exchange of Turco-Greek populations was charged to watch over the execution by Greece of her agreements and to ensure the protection of the Albanians.

The Ministry of Ahmed Zogu, which had been formed on December 3, 1922, was three times partially reconstituted. In April Seifi Vlamasi took the portfolio of Public Works; in May Milto Tutulani took that of Justice; and at the end of September Mustafa Araniti became Minister of War.

In September the legislative session came to an end, and in December new elections took place for a Constituent Assembly, amid considerable excitement.

In April a delegation from the Orthodox Albanian Church went to Constantinople to procure the ratification by the Patriarch Meletios of the separation of the Albanian Church, but the Patriarchate was unable to come to a decision. The Albanian Church, however, remains none the less autocephalous.

For the greater part of the year the Turks at Constantinople persisted in refusing to recognise the Albanian consul, in consequence of which no Albanian could land in Turkey. In November an Albanian delegation went to Angora, and concluded a pact of friendship with Turkey, providing for mutual consular representation, and regulating the question of the right of Albanians to stay in Turkey and their allegiance when there.

In December the Finance Minister, Koi Thasi, went to Borne for the purpose of concluding a commercial agreement with Italy.

BULGARIA.

The year 1923 opened with grave disappointments for the Government and the country. Great as were the difficulties abroad, they were even greater at home. Stamboliiski and his friends considered themselves as eminently suitable politicians for the "new time" after the great war. They introduced extremist legislation, some of which came perilously near Bolshevism. The policy of the Agrarians provoked strong dis-

satisfaction in Bulgaria and abroad. But Stamboliiski would not heed the warnings of the men and the Parties of the Old Order, and the Agrarian Cabinet continued their reckless policy for which in the end Bulgaria had to pay heavily.

In order to consolidate his position in Parliament, Stamboliiski decided to make a new appeal to the country in April. His success was great. As a result, it is said, of influencing the electors, he brought into the Sobranie 212 Agrarian deputies against 30 for the Opposition. It seemed as though the Agrarians were firmly established in power for at least four years, though Stamboliiski himself used to say that he or his party would govern the country for at least twenty years. But the vanity of political prophecy was never better demonstrated.

On June 9 a group of civilians and officers of the active army and of the reserve, supported by the bulk of the army, brought about the fall of the Stamboliiski Cabinet. This *coup* took everybody by surprise, the Ministers and their friends most of all. The members of the Cabinet were arrested at 3 o'clock in the morning without the slightest resistance, and the change of regime took place in Sofia without bloodshed. Here and there in the Provinces the Agrarians attempted resistance, but the troops quickly dispersed them. Stamboliiski, who on the night of the revolution was absent from Sofia in his native village Slavovitz, succeeded with his partisans from the surrounding villages in putting up a certain amount of resistance, but the numerical superiority of the troops sent against him, to say nothing of the artillery, obliged him finally to abandon his followers. He wandered about in the neighbouring villages for six days, and then gave himself up only to meet his death.

After the arrest of the Agrarian Ministers a new Cabinet was formed under the presidency of Professor Tzankoff. The first step of the new Administration was to bring order into the confusion bequeathed by their predecessors. But before any action could be taken in the Legislative Assembly it was necessary that the "vital forces" of the country should constitute themselves a strong political group capable of supporting the Government against the Agrarians and the Communists. In August the formation of such a political group was announced. After long and difficult discussions, the political organisation "Sgovor" and the Democratic, National-progressist, and Radical Parties, all of which are represented in the Cabinet Tzankoff, fused into one *bloc* called "Democraticheski Sgovor" or Democratic Entente. The new political formation and the Social Democrats form the Government Coalition.

Shortly after this political combination had been achieved, there broke out unexpectedly, in the month of September, the Communists' revolutionary movement, in which also the Agrarians joined, and it took nearly two weeks to suppress the revolt.

The events of June and September brought about the

complete disorganisation of the Agrarian and Communist Parties. Their leading men were either arrested or had escaped abroad, and their ranks were divided by internal discord.

With the Opposition reduced to impotence, the Government appealed to the country. The elections were held in November and resulted in a compact majority for the Coalition—202 seats against 45 for the National-liberal, Agrarian, and Communist Parties. The Sobranie was opened by the King on December 9.

During the year Bulgaria not only passed through severe internal crises but also had many a difficult moment in her relations with her neighbours, and principally with Yugoslavia. The diplomatic intercourse between Sofia and Belgrade became embittered at times, and the tone of the Serb Press was often distinctly hostile towards Bulgaria. A rupture between the two countries threatened more than once. But confidence was re-established by the visit of Stamboliiski to Belgrade to give his personal assurances to the Yugoslav authorities of the loyal execution of the treaty obligations by Bulgaria, and of her peaceful intentions; by the conclusion of the arrangement of Nish, according to which the Government engaged itself to take strong measures to stop the crossing of the frontier by the Macedonian "comitadjis;" and by the meeting in Sofia, in November, of a mixed Yugoslav-Bulgarian Committee for the settlement of the question of the payment of the requisitions made on Serbian territories during the war, fixed at 300,000,000 leva.

Bulgaria is also negotiating with Kumania for the settlement of the question of the abolition, against payment by Bulgaria of a round sum, of the sequestration of properties belonging to Bulgarian subjects. It is expected that these negotiations will soon terminate in an agreement which will contribute much to establish friendly relations with the neighbour on the left bank of the Danube. With Greece Bulgaria is on good terms. In September Ministers were appointed both at Sofia and at Athens.

Bulgaria is meeting her obligations under the Treaty of Neuilly. Early in October the Treasury made the first reparations payment of 2,500,000 gold francs, or 65,000,000 leva. There remains to be settled the question, now under negotiation, of the expenses to be paid by Bulgaria for the allied troops of occupation after the armistice concluded at Salonica in 1918 with General Franchey d'Esperey.

In the sphere of economics and finance the year was by no means satisfactory. In the first six months there was a steady downward movement in trade, the prices of commodities rose sensibly, and the index figure for the cost of living was higher than during the previous year, a result which to a certain extent must be attributed to the policy of Stamboliiski's Cabinet, which was largely one of very doubtful experiments. After the fall of Stamboliiski, a slight improvement set in. But un-

fortunately it did not continue until the end of the year, notwithstanding the attempts of the Cabinet of Tzankoff to restore the economic situation of the country by introducing economies in Government expenditure, regulating the dealing in foreign exchanges, and prohibiting the import of articles of luxury. Trade and industry were throughout the year under the influence of the continual fluctuations in the rate of the leva (in January, 1923, the *l.* was worth 700 leva, in June it came down to 360 leva, and at the end of the year it rose to 600 leva). These unstable rates had an adverse effect on exports, and large stocks of tobacco and cereals remained unsold. Imports therefore exceeded exports, and the Budget will close with a deficit.

CHAPTER VI.

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

BELGIUM.

EARLY in 1923 the Senate rejected the proposal for the flamandisation of the University of Ghent which the Chamber had passed by a small majority towards the end of the previous year. This question continued to agitate public opinion throughout the year. Feeling ran so high on the subject that a civil war seemed at one time to be brewing, and to avert this danger the Chamber charged the Minister of Science and Art, Dr. Nolf, to draw up a clear and comprehensive plan by which it could stand or fall. He accordingly proposed that two-thirds of the courses should be flamandised and all their faculties doubled; further, that no student should leave the University without having passed an examination in Flemish, but that on the other hand none should be admitted nor allowed to take a course without a thorough knowledge of French, since the third year's course was still to be given in that language. This plan was a reversion to the old mistake of bilinguism, and it satisfied nobody. It did not make the University Flemish enough for the Flemings and did not keep it French enough for the Walloons. After heated discussions during several months, the Government failed to get the measure passed, and so resigned (June). The situation which followed was not without an element of comedy. The King tried in vain to find a Ministry which should have the support of the Chamber, and the parties tried in vain to find a formula of agreement, so that in the end, after a fortnight of fruitless negotiations, the former Cabinet had to be resuscitated. M. Theunis resumed office after inducing the heads of parties to accept a new linguistic programme very similar to that which the Chamber had rejected a short time previously. This proposal was passed both by the Chamber

and the Senate. Accordingly in October the University of Ghent opened its doors with its first year courses in every faculty divided and flamandised according to the terms of the law. But meanwhile the word of command had gone round the Flemish youth to boycott the misshapen and inadequate University which the Minister Nolf had granted them. The result is that while the Flemish legislators are obliged to defend the University for which they have voted, the Flemish youth despise, oppose, and desert it. And the problem remains before the public as acute as ever: should or should not the Flemish students be accorded the opportunity to prosecute their studies throughout in their mother tongue?

M. Theunis purchased support for his University proposals by making concessions on the very militarist law elaborated by the Minister Deveze for the reorganisation of the Army. Many of its provisions were opposed not only by the Socialists but also by important sections of the Catholic Party; in particular the proposed regulations for military training and for the duration of service. M. Theunis consented to drastic amendments on the question of training, to a service period of ten months, and to an alleviation of the obligations laid on the young people of the middle classes for providing officers of reserve. This step entailed the resignation of M. Dev&ze, who elected to stand or fall by his proposals, and he was succeeded (August 5) by M. Forthomme, a gentleman whose name had already been mentioned more than once in connexion with Ministerial vacancies.

In the spring a strike of railway and postal employes took place which caused great dislocation in the life of the country. The tactics employed by the strikers were rather novel. In order to avoid a general cessation of work which would have caused a loss of millions a day to its members, the Union simply ordered out certain grades, such as the signal and cabin men, whose absence from their duties was sufficient to paralyse traffic. The other workmen and employes continued to turn up at their posts and receive payment, and were thus able to support their comrades on strike. The struggle lasted several days; the strikers finally submitted and resumed work in return for certain promises and minor concessions.

In July the Government received an unexpected check. After the railway strike it had imprisoned, on a double charge of plotting against the safety of the State and treason, all the leaders of the Belgian Communist Party. It reproached them above all with their fanatical opposition to the occupation of the Ruhr, and hoped in this way to rouse public opinion against them. But the effect was the opposite to what they anticipated. All those who detested the servility of the Nationalists towards the policy of France—Socialists, Flemings, and Democrats—united in protest against the arrest of the Communists, though they were their political opponents. The

Government remained firm, and kept the accused in prison till they were brought before the assizes at Brabant. The trial was instituted with great formality, and the good people of Brussels were not a little astonished at the police measures against a possible revolution, which no one dreamt of in the heat of the dog-days. The examination lasted several days, but a few minutes' deliberation sufficed for the jury to bring in a unanimous verdict of acquittal.

In foreign politics the year was marked by the aggressive policy of the Franco-Belgian Allies towards Germany, of which the invasion of the Kuhr was the principal manifestation. For Belgium the most obvious effect of this adventure was the depreciation of the Belgian franc, which at certain moments in the year fell to the unheard of figure of 115-120 to the pound sterling, and which was finally stabilised—if indeed it is stabilised—at about 103. The recoil of international finance against the Euhr invasion was felt more severely in Belgium than in France, with the result that the French franc appreciated in relation to the Belgian, till 100 of the former became worth 123 of the latter, so that paradoxically enough one of the partners was paying more dearly for the enterprise than the other. This created in the Belgian public a strong irritation against French Imperialism, to allay which M. Poincare consented to an advance of 400,000,000 francs to the sister Government to avert the crisis in the Belgian franc. Towards the end of the year a distinct improvement set in, and the Belgian franc rose to about 110.

Franco-Belgian relations were further the subject of laborious customs negotiations which ended in the drafting of a convention very advantageous for France but the reverse for Belgium. The matter will not come before the Belgian Parliament till 1924.

An imposing manifestation of Anglo-Belgian friendship took place in April, when the Prince of Wales came to dedicate the Monument of British Gratitude to the Belgian People set up in the Bue des Quatre-Bras, Brussels.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The one bright episode in the history of the Netherlands during 1923 was the celebration in September of the semi-jubilee of H.M. Queen Wilhelmina, which was the occasion of much rejoicing, and many demonstrations of loyalty and attachment from all sections of the population. With the exception of the Communists, who opposed, and the Social Democrats, who abstained, all parties in the States-General united in a common address of homage to the Head of the State, while the envoys of foreign countries in a solemn audience transmitted the congratulations of their Governments.

Apart from this the year has presented a gloomy picture of

economic depression with consequent political difficulties. The prosperity of the Netherlands being closely bound up with that of its hinterland, the occupation of the Ruhr region and the resulting cessation of business in that part of Germany, as also the impediments experienced by Rhine navigation prevented Dutch commerce from recovering from the depression of 1922. Competition from countries whose rate of exchange had fallen reduced a large part of its industry to enforced idleness, so that unemployment continued to make heavy demands on State Finance. This gave rise to a strong movement for protective tariffs, and although the Government, generally speaking, did not favour any alteration in the prevailing system of free trade, still in spring a Bill was passed to assist the footwear industry, which is mostly concentrated in the Eoman Catholic province of North Brabant, authorising the Government to limit the imports of footwear up to January 1, 1924. In December this term was prolonged by another six months.

The great decline in the yield of taxation, the high expenditure on account of unemployment and on the building of houses, and the general extension of State activity worsened the financial situation. At the same time the claims of the Navy, which had been deferred in 1922, became more insistent. The Royal Commission instituted in 1922 to consider the best way of financing the extension of the Navy, handed in its report in April. It pointed out that the Netherlands required a considerable Navy, particularly for the defence of the East Indies, and that the present fleet was inadequate. In order to raise the money required for securing a properly equipped Navy, which it regarded as a paramount necessity, it recommended considerable retrenchments in every section of State activity so as to reduce the total of Ordinary Expenditure by 26 per cent. This report, which recommended sacrificing all matters of social or cultural interest to the reorganisation and the reinforcing of the Navy, caused much dissatisfaction in the country, especially amongst the democratic parties, including the democratic section of the Eoman Catholic Party. The Government, however, shared the opinion of the Commission, and decided to place the Navy Bill before the States-General once more at the opening of the new session in autumn. As a result of this decision Jonkheer de Geer, the Finance Minister, tendered his resignation, his standpoint being that considerable economies could not be demanded of the Government service in general, if one branch of it, viz., national defence, was to be made an exception. This resignation caused considerable perturbation in the country, and the alarm increased when the new Minister of Finance who had been appointed in August, M. Colyn, leader of the Calvinistic Party and ex-Minister for War, issued some highly disquieting communications with regard to the State's finances, and proposed radical retrenchment and fresh taxation. As against the estimated deficit on the ordinary

Budget for 1923 of 50,000,000 guilders, he calculated a deficit of no less than 116,000,000 guilders for 1924 and even of 140,000,000 guilders for 1925. He therefore wished to stop all further extension of State public services, not to proceed with the introduction of a seventh school-year in the primary schools, which had already been passed, to suspend all increases of salaries during the next three years, to find some new way of financing social insurance, to lessen considerably the number of officials, and to reduce salaries and wages by 20 per cent., spread over two years. This last measure, involving the revocation of an article of what is known as the "Salary Decree" which guaranteed the salaries of the officials who were in Government service on July 1, 1922, was looked upon by a great many as a breach of faith. The Minister further wished to revise all salaries and wages. Finally, he desired to stop the unemployment relief, so that the unemployed would henceforth have to apply to the communes for poor-relief. He also proposed to raise the excise on beer and the import duties on beer and tea, in order to cover the final deficit.

The announcement of this scheme of economies and taxation, which would bear especially heavily upon the officials and labouring classes, in order to facilitate the carrying of the Navy Bill caused a great deal of discontent, which increased still more when the Government, supported by its majority, refused to postpone the discussion of the Navy Bill until after the passing of the Dutch and East Indian Budgets. The Social Democratic Labour Party and the Netherlands Trades Union had meanwhile organised a petition, with the result that when in October the Navy Bill came up for discussion, a petition against it was placed before the Second Chamber signed by no less than 1,103,128 adult Dutch subjects. During the discussions the Left opposed the Bill, partly as a matter of principle, partly for financial reasons. From the same motive the Bill was also opposed by some of the Eoman Catholic members. When it was put to the vote, ten Koman Catholics proved to have adopted this point of view, and in consequence the Bill was rejected on October 26 by 50 votes to 49. The Buys de Beerenbrouck Cabinet thereupon handed in its resignation.

The solution of the Cabinet crisis proved to be very difficult. The religious parties are in the majority in both Chambers of the States-General; the Left could not assume power because it is in a minority and moreover it is greatly divided in itself. The 50 members who voted against the Bill, and who included Communists, Social Democrats, Badicals, Liberals, Peasants, and Boman Catholics, would scarcely have been able to form a Cabinet. Endeavours were made first by the Boman Catholic President of the Chamber, M. Koolen, and later by M. Beelaerts van Blokland (Protestant) who had formerly been Netherlands Minister in Peking, to form a Cabinet from members of the

Bight, but did not succeed. Thereupon the Queen, in the middle of December, placed the formation of a Cabinet in the hands of M.M. Nolens, Rutgers, and Schokking, the chairmen of the three parties of the Right. This mandate, by which the Crown appeared to relinquish its prerogative of nominating a statesman to form a Cabinet, was much criticised, not only by the Press of the Left, but also by many journals of the Right. It had, however, this practical effect, that it compelled the parties of the Right to admit their impotence to form a new Ministry. This would appear to put an end for the present to the coalition of the three religious parties which for about a quarter of a century has dominated the internal politics of Holland. By the end of the year the political crisis which had begun on October 26, had not yet been solved, and during these two months and a half governmental activity was practically at a standstill.

In the spring the system of proportionate representation was adopted for the election of the First Chamber, in accordance with the provisions laid down in the revision of the Constitution, in July, 1922. The result of the July elections was that the Right obtained 31 seats and the Left 19.

Of the Bills passed by Parliament mention may be made of the Conscientious Objectors Bill. A proposal, emanating from the Radical Party, to make women eligible as judges was rejected by the Second Chamber, as was also a Cinema Act, owing to the opposition of members of the Right, in whose opinion the Bill did not go far enough, whereas members of the Left looked upon it as too severe.

In the sphere of foreign politics no serious difficulties presented themselves, although the occupation of the Ruhr region forced the Government once or twice to make protests at Paris on behalf of Dutch merchants and of the free navigation of the Rhine. The result of the representations was in all cases satisfactory. The departure of the German ex-Crown Prince to his country on November 12 caused surprise, but created no difficulties for Holland, Dutch law affording no facilities to the Government to prevent the departure.

H.M. the Queen last summer spent a few weeks, incognito, in England, and the British Press took occasion to make many friendly remarks regarding H.M. and Holland. The visits which H.M. had paid in 1922 to the Scandinavian Courts were returned by the King of Sweden in March and by the King of Norway in June. With Belgium a settlement was made concerning the payment of the expenses incurred during the war for the internment of Belgian troops. Commercial treaties were concluded with Rumania and Czechoslovakia, on the most favoured nation basis. In November a Chinese Commission for economic studies visited Holland.

Holland agreed to take a share of one and a quarter per cent, in the reconstruction loan of 520 millions of gold crowns for

Austria; the States-General, however, did not wish to be tied to the Protocol in which Austria engages to maintain her entire independence. The Minister of Foreign Affairs accordingly consulted Geneva, and obtained for Holland exemption from this Protocol.

Holland subscribed to Articles 65, 354-56 and 358-62 of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, concerning the revision of the Rhine Navigation Act, in virtue of the eight points enumerated in the Protocol to which the Powers mentioned in Article 355 had agreed, and the additional Protocol of March 29, 1923. This latter contains the following provisional text of Article 46 of the Rhine Navigation Act: "The resolutions of the Central Commission for the Rhine Navigation will be taken by majority of votes. No State will be bound to put into effect such resolutions as it will have refused to adopt." This safeguards Dutch interests, which were threatened by the abolition of the former right of veto.

SWITZERLAND.

Owing to the great length of her Italian frontier, which since the war has far exceeded that of all her other borders Switzerland was naturally thrown into some apprehension by the change in Italian mentality created by Fascism, especially as the left wing of the Fascist Party used to speak of the Tessin, the Italian-speaking canton of Switzerland, as *terra irredenta*. It is therefore gratifying to record that the attitude of Mussolini since he seized the helm of the State has been most correct. He stopped peremptorily the endeavours of a Milan journalist to create trouble over the "Tessin question/" which the Swiss, together with the immense majority of the Tessinois themselves, refuse to acknowledge as a question at all. Switzerland being the largest buyer of Italian products, there seems to be every reason even for a Fascist Government not to pursue an Utopian foreign policy in this direction. The wise statesmanship of Mussolini has, contrary to all misgivings, consolidated Swiss-Italian friendship in 1923, and of this a Commercial Treaty which has just been ratified by the Chambers of the two nations is the outward and visible expression.

The same thing cannot be said unfortunately of the President of the French Council. A dispute over the economic Zones of Savoy has greatly embittered Franco-Swiss relations during the past year. A Convention for the abolition of the Zones was rejected by the Swiss people on February 18 by 410,227 votes to 92,541. The Federal Council had therefore to elaborate a new project for which it needed considerable preparation and consultation with a number of interested parties. In the meanwhile, M. Poincaré, alleging bad faith on the part of Switzerland and claiming that Article 435 of the Treaty of Versailles had authorised

France to abolish the Zones, ordered the Customs line on November 10 to be moved to the political frontier. The Swiss Government, taking its stand on the text of the Treaty, which clearly says that "it is for France and Switzerland to come to an agreement with a view to settling between themselves the status of these territories under such conditions as shall be considered suitable by both parties," proposed arbitration. The Swiss interpretation is that the Zones need not necessarily be abolished, though a new arrangement concerning them must be made, and that they certainly cannot be abolished by such a unilateral act as that committed by M. Poincaré. It will depend on M. Poincaré's final Note whether the Swiss Government will appeal to the League of Nations or not.

Far smoother were Switzerland's relations in the past year with Germany and Austria. The further economic penetration of the country by German companies is looked upon with a certain anxiety, and legislative measures have been introduced to combat the movement as much as possible. Switzerland has agreed to take over the Customs organisation of the Duchy of Lichtenstein at the close of the year.

The Conradi-Polunin trial, which took place at Lausanne in September, was watched with close interest all over the world. The Swiss-Eussian Conradi, who had deliberately killed the Soviet delegates Vorovski and Ahrens whilst they attended the Lausanne Conference, and the Eussian Polunin who had conspired with him, were declared guilty by the jury by 5 votes to 4. As, however, the cantonal law of Vaud requires 6 votes for condemnation, they both got off free. The Federal Council, expelled Polunin shortly afterwards as an undesirable alien. Chicherin, who had declared the Swiss Government morally responsible for the murder, has since proclaimed a kind of economic boycott against Switzerland, and has caused a certain number of Swiss residing in Russia to be expelled.

Though a movement is on foot in Eastern Switzerland for the withdrawal of Switzerland from the League of Nations, it did not find a serious echo in the discussions of the Swiss Chambers on the reports concerning the League's activity. The delegates to the September Assembly were Federal Councillor Motta, ex-Federal Councillor Ador, and National Councillor Forrer, representing the three chief parties of Switzerland.

As regards home politics, the year has been quiet and what might be called even negative. A number of proposals brought before the people were rejected, some coming from the Left and others from the Right. In January an ultra-conservative Initiative proposal, demanding that dangerous citizens should be imprisoned without trial, was rejected by 440,495 votes to 54,830, after being abandoned by the initiators themselves. In February the above-mentioned Zones Convention met the same fate. In April the so-called Customs Initiative from a Socialist quarter was rejected by 452,340 votes to 170,239. It was directed

against the customs tariff of 1921, and would have deprived the State of that great part of its revenue which it at present derives from the customs service; it would, however, have cheapened certain food products. On June 4 the Liquor Bill was rejected on a referendum being taken by 356,106 votes to 246,896. This Bill was intended to extend the control of the State over the manufacture of liquor. Its proceeds would have benefited the Old Age and Disability Insurance Scheme which cannot be tackled in earnest before new sources of revenue are opened up. Of minor domestic legislation may be mentioned the special credit of 60 million francs granted for the speeding up of the electrification of the Federal railways. One-seventh of the whole railway system has already been electrified.

As regards the financial and economic situation of the country, Switzerland still suffers from unemployment to a certain extent. In December, 1923, there were 27,029 full time unemployed. One sequel to unemployment has been the increase of emigration. It is estimated that since 1918 about 100,000 Swiss have emigrated, the majority going to North and South America. The Swiss authorities have taken various steps to assist emigrants and procure them sound and reliable advice.

The adjusting of the national finances has made further progress. The deficit which for 1922 was estimated at 80 millions was for 1923 put at 60 millions on the ordinary expenditure, and the figure for 1924 will be only 37'8 millions. For the year 1923 the Post Office will probably realise a profit of about half a million francs, which contrasts favourably with the deficit of the previous year. The consolidated debt of the Federation is now 2,065 million francs, the floating debt 214 million francs.

The President of the Federal Council for 1924 is Mr. Ernest Chuard (Vaud), and the Vice-President Mr. Jean-Maria Musy (Fribourg). The President of the National Council, Mr. Ev6quoz (Valais), and the President of the States Council, Mr. Simon (Vaud), are likewise both from French-speaking Switzerland.

SPAIN.

The year 1923 in Spain was remarkable for the sensational overthrow of Civil Government and the establishment of Army Bule. As in the previous year, the question of Morocco was much in the public eye. On January 3 Senor Villanueva was appointed Civilian High Commissioner of Spanish Morocco; but protracted illness prevented him from occupying his post, and not until February 10 could a successor be found in Senor Silvela. Meanwhile, on January 27, the nation had the satisfaction of seeing one of its most ardent wishes realised in the release of the prisoners of Anual. The story of their sufferings during their eighteen months captivity cast a gloom on the national rejoicings, and by arousing public indignation and a desire for

vengeance served to reopen the Moroccan question. The Government, on February 6, reaffirmed its policy of pacific action, but the split between Liberal opinion and the Army and Conservative elements had become manifest. The general feeling of helplessness found expression in a rumour, spread on February 26, that the King desired to abdicate and that a Dictatorship alone could save the country. The rumour, though promptly denied, was yet eloquent evidence of the troubled situation, a characteristic sign of which was the revival of the dreaded labour troubles in Barcelona. A fresh outbreak occurred on March 6, with the murder of the Syndicalist leader, Salvador Seguí, and lasted with growing violence throughout the summer.

The difficulties of the Liberal Government increased. On coming into power at the end of the preceding year, it had met with a large measure of public support, by reason of its programme, "Responsibilities and Reconstruction." Its sincerity was undoubted, but the very heterogeneous nature of the Coalition of Liberal Parties robbed it of the necessary strength. The Government soon came into conflict with Catholic opinion over one item in its programme, the modification of Article 11 of the Constitution, whereby it sought to give greater liberty to non-Catholic religions. The Cardinal Archbishop of Saragossa addressed a protest to the Government. In view of the forthcoming elections the Cabinet was obliged to bow before the storm; and on April 4, the representative of the Eeformist element, Senor Pedregal, the Minister of Finance, left the Cabinet. On April 6, the King issued a Decree dissolving the Cortes and calling for a General Election at the end of the month. This was held on April 29 amidst unusual apathy on the part of the voters and extraordinary corruption on the part of the Government, which thus secured the return of 223 members in the Chamber of Deputies, and 105 in the Senate. In his speech at the opening of Parliament, on May 23, the Prime Minister, the Marquis de Alhucemas, appealed for Party support against those sections of public opinion which disbelieved in Parliamentary Government and were clamouring for a Dictator. The support he asked for was assured him, but circumstances proved too strong, and only two days later the Minister of War, Senor Alcala Zamora, resigned on account of dissensions in the Cabinet over Morocco.

Meanwhile, in Barcelona conditions had been going from bad to worse. The transport strike, declared early in May, threatened as it grew from week to week to bring the whole life of the city to a standstill. Moreover, it was accompanied by great violence. Murders committed alternately by the two labour gangs in their internecine feud were a matter of daily occurrence, and the murderers invariably escaped. A reign of terror was established, which spread to other industrial centres, such as Bilbao and Saragossa. In the latter city, Cardinal Archbishop Soldevila was murdered on June 4, and the crime

against so venerable a figure aroused especial indignation throughout the country.

The general discontent was increased by the difficulty of fixing political as well as military responsibility for the Moroccan disaster. The Army had by drastic measures of justice regained both its *morale* and public favour; and on June 29 the Senate finally decided that General Berenguer should be tried by the Supreme Military Court. Angry scenes followed in the Upper House on July 3, culminating in blows two days later. But by July 10 a great step forward had been taken in the election of a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into the Moroccan campaign.

With the appointment, on June 28, of Senor Portela as Governor of Barcelona, relief had come in that quarter also. By an extension of the strike at the eleventh hour, the Syndicalists endeavoured in vain to maintain their hold on the population, which a week earlier had already shown symptoms of reaction against the tyranny of Labour by pursuing and lynching a murderer in the street. On July 12, the great transport strike that had lasted 10 weeks collapsed and, thanks to the energetic measures of the Governor, peace was once more established in the great city. A curious offshoot of the Syndicalist movement was the bank strike in Madrid, which during the latter half of July paralysed business.

Owing to the great heat at Madrid, the height of the summer is apt to be a season of political calm in Spain. Not so in the Bif, where after the gathering of their scanty harvest, the hardy tribesmen are ready once more to turn from husbandry to the more congenial profession of arms. The sharp fighting that commenced on August 19 and with changes of fortune lasted until the 23rd, gave rise to great anxiety in Spain, where there was a fear of the repetition of the disasters of 1921. The fear was groundless, and though the campaign was successful it had an important consequence in the brief mutiny that broke out in Malaga, on August 23, among troops assembled for transport to Melilla. Though but a flash in the pan, this mutiny which was accompanied by the death of an officer and the subsequent pardon of the ringleader, was to prove the match that fired the train of the Military Revolution. A further shock to the nation was the news that on August 27, in a dense fog, the battleship *España* had stranded on the rocks of Cape Tres Forcas, near Melilla.

The renewed activity in Morocco brought with it dissensions in the Cabinet. The Liberal Government had been formed on a programme of peace, retrenchment, and reform; and, despairing of the situation, several Ministers resigned on September 1, prominent among them being the Ministers of Finance and of Public Works. A hasty reconstruction of the Cabinet followed, but it had now lost all authority; and its strongest member, Don Santiago Alba, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, had incurred the

special enmity of the Army. The fortnight of calm that ensued was the lull before the storm. This broke on the night of September 12 to 13.

On that memorable night, Don Miguel Primo de Bivera, Marquis de Estella, the Captain-General of the Fourth Military Region of Catalonia, after seizing control of communications and assuring himself of the support of other Captains-General, proclaimed martial law at Barcelona and issued a manifesto calling upon the King to dismiss the Cabinet and rule the country with the help of the Army. The Government were taken by surprise. In Cabinet meetings protracted throughout the night, they vainly endeavoured to enlist the support of the Madrid garrison and other Military commands. Finding all communications cut, they bowed to the inevitable and decided to await the return of the Sovereign, who was away in San Sebastian. King Alfonso delayed his return to Madrid until the 14th, when he accepted the resignation of the Cabinet and called on the successful general to come to Madrid and take over the government of the country. General Primo de Bivera arrived at the capital on the 15th, and on the same day was appointed President and sole responsible member of a Military Directorate, which usurped all powers of the Civil Government. The Cabinet was dismissed, the Ministries abolished, the Cortes dissolved and the Constitutional guarantees suspended. The Civil Governorships of the Provinces were also abolished, and internal Administration confided to a Commission of three generals appointed to each Military Region. Senor Alba fled across the frontier.

A first measure of success was earned, and the dawn of settlement in Morocco announced, by the telegram of support addressed to the new Government on September 16 by Baisuli. A week later, the summary execution of the Tarrasa Bank robbers showed the existence of a firmer hand at home. With the dismissal on October 1 of the members of the 9,000 odd Municipalities of Spain began the long series of Decrees, by which the Directory hoped to reorganise the country. On October 3, a Commission of Investigation into Judicial matters was appointed. On the 15th, a deadly blow was struck at the Politicians by the so-called "Decree of Incompatibilities," rendering it illegal for present or past Heads of Departments, or Ministers, to hold Directorships in public companies. The endeavour, by means of Municipal Reform, to strike at the root evil of Spanish politics, *i.e.*, the system of *caciques* or political bosses, was reverted to in the Decree of October 21, by which several hundred delegates, drawn from the surplus of officers, were appointed with wide powers to act as supervisors of the chief Municipalities throughout the country.

That the new rulers had settled down to their task and were accepted by the country was proved by the success of their first financial operations on November 6, and by the refusal of the

King, a week later, to listen to the petition presented by the politicians in defence of the Constitution. More striking evidence of success, both national and international, was furnished in the latter half of November by the visit to Italy of the King and Queen, accompanied by the President of the Military Directory. The success of the visit was emphasised by the warm welcome given to the Eoyal travellers on their return to Madrid on December 4. It was sealed by the conclusion, on December 10, of the Hispano-Italian Commercial Treaty, which may stand as a set-off to the comparative failure of the Tangier negotiations.

PORTUGAL.

Although the year 1923 in Portugal was marked by no outstanding event, no great revolution or financial crisis, both politics and finance grew steadily more complicated, so that the situation at the end of the year compared unfavourably with that of twelve months earlier.

Senhor Antonio Maria da Silva's reconstructed Ministry presented itself to Parliament on January 10. He was still in office when the presidency of Dr. Almeida, the first President of the Eepublic to serve the full period of four years, ended on August 3 and Senhor Teixeira Gomes, Portuguese Minister in London, was elected to succeed him by 131 votes to 5 on the third ballot. The result of the first ballot was: Senhor Teixeira Gomes 108, Dr. Bernardino Machado 73, Dr. Duarte Leite 3, Senhor Augusto Soares 2, Senhor Magalhaes Lima 1. On October 3 the seventh President of the Eepublic arrived at Lisbon on board *H.M.S. Garysfort*, escorted by the Spanish cruiser *Reina Victoria Eugenia*, and two days later took oath as President in the Congresso. Although he had ratified confidence in the Government, its embarrassments continually increased, and while fresh administrative scandals kept cropping up, the Exchequer was empty. On October 30, after an all-night sitting, the Government carried a vote of confidence by a majority of one and its resignation followed. Senhor Silva had held office as Premier for twenty-one months, a feat unparalleled during the thirteen years of the Eepublic.

The Democrat Party having sent a message to Dr. Afonso Costa and received a favourable reply, the President of the Eepublic formally invited him to constitute a Ministry. He arrived from Paris on November 6, and immediately set to work to form a so-called national Ministry. By 52 votes to 2 the Nationalists, the party formed in February of this year by a fusion of the Liberals and Eeconstituents, refused to supply Ministers for a Costa Cabinet, while promising it their support. As Dr. Costa could count on a majority in the existing Parliament, this check was not an insurmountable difficulty. But Dr. Costa

nevertheless declined the task of forming a Ministry and returned to Paris.

The task was then entrusted to another Democrat, Dr. Catanho de Meneses, but after five days he was obliged to decline. Two days later, on November 15, after a crisis of over a fortnight, the Nationalist Dr. Ginestal Machado took office, with the young ex-Premier Senhor Cunha Leal as Minister of Finance.

The new Government was in an especially weak position, as its life depended on the goodwill of the Democrats in the Chamber. On the evening of December 10 an abortive Eadical revolution, with aims similar to those of October, 1921, occurred at Lisbon. The destroyer *Douro* fired some shots over the city and there was some fighting, although not of a serious character, near the Belem Palace; but the rest of the Portuguese Navy did not join the *Douro*, and the Army and Republican Guard remained faithful to the Government. The rebellious Marines were placed under arrest, and order was restored without difficulty, but an unexpected result was the resignation of the Government which had succeeded in crushing the revolutionary movement. It was defeated on a motion of confidence by eleven votes, and since the President of the Eepublic refused to dissolve Parliament, Dr. Ginestal Machado's Ministry came to an end after lasting twenty-eight days.

Senhor Alvaro de Castro, passed over a month earlier, succeeded him with a Ministry which professed not to be bound by party ties, but had the support of the Democrat majority in Parliament. A split had occurred in the Nationalist Party, its two halves being headed by Senhor Alvaro de Castro and Senhor Cunha Leal. The latter during his brief term of office had devoted himself energetically to the finances. He had found the Exchequer without a farthing, the estimated deficit for 1923-24 exceeded 400,000 contos, while the paper circulation had been increased to over 100,000 contos beyond the legal limit. A further issue of 150,000 contos was now voted, sending the exchange on London to 1£ at the end of the year. Desperate attempts had been made earlier to obtain money by means other than that of increasing the number of notes, and on June 16 a 6½ per cent. Internal Loan was floated. This loan of 4,000,000Z. sterling was easily covered, but as the worth of the pound sterling was estimated at 45,000 r&s, whereas it was actually 100,000, its success brought little money into the Treasury, while a serious shortage of notes made itself felt in the Lisbon banks.

There was an undercurrent of labour trouble during the year, but on August 24 a general strike failed. More injurious were the effects of a strike in the merchant service which held up Portuguese shipping for over two months (September-December) while foreign shipping continued to suffer from the handicap imposed on it in January, 1922.

In commercial negotiations Portugal's fortunes were various. On April 27 a treaty (wine and fish) was signed with Norway,

and in November Portugal, as a most favoured nation, profited by the advantages granted to Spain by Italy. With France no agreement was reached. Owing to the refusal of France to continue favoured treatment to Portuguese wines the *modus vivendi* between the two countries was not renewed in June, and in November the outgoing Minister for Foreign Affairs retaliated by trebling the Customs duties against France.

On March 31, at Lisbon, Senhor Brito Camacho, High Commissioner of Mozambique, and the Hon. Sir Lancelot Carnegie signed a renewal of the first part (concerning native labour) of the Convention between Mozambique and the Union of South Africa. Negotiations concerning the railway and port of Lourenço Marques continued at Lisbon and London, and it was hoped that a new Convention might be signed early in the new year by General Smuts and the new High Commissioner, Admiral Azevedo Coutinho.

DENMARK.

During 1923 the arrangements made, on the re-union with North Schleswig after the war, for dealing with the German minority in that province continued to work well. The Germans, to the number of about 25,000, have not only received the full rights of Danish citizens, but have also been granted facilities for having their children taught in the schools in German; and with these they appear content, no complaints of consequence having reached the authorities. Further, at an expenditure to the Government of half a milliard of kroner, the province has now been finally put in a position to support itself, and it may henceforth be expected to become an asset of value to the country, representing as it does about 5 per cent, of the national wealth.

Equally good progress has been made in dealing with the other great problem left by the war—the re-establishment of the country's economic life. From this point of view the year 1923 has been a turning-point. The country's main productive industry, agriculture, which is responsible for 90 per cent, of the total exports, has, in the course of the year, more than recovered its pre-war position. Apart from agriculture the Danish industries have not yet reached the pre-war standard, but the significant fall in unemployment indicates improvement, and the increased production has given stimulus to commerce and shipping.

Trade relations with other countries have been strengthened and extended through commercial treaties and agreements. In the first part of 1923 a general trade agreement was concluded with Eussia on the basis of *de facto* recognition of the Soviet Government. The two countries have now exchanged official Government Delegations, and although the effects of the

agreement have not had time to manifest themselves to the **full**, **they** can already be distinctly traced through an increased **supply** from Bussia of certain goods of great importance to Danish industry. Danish shipping, too, has received a stimulus from this agreement. Commercial agreements have also been entered into with Finland, Estonia, and Latvia, and commercial relations have been developed with other of the newly-formed countries, even if no official agreements have as yet been concluded.

The most unsatisfactory feature during the year has been the depreciation of the krone, due to a great extent to the outlay of capital needed for reconstruction after the war. As already mentioned, the reunion with North-Schleswig cost the country 500,000,000 kroner. The restocking of farms depleted by the blockade required 260,000,000 kroner, and the rebuilding of the commercial fleet 140,000,000 kroner, while the empty storehouses of commerce and industry had to be replenished at a similar figure. There were considerable losses on foreign business, and the reconstruction of the Landmandsbank, completed in February, made heavy demands on the State, which took full responsibility for all the Bank's engagements until 1928. After an exhaustive inquiry into the causes of the depreciated currency, an Act was passed in November providing for an exchange stabilisation fund, based on a credit of 1,000,000Z. sterling from British and American banks. This had the welcome result of a distinct improvement in the exchange.

During the period of depression drastic reductions of salaries and other economies in administration were resorted to; but as these proved insufficient to bring expenditure down to the level of the reduced revenue, loans had to be raised, and the process of deflation was suspended. The State finances for 1923 show, however, an improvement; the deficit has been decreased considerably, and the State concerns such as Railways and Posts and Telegraphs have for the first time in many years shown a profit.

The political life of the country was uneventful. In February the resignation of the Prime Minister, Hr. Neergaard, was demanded by many members of Parliament for his proceedings in connexion with the Landmandsbank, but he succeeded in surmounting the crisis, and remained in office along with his Ministry throughout the year. Late in the summer Danish and Norwegian delegations met at Copenhagen, at the instance of the Norwegian Government, to discuss the dispute of the two countries over the Greenland fisheries which has been going on for some time (v. A.R., 1922, p. 241). Little progress was made towards a settlement, but discussions will be resumed at Christiania in January,

SWEDEN.

At the beginning of the year the Social Democratic Government under Mr. Branting, which had come into office in 1921, was still in power, but it fell early in the year over the question of unemployment. At the end of January a number of labour disputes broke out, and, in accordance with the principle previously laid down by the Eiksdag, those of the unemployed who had belonged when last at work to any of the trade unions involved were *ipso facto* excluded from receipt of the unemployed relief fund or "dole." As, however, many of them had been without employment since 1920, the Government, considering that these could not be held accountable for the new troubles, laid before Parliament a Bill providing that the relief should be withheld only from such of the workmen in question as had been unemployed for a shorter period than six months before the disputes broke out. The Conservatives opposed this Bill on the ground that it conflicted with the principle of the neutrality of the State in labour disputes, and the Liberals also refused to support it unless it were amended. The Government made the question one of confidence, and carried the Bill in the Second Chamber (the Swedish House of Commons), but not in the First, in which the Conservatives and a number of Liberals combined to defeat it. The Government at once resigned, and Mr. Trygger, the leader of the Conservatives—the Party of the Right, as they are called in Sweden—undertook the task of forming a new administration. Mr. Trygger made a strong effort to get together a Coalition Ministry representing Liberals as well as Conservatives, but in this he failed, and he therefore contented himself with forming a Conservative Government of Moderate tendency.

The new Ministry was appointed on April 19, Mr. Trygger declaring that he was anxious that it should be regarded as a genuine national Government working for the welfare of all and not for party ends. The foremost place in its programme, he explained, would be occupied by national defence; for the rest it would seek to carry out a policy representative of the views of Liberals and Conservatives alike, there being many questions upon which both Parties were in agreement.

The new Ministry was given cordial support from the start by the Liberal groups, but the Social Democrats offered decided opposition; and generally speaking this attitude was maintained throughout the year. The composition of the Ministry has suffered one change, Mr. Hederstierna, who was originally Foreign Minister, having been replaced by Baron Marks von Wurtemberg. Mr. Hederstierna's retirement was due to a public speech, made by him on his own responsibility and not as spokesman of the Cabinet, in which he advocated a treaty of defence with Finland by which Sweden should undertake to lend that country military support should her eastern

frontier be wantonly attacked. This suggestion did not win the approval either of the Cabinet or of the Swedish public. The new Foreign Minister was accorded a remarkably warm welcome in the Press, and it was declared on all sides that the Ministry had been considerably strengthened by his accession. Pains were taken at the same time to make it quite clear that his appointment was in no way directed against Finland, with which country Sweden was indeed anxious to establish closer co-operation in various fields.

The economic depression which weighed so heavily on Sweden in common with the rest of Europe at the beginning of 1922 had gradually been to a great extent lightened by the time the Eiksdag met on January 10, 1923, and though the difficulties of the State's finances were far from having been overcome, the Government by dint of severe economy and strenuous energy succeeded in framing a Budget in which expenses were covered by genuine revenue, and this without the imposition of new taxes or the increase of existing ones. The press of all Parties was unanimous in congratulating the new Finance Minister on his work. The Budget was for 7,376,000,000 Kr., the corresponding figure for 1922 having been 9,306,000,000. This diminution was achieved only by drastic economy in all directions, favoured by the rise in the value of the currency and the decrease in unemployment. In the Budget for 1922 a sum of 89,000,000 Kr. had been assigned for coping with unemployment, but so little of this sum had been spent that the Government now needed to ask for 5,000,000 Kr. only for this purpose, and as things turned out it was not necessary to expend the whole even of this modest amount. Through the cutting down of the war bonus and economies in administration expenses the Government saved 794,000,000 Kr. Various modifications were made in the Budget as originally drafted, but in its final form, as passed at the beginning of June before Parliament was prorogued, it was remarkably similar to that brought in by the Social Democratic Government in the preceding year. The total figure, however, by reason of the increase in certain grants, came to 7,756,000,000, the whole of which was coverable by the normal revenue.

Among the most important measures passed by the Riksdag may be mentioned in the first place the extension of the Hours of Labour law, enacting an eight hours day for industrial workers, which had been laid down provisionally in 1919 and was due to expire in 1923. At the instance of Mr. Branting's Ministry, the Eiksdag decided to extend the law for another three years; it being generally agreed that the three years during which it had been in force had not provided sufficient data for deciding as to its value and suitability for being made the basis of permanent legislation. The Eiksdag also passed a measure making women eligible for any office whatever in the

State, even the very highest, thus completing the **enfranchisement** of women which had been begun **through a modification** in the constitution two years before.

In the sphere of home politics the most noteworthy event was the formation of the new Party, "Sweden's **Liberal Party**," as a direct result of a schism within the ranks of the old "frisinnade parti" which arose in the June of 1922 over the question of Prohibition. The majority of this party decided to adopt Prohibition as a principle, but a strong minority, including some of the party's leaders, refused to agree to this, and at the beginning of October organised the new party above named. The programme is identical in many respects with that of the old-established Liberal or Ufrisinnade" Party; but it differs not only on the Prohibition issue, but also by its strong championship of Free Trade as a Liberal ideal, as well as by including a project for electoral reform with a view to facilitating the expression of individual points of view, and also by favouring to some extent the strengthening of the national defences. Mr. Eliel Lofgren, a former Minister of Justice and a member of the Swedish Delegation to the League of Nations, was elected leader of the new party.

In the course of the year Sweden entered into negotiations with several countries for commercial treaties on the "most favoured nation" basis, and a number of agreements have already been concluded, while others are expected. The commercial relations with Russia naturally stand in a class by themselves, having been quite irregular until now. After thoroughgoing discussions the Government decided in November to open negotiations with the Eussian Trade Delegation in Stockholm with a view to preparing a preliminary commercial agreement to be submitted to the Eiksdag. From the Russian side the Danish-Russian agreement was submitted as a basis for these negotiations. The head of the Eussian delegation, Ossinskij, discussing in an interview the prospects of such an agreement, remarked: "What we want to secure is a commercial agreement of the same type as the Danish agreement and on the same conditions, no more and no less." At the same time he insisted that a settlement of the question of the claims for compensation could be reached only in conjunction with a formal recognition of the Soviet Government and the settlement of the credits question. The negotiations, which were adjourned during the Christmas holidays, were expected to be resumed during the second half of January, 1924.

NORWAY.

The Liberal Government of Mr. Otto Blehr resigned on March 2, in consequence of the rejection by the Storting of its proposal for a commercial treaty with Portugal. The draft which was submitted by the Government on February 3 would

have obliged Norway to import **annually** 850,000 litres of **heavy** Portuguese wines, without, however, obtaining most favoured nation treatment by Portugal. Only if Norway would repeal the prohibition law in regard to wine would Portugal be willing to treat Norway as a most favoured nation. The treaty met with a very cold reception in the Norwegian Press, the prohibition leaders joining with the Conservatives in condemning it as humiliating and unworthy. Only 28 members of the Storting supported the Government, while 119 voted against the treaty.

Mr. Otto B. Halvorsen, head of the former Conservative Administration and since President of the Storting, was charged with the task of forming the new Government. He accepted the task and invited the Left (Liberal Party) and the Peasants' Party to co-operate with the Eight in forming a Coalition Cabinet. The invitation was refused, and Mr. Halvorsen formed an exclusively Conservative Cabinet. The new Premier took over the portfolio of Justice, C. P. Michelet became Foreign Minister, Abraham Berge Minister of Finance, Odd Klungenberg Minister of Social Affairs, K. Wefring Minister of Defence, Bye Holmboe Minister of Commerce, Ivar Saelen Minister of the Church and of Education, Anders Venger Minister of Agriculture, and C. Middelthon Minister of Works. With the exception of Berge, Saelen, and Venger, all the Ministers had been members of the first Halvorsen Ministry, 1921-22.

In a speech on March 7 Mr. Halvorsen proclaimed as the chief object of the new Government to repeal prohibition in regard to wine, and only two days later a Bill to this effect was submitted to the Storting. The Bill was passed by narrow majorities in both Houses. As a result of this decision the long tariff war between Norway and Portugal came to an end, and the new commercial treaty, signed on April 11, was based on free importation of Portuguese wine to Norway. The two Governments agreed to treat each other as most favoured nations.

Mr. Halvorsen died on May 23 [see Obituary]. His death was an irreparable loss to the Conservative Party. He was succeeded by Mr. Abraham Berge who was appointed Premier on May 30, retaining the portfolio of Finance. The other Ministers continued in their offices. Judge Bolfsen joined the Government, succeeding Mr. Halvorsen as Minister of Justice.

Mr. Berge was born in 1851, but in spite of his seventy-three years his physical vigour and mental alertness is unimpaired. The son of a poor peasant in Southern Norway, he is a self-made man whose success is entirely due to his great political gifts and boundless energy. As a board school teacher in the country he soon became prominent in local politics and at a comparatively early age was elected member of the Storting. In Parliament he came rapidly to the front as a powerful debater, and he showed exceptional organising qualities as secretary of the **Left** Party. After the dissolution of the union with Sweden when the old party barriers had broken down, Mr. Berge became one

of the founders of the so-called "Liberal Left," which has since been closely allied with the Eight. The two groups still maintain different party organisations, but their policy is absolutely identical.

The Minister of Church and Education, Mr. Ivar Sselen, died in November, and was replaced by Mr. J. Sanne, a prominent Conservative, and Vice-president of the Lagting.

One of the most important political events of the year was the definite rupture of the Norwegian Labour Party with the Third Internationale at Moscow. The Executive of the Third Internationale had for a long time been dissatisfied with the attitude taken up by the majority of the Norwegian Executive, headed by the well-known trade union leader, Martin Tranmsel. Mr. Tranmsers group claimed a great measure of independence for the Norwegian Party, insisting on the impossibility of enforcing Eussian political tactics in Norway. The Norwegian Executive particularly protested against the atheist test imposed by Moscow on all Communist leaders, and it also disagreed with the so-called "Workers and Peasants' Government-parole." After many vain efforts at reconciliation the crisis came to a head at the National Congress of the Norwegian Labour Party, which was held at Kristiania from November 2 to 5.

Some days before the Congress the Moscow Executive had sent the Norwegian Party an ultimatum demanding the acceptance by the Congress of a resolution which pledged the party to carry out the decisions of Moscow. This ultimatum was rejected by 169 to 103 votes. After the vote, the representative of the Moscow Executive, the German Communist Hoernle, said that the Executive regarded the majority as having withdrawn from the Third Internationale. The minority then left the Congress. The remaining 169 delegates unanimously passed a resolution deploring the behaviour of the Moscow Executive and declaring that they considered the Party as having been expelled from the Third Internationale. The Congress further passed resolutions endorsing the decisions of the Norwegian Executive in all questions where there had been disagreement with Moscow.

The minority group headed by Mr. Olav Scheflo, member of the Storting, immediately founded a new Communist Party which accepts the dogmas of Russian Bolshevism without any reservation. The dispute between the two rival parties is becoming increasingly violent. The seizures of provincial party papers by the Anti-Moscovites have occasioned many dramatic incidents. The Moscovites are very strong in Bergen and Trondhjem where the local Communist dailies are still in their hands. But the Anti-Moscovites possess the whole party machine and all the more important Labour papers outside the two towns mentioned above, and it is believed that the Moscow Party will soon be reduced to an insignificant group. Norway has now three Labour Parties: The Social-Democrats, the Anti-Moscow Communists, and the Moscow Communists, It is

estimated that the Moscovites comprise only about one-tenth of the Labour electors.

The industrial situation has been fairly quiet throughout the year, and no strikes of any magnitude have occurred. The wages agreements which expired in the spring were renewed for one year. A lockout seemed imminent in the paper industry in November, but was averted by the intervention of the Government. The number of unemployed declined steadily during the year.

Economically and financially the year was by no means favourable, though signs of improvement were noticeable as the year drew to a close. In April two large Kristiania banks, *Foreningsbanken* and *Centralbanken*, were at their own request placed under public administration in accordance with the new law on State support for weak banks. The two banks are now continuing their business under State control, and the creditors have suffered no loss.

Neither the Greenland nor the Spitzbergen question was solved during 1923. In the autumn negotiations were opened with Denmark regarding the former by special delegates. The negotiations are to be continued in 1924. All the signatory powers of the Spitzbergen treaty have notified their ratification of the Norwegian Draft Mining Bill for these Arctic islands, and the question of Norwegian sovereignty over Spitzbergen will probably be definitely settled in the spring of 1924.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA: PERSIA—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ—PALESTINE—SYRIA—ARABIA—INDIA.

PERSIA.

PARLIAMENTARY Government in Persia has not worked smoothly during 1923. The *Mejliss* has been factious, and Cabinet crises have been frequent. Real power, as before, has resided in the hands of the energetic and able Minister of War, the *Sardar Sepah Eiza Khan*, who has improved the military organisation and maintained order, at the same time exercising a dominating influence on the foreign policy of the country. The finances of the country have been controlled by the American Commission of Advisers under Dr. *Millsbaugh*, who have gradually been remedying abuses and paving the way for the raising of a substantial loan.

The Conservative Cabinet of *Gavam-es-Sultaneh* resigned on January 27, in consequence of an agitation based on charges—which were not substantiated—of corrupt dealing in connexion with the northern oil concessions. The next Cabinet, under *Mustaufi-ul-Menalek* was not formed till the middle of March, and was suspected by the *Mejliss* of being equally corrupt. On

May 29 it was defeated on a vote of confidence by 44 votes to 38, and after a brief period of crisis was succeeded by the Mushir-ed-Dowleh on June 17. Meanwhile the term of the sitting Mejliss had expired, and orders were issued for a new election, which was completed by the middle of September. The deputies returned for Teheran were the Prime Minister himself, along with Mosadegh-es-Sultaneh, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Motamen-ul-Mulk, Speaker of the late Mejliss, the ex-Premier Gavam-es-Sultaneh, and three Social Democrats, three Clericals, one Independent, and one Conservative. The Sardar Sepah was returned for the province of Mazanderan. On October 24 the Mushir-ed-Dowleh, having proved, like his predecessors, unable to work with the Sardar Sepah, who had been Minister of War in six successive Cabinets since April, 1921, the premiership was taken over by that official himself. The Shah, who had purposely waited till the Cabinet crises should be settled, thereupon left for a tour in Europe, one of his last acts having been to release Gavam-es-Sultaneh, who early in October had been arrested by the Sardar on the charge of intriguing against him.

The Press throughout the year showed an unruly spirit. In February two newspapers were suspended and their editors exiled for publishing articles libelling the Shah, and in the autumn a Bill was presented providing for the discipline of the Press; but although the urgent need of such a measure was generally recognised, it was opposed by the Nationalists, apparently with the simple desire of overthrowing a Conservative Cabinet.

During the year Persia considerably strengthened her trade relations with Eussia. This was largely due to the reopening of the Tabriz railway in the summer, and the improvement of conditions in the Caucasus and along the Black Sea littoral. In other respects also Persia drew closer to Eussia. In the spring a Persian military mission went to Russia, and a number of Persian students entered a Soviet "University" which was opened at Tiflis. At the same time public feeling was inflamed against Great Britain, partly by the intrigues of Bolshevik officials, partly by the action of the Iraq Government in August in expelling a number of Persian ecclesiastics. This led to a somewhat violent anti-British demonstration in Teheran. Resentment was also felt against Britain on account of the dismissal of Persian officials from the Iraq service, though this might be regarded as merely retaliation for the previous dismissal by the Persian Government of its Iraqi officials, along with all other foreigners in its service.

On May 25 a great earthquake took place at Turbat-i-Haidari in North-Eastern Persia, causing much damage and loss of life. At the suggestion of the British Minister in Teheran, a relief fund was opened in England,

AFGHANISTAN.

The course of Afghan history during 1923 though not eventful was far from smooth. Friction between the Ameer Amanullah and a large part of his subjects was one of the outstanding features of the year, and the other was the straining of Afghan-British relations which took place towards its close. In view of these facts the desire of the Ameer that his country should enter the comity of modern civilised nations cannot yet be said to have been fulfilled; nor does the situation at the present moment augur well for its realisation in the near future.

The chief causes of disaffection against the Ameer have been his attempts to purify the administration and to impose conscription on the people. His passion for justice was shown by his passing a sentence of imprisonment, in April, on the step-father of his own mother, Shah Ghasi Mohammed Sarwar Khan, for misappropriation of public funds. In interfering, however, with the local *hakims*, who though notoriously corrupt had maintained some semblance of law and order in their respective districts, he tried to introduce more civilised methods for which the population was not yet ripe, and consequently lawlessness and unrest increased considerably during the first half of the year, culminating in the revolt of the formidable Alizai tribe. The levying of taxes has also, as was to be expected, proved a most difficult matter, and want of money has not allowed the Ameer to proceed very far on his path of reform. Nevertheless in some lines substantial progress has been made. Most notable is the spread of education among the people. There are now thousands of Afghan boys receiving schooling, and 200 are being educated abroad; and these may in course of time be expected to provide an efficient civil service and judiciary. A great step forward towards removing the isolation of Afghanistan was taken by the inauguration in March of telegraphic communication between Afghanistan and Great Britain. But in the all-important matter of internal communications little advance has been made in the past year. No railways were commenced, and small progress was made with the new roads planned for motor traffic, while the existing roads from Kabul to Peshawar and Kandahar have if anything deteriorated. In the absence of good communications there can be little chance of developing the natural resources of the country.

During the first half of the year Afghan relations with England were quite amicable. In January the Ameer sent a message to King George on the Lausanne Conference, and the King's reply, expressing his earnest desire for an equitable solution of the Turkish problem, created a favourable impression in Afghanistan. A still more friendly exchange of messages took place on the inauguration of telegraphic communication between Afghanistan and Great Britain mentioned above. The Ameer thanked His Majesty for the services rendered by British

officials in the progress of the work, and expressed a hope for the continuance of good relations between the two nations, at the same time appealing to Britain for fair dealing with the Moslem world. The King reciprocated the Ameer's good wishes, and emphasised the desire of Britain to live in peaceful and neighbourly co-operation with the Moslem world.

It was not long before these friendly feelings were succeeded by an attitude of suspicion and mistrust on both sides. In April two murders of British subjects were perpetrated by tribesmen on the North-West Indian frontier at Kohat and Landi Kotal, and the murderers fled to Afghanistan. On June 4 the Afghan Government informed the British Minister at Kabul that orders had been issued for their immediate arrest, but several weeks passed before the arrest was effected. The British had reason to suspect that the Ameer was acting under Bolshevik influence and purposely flouting England. When the murderers actually were arrested, they managed to escape from prison before trial, and though there was no proof of connivance on the part of the authorities, the incident made a bad impression. In order to remove this the Afghan Government for a time adopted more energetic measures against the outlaws on the border, and in October a joint Afghan and British Commission met at Karlachi on the frontier to investigate a number of incidents that had occurred. From this point, however, matters instead of improving seemed to grow rapidly worse. The Afghans became suspicious that England was once more harbouring Imperialistic designs and seeking to regain her exclusive domination over their country. These feelings were strongly expressed by the Afghan Minister in Paris, Sirdar Tarzi Khan, in an interview which he gave to the *Nation* on December 16. He charged the British in particular with having three months earlier held up at Bombay a quantity of arms for the Afghan police, in breach of the treaty between Afghanistan and Great Britain made in 1921, and of the Trade Convention of June 5 of the current year which among other things confirmed the obligation then accepted by the British Government to allow the transit of arms to Afghanistan through India. The British defence was that according to the Treaty the importation was to be permitted only so long as the intentions of the Afghan Government were friendly, and no immediate danger to India was involved. By the end of the year the situation as between the two countries was generally regarded as serious.

The Afghan suspicions of Britain's intentions were undoubtedly fostered by other countries, notably Russia and France, as was shown by a striking article in *L'Ere Nouvelle* of December 26, which suggested that it was the independent policy of Afghanistan rather than the activity of brigands which disquieted Great Britain. The Ameer attempted to play off France against England in a peculiar way. Early in the year he gave to France exclusive rights of archaeological research in Afghanistan,

and in May excavations near Kabul were commenced by M. Foucher, a professor at the Sorbonne, and a leading authority on Buddhism. On representations being made by the British Government M. Foucher declared his intention of inviting the distinguished British authority Sir Aurel Stein to take a share in the investigations in Afghanistan. For one reason or other, however, the invitation was not extended, and in December M. Foucher, instead of commencing excavations near Jelalabad, as had been his original intention, left, under instructions from Paris, for Balkh, 350 miles North of Kabul in the neighbourhood of the Hindu Kush, which had been regarded as the special archaeological province of Sir Aurel Stein. Britain's last act during the year was to demand the removal of the Bolshevik representative from Kabul, a step which was characterised in Russian quarters as an "ultimatum."

IRAQ.

The draft Mandate remained unratified throughout the year, as was also the Treaty of Alliance between Britain and the new Kingdom which had been concluded in the previous October. In April, however, a protocol which also is awaiting ratification by the Constituent Assembly was concluded, whereby the Treaty will lapse on the admission of Iraq into the League of Nations or within four years at the latest after the ratification of peace with Turkey.

The British Government had already in the Treaty of Alliance undertaken to use its good offices to secure the admission of Iraq into the League of Nations, and proposed to do so as soon as the northern boundary is settled and a stable Government established. It is probable, therefore, that the original treaty will lapse long before the period of four years after the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne have expired. The British forces will then be withdrawn and the independence of the kingdom of Iraq will be complete.

Under the new arrangement ratification by the Constituent Assembly no longer holds the importance it previously did. Preparations for the elections to this Assembly occupied the greater part of the year. In the course of them the King himself went on tour in order to arouse an interest in and an enthusiasm for the new departure. These preparations did not, however, pass without incident. Quite early in their course the Shia Ulema of Nejef and Kerbela, always centres of trouble, intervened with a threat of excommunication of all who participated in them. The Government acted very promptly and effectively. The principal leaders who were Persian subjects were immediately expelled. As an expression of sympathy about twenty or thirty Persian Ulema and their supporters left the country. No effort was made to hinder their departure which led to little expressed regret. After some months of

exile the members of the party, or at any rate some of them, showed a desire to return, and it was intimated to them that no objection would be taken to their reappearance in Iraq provided that they refrained from anti-Government agitation.

The Treaty of Lausanne eased the situation considerably so far as the northern frontier is concerned. By that instrument the boundary is to be defined within nine months of the conclusion of the Treaty or otherwise referred to the League of Nations. In April it was found necessary to eject a small Turkish force from Kowanduz on the Iraqi side of the frontier but in debatable land, where it had become a centre of intrigue and disaffection. This action led to no untoward consequences, although as late as October deputies to the Turkish Parliament were chosen or said to be chosen by certain elements in Mosul and District.

In October a draft Constitution was promulgated. It provided for a limited monarchy and responsible Government with a Parliament consisting of upper and lower houses. Incidentally the Capitulations regime will be abolished. Before it can become law, however, the Constitution must be approved by the National Assembly. Shortly afterwards a Cabinet crisis broke out. The Cabinet which had held office for a year and had performed much useful work during that period resigned in consequence of a taxation question. Jafar Pasha El Askari, the retiring Minister of Defence was entrusted with the formation of a new Government. This Government was strongly nationalist in character, but stated its determination to complete the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty and supplementary agreements and to secure the ratification of the draft Constitution. It also promised to devote thought and energy to the agricultural and industrial development of the country.

Sir Percy Cox, the High Commissioner, brought a distinguished career, at first in the Indian Political Service and in the Indian Foreign Office, to a close by his retirement in September, and he was succeeded by Sir Henry Dobbs who became High Commissioner and at the same time Chief Adviser to King Feisal and his Government.

PALESTINE.

Under the Constitution promulgated on August 10 of the previous year, the year 1923 should have seen the election of a Legislative Council by the inhabitants of Palestine. This Council was to have consisted of 10 officials to be nominated by the High Commissioner and 12 members to be elected by the population, the High Commissioner himself being the Chairman. The elected representatives were to have been chosen proportionally by the three main religious communities provided, however, that the Jewish and Christian Communities should have not less than two representatives each. The Council was to have had

full powers of legislation except in matters of finance and in those specially dealt with in the Mandate. That is to say it **was** not within the power of the Council to prevent the admission, under safeguards, and settlement of Jews in Palestine, or to put other arbitrary obstacles in the way of the development of a Jewish National Home there.

Early in the year elections of secondary electors for the Legislative Council were proceeded with, but the majority of the Arabs—Christian and Moslem—refused to exercise the franchise, and as a consequence the elections were not general. Further efforts to induce the Arab leaders to co-operate having proved ineffectual, on May 29 an Order in Council was published whereby the elections that had been held were declared null and void, the Constitution was suspended, the election of a Legislative Council deferred, and an Advisory Council ordered to be nominated with limited powers similar to those of the Advisory Council that had been dissolved. At the same time 8 representative Moslems, 2 Christian Arabs, and 2 Jews were nominated members of the Advisory Council. These had accepted nomination before their names were published, but so great was the pressure that was brought upon them that, with the exception of 3 Arabs and the 2 Jews, they all resigned, and in the circumstances it was found impossible to constitute even an Advisory Council.

The pressure brought to bear on these nominees was in part directed by the Arab Delegation which was in London when the year opened. They had gone there in the hope that the new Government, which included some politicians who had encouraged them on their previous visit, would accept their point of view, but in this they were greatly disappointed. Their interviews with the Secretary of State and others led only to a reaffirmation of the Balfour Declaration as interpreted by Mr. Churchill in June, 1922. The Delegation, therefore, returned to Palestine where another self-appointed Arab Congress was convened. In the meanwhile rumours had reached Palestine of a treaty that was being negotiated between the British Government and the King of the Hedjaz by which it was thought the status of Palestine would be affected. The excitement was increased by a communication from the King of the Hedjaz in which he led the Palestinians to believe that under the treaty Palestine was to be included in a Federation of Arab States. To allay the excitement a pronouncement by the Palestine Government was found necessary to assure the people that there was no question of including Palestine in a political Federation.

The Christian Arabs had been as disturbed as the Jews at the prospect, for there was no desire on their part to become in any sense subjects of Mecca. The Sixth Palestine Arab Congress which met in June found difficulty, in view of the contradictory and apparently authoritative statements, in estimating the situation, but resolved that the treaty in the form of the

British version so far as it affected Palestine did not meet with their approval and would be rejected by them. The Congress adopted many other resolutions of less general interest, but in one foreshadowed the policy of refusing to pay taxes. After the Congress another delegation was sent to London, but little notice being taken of it there it soon returned.

In the meanwhile the mandate for Palestine had been finally and officially confirmed by the League of Nations at the end of September, and with that confirmation the last shred of justification for the contention that the Government's position in Palestine was illegal was dissipated. Nevertheless the attitude of the Arabs appeared as intransigent as ever. To reconcile them the Government offered to constitute an Arab Agency with powers similar to those of the Jewish Agency provided for in the Mandate. The offer was communicated to a gathering representative of a constituency wider than that of the Moslem Christian Association, including men supposed to hold moderate views as well as extremists, but the reply was a unanimous refusal. The Government thereupon decided to make no more advances, and proceeded to constitute an Advisory Council consisting of officials only, in fact, to introduce Crown Colony Government.

Despite the foregoing it must not be thought that the Arab population of Palestine was unanimously behind the Moslem Christian Association and the Delegations. This was not the case even with the politically vocal section of that population. There was considerable evidence of this in the course of the year, in the popular receptions offered to the High Commissioner in the course of his tours, in the protests raised against the actions of the Delegation and its members, in the picturesque treaty of peace and friendship made between the Jewish settlement of Petach Tikvah and the neighbouring Arabs who had made a treacherous attack upon it two years earlier, and above all in the formation of a new moderate Liberal Arab party in opposition to that which had hitherto held the field. It must be admitted, however, that the programme of the new party did not suggest much moderation.

In the course of the year the frontier between Palestine and Syria was finally agreed upon by the two Mandatory powers and steps completed for the transfer of territory consequent thereon.

The status of the Transjordan State was regularised in the course of the year by the recognition of the British Government of the independence of the Emir Abdullah's Government. However, the new State remained in effect a British Protectorate with a British adviser, a British subvention, and British military assistance in the background.

This last was called for in September when British troops aided in the prompt suppression of a revolt that broke out among the Emir Abdullah's subjects. The revolt was said to

be in part due to the economy wave which, commencing in London, had penetrated even as far as Amman. Financial difficulties formed also one of the causes that led to the sudden resignation of Eiza Pasha el Eikabi, the Prime Minister, immediately after his return from a mission to London.

SYRIA.

The State of Syria although less disturbed than in the previous year was yet not without its anxieties. However, the large armed forces kept by the French in the country rendered any serious internal threat to French rule out of the question. The year opened with a vacancy in the High Commissionership which was not filled until April, and then by General Weygand. The appointment of another General to what would in normal circumstances be a civil office in itself indicated the serious view that was held of the general situation. The principal anxiety was then with regard to Turkish threats and intrigues. The difficulties of the French were increased by the obvious sympathy felt with their northern neighbours by a large portion of the population of Syria. Hostile activity was not confined to threats and intrigue. At times Kurdish brigands or irregulars, and even Turkish troops for whom presumably the Angora Government declined responsibility, crossed the frontier, and occasionally Turkish troops in relatively considerable numbers were reported to be concentrated on the other side. Syrian opinion is in particular opposed to the separation of their country into four or five administrative areas, an expensive arrangement but one believed by the French to render their task less difficult. Among the other demands of the population are one for the free election of a constitutional Government, the amnesty of political prisoners, the liberty of the Press, and the destruction of reports by spies in the French service.

Towards the end of the year elections were held in which a considerable portion of the electorate participated, but only under pressure. The protests against the interference by the French Government in the elections were loud and widespread, and even the assistance of the military had to be sought in order that order might be preserved. This was the state of affairs in such towns as Damascus and Horns. Simultaneously further north French troops and Gendarmes were attacked by mounted Arabs and the Commandant of Gendarmerie in the Aleppo State killed.

ARABIA.

Almost the entire year was spent in negotiations between the British and the Hejaz Governments with a view to the conclusion of a treaty between them. At the end of the year the negotiations were still continuing. One of the difficulties in the way of a settlement was the relation of Palestine to the proposed

greater Arab State or Federation. The principal provision of the treaty as drafted by the British Government runs as follows:—

His Britannic Majesty undertakes to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs in Iraq and Transjordan, and in the Arab States of the Arabian Peninsula, exclusive of Aden. As regards Palestine, his Britannic Majesty has already undertaken that nothing will be done in that country which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the Arab community. In the event of the Governments of any or all of these territories expressing the desire to enter into an association for Customs or other purposes with a view to eventual confederation, his Britannic Majesty will, if requested to do so by the parties concerned, use his good offices to further their desire.

His Hashimite Majesty recognises the special position of his Britannic Majesty in Iraq, Transjordan, and Palestine, and undertakes that in such matters as come within the influence of his Hashimite Majesty concerning these countries, he will do his best to co-operate with his Britannic Majesty in the fulfilment of his obligations.

The purpose of the treaty is also to secure peace between the different States of the Arabian Peninsula.

Although the relations between the various Arab chieftains and princes during the year were perhaps more peaceful than in recent previous years, the period under review did not pass without disputes and strife. In March war broke out again between the Imam of Sanaa and the Idrisi of Asir. The Emir of Asir himself died while the operations, if so they might be termed, were proceeding, but his forces obtained the advantage. Earlier in the year it was believed that the redoubtable Ibn Saud was inclined to a period of rest while he consolidated his dominions, and it was thought that an oil concession with which he was concerned would tend towards the development and consequent pacification of one of the regions in which this prince was specially concerned. In June, however, the Wahabis were reported again to be mobilising and their threats were causing much alarm in Transjordan. The withdrawal of the British subsidy to Ibn Saud was doubtless one of the causes of the feeling of unsettlement. In another direction also Ibn Saud displayed activity in the massacre of a caravan of Yemenite pilgrims to whom he took exception on religious grounds.

In the course of the summer a dispute which might have led to unpleasant consequences arose between the Egyptian and Hejaz Governments. The annual pilgrimage from Egypt to Mecca was as usual accompanied by a number of Egyptian medical officers. This year, however, the Hejaz Government objected to the presence of the medical mission on the ground that it constituted an interference with Hejazian affairs and independence. The Egyptian took exception not only to the objection but also to the terms in which it was couched, and as the Hejazian authorities declined to modify their attitude, after an unpleasant interchange of communications, the entire mission, pilgrims, holy carpet, subsidy of 8,000Z. and all was ordered to return to Egypt without proceeding to Mecca. In Egypt the

resentment found loud and widespread expression, and relations between the two kingdoms still remained strained at the end of the year.

INDIA.

The Delhi session of the Indian Legislature commenced in January. The desire of Indian political leaders that the Legislature's powers should be extended was manifested in many debates, and dissatisfaction was expressed at the refusal of the Secretary of State to consider at the present time the possibility of the expansion of the Constitution. The question of opportunities for service to Indians came into prominence on several occasions. On February 16, Mr. Phiroze Sethna moved in the Council of State that "the system of compulsory national military training and service be introduced. . . ." He emphasised the necessity of preparing Indians fully and quickly to assume the responsibilities of national defence and pointed out that such preparation was essential to the establishment of responsible government. The resolution was lost by 4 votes. On February 17 the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, announced the policy of Government regarding the Indianisation of the Army, in the first instance eight units of cavalry or infantry were to be selected to be officered by Indians, and Indian officers holding commissions in the Indian Army would be gradually transferred to Indianised units so as to fill up the appointments for which they might be qualified by their rank and length of service. In the Council of State Sir Dinshaw Wacha moved a resolution urging the maintenance by the Indian Government of a force of its own, separate from the British Army, for special and continuous service in India, instead of the present system, under the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, whereby regular British regiments go to India for a tour of duty. The resolution was lost. On January 25 Sir Malcolm Hailey announced the decision of H.M. Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the organisation and the general conditions of service of the Superior Civil Services of India. On February 16 Mr. Innes outlined the views of Government as to the future fiscal policy of India. It proposed to accept in principle, the proposition that the fiscal policy of India may legitimately be directed towards fostering the development of industries; that regard must be had to the financial needs of the country and to the present dependence of the Government of India on import, export, and excise duties for a large part of its revenues; that the principle should be applied with discrimination, with due regard to the well-being of the community and subject to certain safeguards suggested in the Report of the Fiscal Commission; and that a Tariff Board should be constituted, for a period not exceeding one year in the first instance, as an investigating and advisory body. The Commerce Member in his speech emphasised that this marked an epoch

in the fiscal history of India. Whereas, hitherto, the tariff had been a revenue tariff, the principle of protection was now being adopted. In the Council of State, on February 16, Mr. Kale moved a resolution, which was accepted, asking that effect be given, at as early a date as practicable, to the recommendations of the Industrial Commission regarding an inquiry by an expert committee into the question of industrial finance and industrial banks. On February 27 the question of company *versus* State management of railways was discussed. Mr. Innes, on behalf of the Government, said that when the contracts with the East Indian Railway and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Companies expired, these railways would be taken under direct State management, although it must not be implied that Government was adopting this course because they were convinced that State management was the best system for India. The Legislature showed its usual interest in Indians abroad. On March 5 Mr. Sastri moved a resolution, which was passed, demanding a partial fulfilment of the rights of equality of Indians in Kenya. The Legislative Assembly approved draft notifications specifying the terms and conditions on which emigration for the purpose of unskilled labour should be lawful to the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, the Unfederated Malay States, and to Ceylon and the Mauritius.

The Budget for 1923-24 was introduced on March 1 by the new Finance Member, Sir Basil Blackett, who said that a deficit of Es. 17[^] crores (11,666,666Z. at 15 rupees to the pound) was expected, making a total deficit in the last five years of 100 crores of rupees, whilst the public debt had grown from a total of 411 crores on March 31, 1914, to an estimated total of 781 crores on March 31, 1923, 557 of which is classed as productive and 224 as ordinary or unproductive. India's export trade was slowly improving; currency reserves were strong, and there had been a satisfactory fall in prices. As regards the estimates for 1923-24, a lump reduction, based on the recommendations of the Eetrenchment Committee, had been made, after allowing for inevitable delay in giving full effect to the Committee's proposals and for extra expenditure in closing down establishments. The total gross expenditure, including the working expenses of commercial departments, was 204¹/₃ crores of rupees, or 11 crores less than in the previous Budget. The gross revenue, based on the assumption that trade conditions would continue much as they were, was estimated at 198¹/₂ crores, leaving, on existing taxation, a deficit of 5*85 crores, which would, however, be reduced to 4.26 crores by crediting to revenue the interest on securities in the Gold Standard Reserve in addition to that on securities in the Paper Currency Reserve. New taxation was necessary to make up the uncovered deficit of 426 crores. The only practicable tax was the raising of the salt duty to Es. 2 annas 8 per maund. In the general discussion on the Budget the Commander-in-Chief claimed that the reductions proposed in military

expenditure were real and substantial, covered the whole field of military expenditure, and provided for a considerable reduction in the number of fighting troops, both Indian and British. In giving his concurrence to the cuts he had been primarily influenced by the paramount need of balancing the Budget, but the reductions would leave the fundamental organisation of the Army practically unimpaired. When the demands for grants were discussed, motions for reduction in many items were made, of which some were carried to the extent of Bs. 1,76,10,001. Of these cuts, Rs. 1,14,00,000 under Railways and Es. 3,00,000 under Miscellaneous, were restored by the Governor-General in Council. When the Finance Bill came up for discussion, the Assembly failed to secure a formula which would cover the deficit by a form of taxation acceptable to the House. The proposed enhancement of the salt tax was rejected, but was restored under the certifying power of the Governor-General.

The most important Bills passed during the Session were: Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Bill, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, 1923, popularly known as the Racial Distinctions Act, the Workmen's Compensation Bill, the Mines Bill, (which provided for the progressive and definite prohibition of employment of children in mines, and for the limiting of the hours of work in a mine to 60 hours above ground and to 54 hours below ground per week, and also prescribed a weekly holiday), the Cantonments Bill, and the Traffic in Women and Children Bill.

In view of the imminent elections to the Assembly the Simla session commenced in July, instead of September, as in former years. On July 9 the Commander-in-Chief made an important announcement that except for the reduction of one cavalry regiment, which was still under consideration, His Majesty's Government had agreed to all the reductions of troops recommended by the Government of India on the advice of the Inchcape Committee and himself. Questions relating to the Constitution again engaged a good deal of attention, especially the Governor-General's emergency powers of certification under sec. 67B of the Government of India Act, which had been invoked during the previous session. It was sought to restrict the powers of the Council of State by providing that it should have no power to deal with money Bills. This motion, and one to relax the control of the Secretary of State over the Government of India and to expand the powers of Ministers, were lost. Other matters of constitutional importance discussed were the Secretary of State's powers in matters of purely Indian interest where the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are in agreement, and the procedure to be followed when the apportionment of financial liabilities may be in dispute between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. The question of Indians overseas was particularly in the forefront, one suggestion being that the Government of India's

contribution to the League of Nations should be considered in the light of grievances of Indians in the mandated territory of Tanganyika and ex-German islands in the Pacific Ocean. A resolution was carried recommending further representations to the British Government regarding claims advanced by Indian residents in Kenya in respect of franchise, immigration, segregation, the Uplands, and similar matters. This Eesolution was followed by the passing of Dr. Gour's Immigration into India Bill, designed to regulate the entry into and residence in British India of persons domiciled in other British possessions.

The release of Mr. Gandhi and other non-co-operators was urged in debate. Sir Malcolm Hailey, on behalf of the Government, felt himself unable to agree to releasing these prisoners, and the motion was lost. With regard to the Public Services Commission it was sought to provide that no alteration in the pay, pension, or other service conditions of Imperial Indian Services should be made before giving the Indian Legislature an opportunity for an expression of its opinion, and that before any action on the recommendation of the Royal Commission is taken an opportunity should also be given to the House to express its views thereon.

The policy of the Government in undertaking a present or contingent liability to the Imperial Bank for losses consequent upon the failure of the Alliance Bank of Simla was criticised.

A considerable amount of important legislative business was transacted. A Bill to amend the Indian Stamp Act, the principal object of which was to raise the stamp duty on promissory notes payable on demand, was passed. The Paper Currency Act of 1923 was amended by an Act designed to reduce the working costs of the mints by obviating the necessity of re-coining of withdrawn coin at a time when the stock of silver coin is large, and to increase from 5 to 12 crores of rupees the amount of emergency currency which may be issued against Bills of Exchange. The object of the latter provision was to provide additional currency at times when the trade demand is greater than usual. A Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to legal practitioners, the primary object being the creation of an Indian Bar and the abolition of distinction between various branches of the profession, was introduced.

The close of the Session marked a stage in the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Indian Administration, as it was the last day of the last Session of the First Legislative Assembly constituted under the Government of India Act.

Thereafter, elections for the new Assembly were held, at which Swarajist candidates, who aim at the establishment of full responsible government for India, were successful in obtaining 50 seats out of a total of 145. In the Provinces, outside the Central Provinces, the Swarajists nowhere obtained majorities sufficient to achieve their end of "mending or ending the

Councils/ * In the Central Provinces, of the members filling the 54 elective seats, 50 are classed as Swarajists and they will be in a clear majority in the Council which numbers 69 in all. In Bengal, their full strength is 49 out of an elected membership of 113 and a total council of 139.

On the frontier outlaw gangs were active. Majors Orr and Anderson, of the Seaforth Highlanders, were murdered near Landi Kotal on April 9. Mrs. Ellis, wife of Major J. V. Ellis, of the Border Regiment was killed at Kohat, and her daughter kidnapped. Captain Watts, of the Kurram Militia, and Mrs. Watts were murdered at Parachinar on November 8. The supposed murderers of Majors Orr and Anderson were arrested by the Afghan Government at the request of the Government of India and were to have been tried by Islamic law, but on August 29 they escaped from Kabul gaol.

A new Treaty between the British and Nepal Governments relating to commercial intercourse between British India and Nepal was concluded, the British Government agreeing to grant, in respect of all trade goods intended for immediate transmission to Khatmandu, the capital of Nepal, a rebate of the duty paid.

CHAPTEE VIII.

THE FAR EAST: CHINA—JAPAN—THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

CHINA.

DUBING 1923, as in the ten previous years, China has continued to be a house divided against itself. Neither the northern nor the southern faction has been able to extend its authority over the whole country. The northern militarists, represented by Marshals Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu, still believe that the South will come automatically under their rule if only they control the mountain passes in the provinces of Szechuan and Hunan. In response, the southern militarists, represented by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, aim at occupying the Province of Kiangsi at any cost so as to launch flank movements against the northern expeditionary force, and at the same time penetrate into the lower part of the Yangtze now in the hands of the North. Marshal Wu Pei-fu has made various moves against the South, but he has always been hampered by the rivalry of one or more of his colleagues who, jealous of his ascendancy, have tried to overthrow him, and in consequence much of his time and energy was spent in dealing with them, though his struggles against Marshal Tuan Chi-jui in 1920 and against Marshal Chang Tso-lin in 1922 were not repeated. Equally the southern leader is less occupied with attacks against the North than in securing himself against his former colleague, General Chen Chung-min, who commands a large number of troops in the neighbourhood of his headquarters. A tendency is, however, developing for the

several factions to line themselves into two hostile camps by formal agreement, so that the North will have a collaborator in General Chen Chung-min in the South and the South collaborators in Marshals Tuan Chi-jui and Chang Tso-lin in the North. This combination, if effected, will make it possible for a decisive issue to be reached between the two parties.

Repeated efforts were made during the year to oust Sun Yat-sen from the Kwangtung Province, but without success. In February his partisans regained Canton from his opponent, Chen Chung-min, and he returned to that city, which he succeeded in retaining throughout the year. In April he was strongly attacked by Shen-Hung-ying, who had been nominated Governor of Kwangtung on the recommendation of Wu Pei-fu, but he held his own, and beat off the invader. In December he was attacked by his old opponent, Chen Chung-min, at the instigation, it was believed, of Wu Pei-fu, but again held his own. Being very short of money, and unable to extort any more from the traders of Canton, he made a move to seize the Customs revenues in that city, which are all practically hypothecated for the payment of foreign Loans, and this brought British and French warships on the scene.

The Government in Peking may be no more representative of China than that in Canton, but as it occupies the historical seat of Government and remains the only *de facto* Government recognised by the Powers, it is still considered the supreme authority in the land. On January 1, 1923, President Li Yuan-hung issued a circular telegram to military governors, deploring the ceaseless warfare and asking them to meet at a conference to discuss means of composing their differences and disbanding their mercenary troops. They all accepted his invitation, but refused to desist in any way from their military preparations. Marshal Wu Pei-fu demanded from the Government the appointment of two of his nominees as Governors of the Provinces of Kwangtung and Tukien. The Prime Minister, Chang-Shao-tseng, objected, and accordingly he was turned out of office (March 8). He soon, however, made his submission, and was allowed to resume office on March 20 on the understanding that he would authorise and finance military expeditions against Kwangtung, Szechuan, and Hunan. This brought him into conflict with Parliament. A vote of no-confidence was passed by the Upper House and referred to a committee by the Lower House. The President, although prohibited by the Provisional Constitution from taking any action for or against the Cabinet, was on this occasion on the side of Parliament.

On March 10 the Government addressed a Note to Japan declaring the Chino-Japanese Treaties of 1915 to be abrogated, and requesting Japan to name a day to discuss with China the retrocession of Port Arthur and the Kwangtung territory and other questions arising out of the abrogation. The Japanese Government replied that the attempt on China's part to abrogate

valid treaties, especially after the consideration China had received at Washington, "should be regarded as contrary to the accepted principles of international intercourse/" and declined politely but firmly to enter into any further discussion. This reply caused an outbreak of violent anti-Japanese feeling in China. There was a boycott of Japanese goods accompanied by mob violence, in consequence of which the Japanese Government sent a Note to China announcing that it would protect Japanese subjects in case of outbreaks beyond the control of the Chinese authorities, and simultaneously despatched four destroyers to China.

It was thought that the resignation of General Chang-Shao-tseng for the second time on June 6 would enable the President to nominate a Cabinet acceptable to Parliament, but he himself was soon the victim of a well-organised plot. On June 7 police and military officers made embarrassing demands of him for arrears of pay; on the 8th, a mass meeting was held to call for his resignation; on the 9th, the police went on strike; and on the 10th, there were more demonstrations against him and the supply of water and electricity to his house was cut off. These moves, as was subsequently proved, were instigated by militarists who were opposed to his pacific policy. At the same time the commanders of the Peking Gendarmerie disclaimed any responsibility for his personal safety, and this compelled him to escape to Tientsin on June 11. The Governor of Chihli, General Wang Chen-ping, met him at the station and detained him there until he had surrendered his seals of office and renounced all claim to the Presidency. He yielded under pressure, but as soon as his freedom was restored he withdrew his renunciation, and a few days after went to Shanghai and attempted without success to organise another Government. Those members of the outgoing Cabinet who were on good terms with Marshal Tsao Kun returned to duty and officiated jointly as President, but General Chang-Shao-tseng was still distrusted by him and refused permission to come back.

The election of a new President proved a very difficult problem. According to law, that dignitary can be elected only by a three-fourths majority vote of two-thirds of the members of both Houses of Parliament. Over two hundred members had gone to Shanghai with President Li Yuan-hung as a protest against the military intrigue, and it was impossible to form a quorum of either House to meet during the months of July, August, and September. Meanwhile Mirsial Tsao Kun, who was highly eager for the supreme executive post, became impatient, and offered handsome bribes to the absentee members to return to Peking. Half of them, together with the six hundred members who had remained in Peking, saw in the election a means of making money, and bargained with him on the price of their votes. After much haggling, he was duly elected on October 6 by 420 votes out of 520, for each of which he paid

5,000 dollars (500Z.). A new Constitution which had been in course of preparation for several years, and on which political factions had not been able to agree, was hastily passed and promulgated on October 10, and is now the supreme law of China [see under Public Documents in this volume].

During the short period that he has been President, Marshal Tsao Kun has shown himself not at all favourably disposed to those who took advantage of his ambition to make him pay for his election. He has rejected most of the demands made by the Parliamentarians, especially that of the Speaker of the House for nomination to the Premiership, and has appointed to Cabinet posts men who enjoy public confidence: Mr. Sun Pao-chi as Prime Minister, Dr. Wellington Koo as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Wang Ke-min as Minister of Finance, and Dr. Wang Chung-hui as Minister of Justice. He supports Wu Pei-fu in his campaign against the South and the South-West, and draws upon the already depleted treasury at Peking for funds to finance his troops. With his position and the resources at his command, he would probably be able to make the northern half of China more closely united and better governed, were it not that Marshal Chang Tso-lin, who is firmly established in Manchuria, sides with the South and thus sandwiches Peking between two enemies.

The main difficulty with Peking throughout the year has been financial. The revenue that should be remitted to it by the provinces is detained by the Tuchuns or military governors for military expenditure, and the only available receipts, the Customs and salt revenues collected and controlled by foreign officials, are appropriated, the former wholly, the latter partly, for the redemption of Government debts, domestic and foreign. Although the Minister of Finance has recently reduced the monthly expenditure of the Central Government to 3,000,000 dollars (300,000Z.) and limited subsidies to military governors to 1,500,000 dollars, he finds it impossible to raise these sums without defaulting on obligations charged on the salt tax. The outstanding unsecured debt for which no sinking fund has been provided amounts to 500,000,000 dollars, the annual interest on which not having been paid for several years has accrued to 50,000,000 dollars. Creditors from the four corners of the globe have pressed the Chinese Government for repayment, but in vain. It was suggested that the proceeds from the increase of duty from 5 per cent, *ad valorem* to 7½ per cent, on all imports and to 10 per cent, on certain articles of luxury, to be authorised by a special Conference as provided by the Treaty relating to the Chinese Customs Tariff signed by Nine Powers in Washington in February, 1922, should be devoted to repayment of these debts, but as France has not yet ratified the Treaty, it is difficult to know when the Conference will meet, far less when the new tariff will be put into operation.

France's delay is due to a curious reason. During the war,

France, together with Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Belgium, allowed her share of the Boxer Indemnity payable by China in accordance with the Protocol of 1901 to be postponed by five years. In December, 1922, China was to resume her payments, and in reply to inquiries from France notified her that they would be made in ordinary French currency, meaning thereby the depreciated franc. The French Government refused to receive them on the ground that the Indemnity as prescribed in the Protocol was a gold debt and could not be paid in francs which had depreciated from their gold value by over 200 per cent. China on her part contended that the Indemnity was originally fixed in her own currency, silver, and that only in deference to the wish of the Powers to avoid fluctuations in exchange between gold and silver had she consented to convert her payments into gold currencies at the rates stated in the Protocol. So long as she discharged her debt to France in a gold currency she would have fulfilled her duty, quite irrespective of its appreciation or depreciation; and she had failed so far to be convinced that the franc was no longer a gold currency. France would not listen to these arguments, but insisted that a gold debt could be discharged only in gold francs, quoting as instances the payments of French indemnity to Prussia in gold francs in 1891 and the fact of the League of Nations being paid in gold francs. General Chang-Shao-tseng while Premier tried to appease France by consenting to pay her in gold in return for an early ratification of the Washington Treaty, but was prevented by Parliament from making any payment. China then proposed unofficially to submit the dispute to arbitration or to an independent committee of jurists for decision, but France again refused. Her anger was all the greater because she had arranged to use the unpaid instalments of the Boxer Indemnity for the rehabilitation of the Banque industrielle de Chine, the bankruptcy of which in 1921 was a fatal blow to French prestige in the Far East. The deadlock remains, and a solution of the difficulty is as far off as ever.

More serious for the country even than the Government's financial default were the ravages of bandits. The relics of defeated armies which, unable to find a means of living, had turned robbers by profession and, organised on military lines, had for years been ransacking towns and villages and kidnapping wealthy persons for ransom, became more uncontrollable as time went on, and this year began to attack foreigners in increasing numbers. Their exploits reached a climax when on May 6, 1923, they derailed the Shanghai-Peking Express at Lincheng, seizing all the luggage and capturing 300 passengers, over twenty of whom were foreigners, mostly American. They made these march for tens of miles to their headquarters on the hills, and kept them in filthy caves which no stranger could find. With such hostages in their hands they could not be safely attacked by the Government troops, and delegates were therefore

despatched by the Government and the Foreign Legations to treat with the ringleader, Sun Mei Yao, for the release of the captives. After many hitches he consented to their release early in June on condition that the bandits under his control should be enrolled in the regular army and he himself made a Brigadier-General. Eoused by this mishap, the Ministry of Communications organised a bureau for railway police in order to ensure the safety of passengers, and it is now safe again to travel on Chinese railways. Bandits, however, have not been diminished in number or ferocity. In the provinces of Honan, Shantung, Anhwei, and Yunnan, captures of harmless citizens occur almost every other week, and many foreign missionaries have been kidnapped. All foreign captives have so far been released, but Chinese captives are usually neglected by the authorities and often pass years of their life in miserable captivity.

The Powers were not satisfied with the measures taken by the Chinese Government, and after long deliberations a Note was sent to Peking on August 10, signed by the representatives of sixteen Governments, demanding substantial compensation for the victims of the Lincheng outrage, and calling upon the Chinese Government to organise a vigorous campaign against the brigands in Shantung, Chihli, Kiangsu, Honan, and Anhwei, and to punish the Military Governor of Shantung, two generals, and the officer in charge of the train. After six weeks the Chinese Government replied offering reparation for injuries while denying liability, and rejecting all the other demands of the Powers. Thereupon the Diplomatic Body, on October 4, sent another Note calling attention to the special character of the Lincheng outrage, the design of the bandits having been principally by means of kidnapping foreigners to bring pressure to bear on their own Government, and again demanding compliance with the Note of August 10. When Tsao Kun became President, he adopted a more compliant attitude towards the Powers than his predecessors, and sent a Note to the Legations in Peking virtually accepting the demands presented on August 10, and promising especially to punish the Military Governor of Shantung. How little he was in earnest was shown by the announcement next day that the Governor had already retired and had been promoted to the rank of Marshal! The Powers took no further action, and foreigners felt less secure than ever.

Gloomy as this picture of China seems, there is fortunately a brighter side to it. If one half of her territory is terrorised by bandits, the other half, which is equal in size to Europe without Bussia, still thrives. The Treaty Ports under foreign protection in which the wealth of the Chinese is largely accumulated are immune from molestation, and the districts near them are fairly tranquil. Moreover, the Chinese, with characteristic aplomb, go on cultivating their soil and exchanging commodities even under gunfire or threats of robbery. The harvest has been

exceptionally good, and the supply of food is therefore ample. Commerce is not so good as it might have been, but the Chinese are easy to satisfy and well content with what they have been able to make. The cotton industry that has grown up quite recently suffers from scarcity of raw material and American competition, but efforts are now being made to extend cotton-growing areas in China. It is difficult to develop industries under the present political conditions, but only by such development can employment be found for those who at present live on mercenary soldiering and organised plundering.

JAPAN.

The general progress of events in Japan during the first eight months of the year 1923 appeared to indicate that the country had at length turned a difficult corner and was regaining a measure of well-being which had been conspicuously absent since the war boom. Therefore, the earthquake on September 1, apart from its dire local results in loss of life and property, dealt a severe blow to the national prosperity.

At the resumed session of the Japanese Diet which was opened on January 23, the Prime Minister, Admiral Baron Tomosaburo Kato, and the Foreign Minister, Count Yasuya Uchida, both alluded with satisfaction to Japan's friendly relations with foreign nations, and to the Government's intention to put forth the best efforts to enhance Japanese prestige and accelerate economic expansion and development. These utterances were in the nature of a reply to the remarks of Viscount Kato, Leader of the Opposition, at the meeting of his party, the Kensei-Kwai, on January 21, when he declared that the Government were sacrificing Japanese interests in order to obtain the goodwill of foreign countries.

The Kato administration, however, made a further announcement early in the year of its firm adherence to the principles laid down at the Washington Conference, and, in pursuance thereof, formulated anew its determination of non-interference in the internal political affairs of Eussia, with special reference to the situation in Eastern Siberia. Whilst sympathetic towards the possibility of further conferences with a view to the conclusion of a Russo-Japanese Commercial Treaty, the Government regarded the still outstanding settlement of the Nikolaievsk affair as an entirely separate matter, having no bearing on an eventual treaty. The Government further declared that a settlement of this affair must be reached before the Japanese forces could be withdrawn from North Saghalien. Preliminary and unofficial conversations were conducted between M. Joffe, the representative of the Soviet Government, and Viscount Goto, the Mayor of Tokio, at whose invitation M. Joffe, who was in bad health, visited Japan in March, in order to undergo treatment at Atami, the well-known Japanese spa. Towards the

end of June private conferences began between Mr. Kawakami, Japanese Minister to Poland then on leave, on behalf of the Japanese Government, and M. Joffe, although the latter's health was still precarious. The Japanese Government had agreed to these deliberations, in view of the strong desire evinced by Eussia to open preliminary negotiations, although there were many points of difference between the two Governments. The exchange of views continued for a month, and was then adjourned, the ground covered including the recognition by Eussia of her debts, the Japanese fishing rights along the coasts of the Maritime Province of Siberia and Kamchatka, granted under the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905), and the Saghalien question. At the beginning of October the question of the opening of official negotiations was still under consideration, but no actual meeting took place before the end of the year.

In regard to Sino-Japanese relations, the Kato Government held the view that these were susceptible of improvement, and lost no opportunity of emphasising their desire to contribute to that end. Some surprise and disappointment was felt, therefore, when a Note was received from the Chinese Government, under date of March 10, in which the desire was expressed to open discussions with the Japanese Government, with a view to the abrogation of the Sino-Japanese Treaties and Notes of May 25, 1915, especially in relation to the restoration of Port Arthur and Dairen to China. A Note in reply was handed simultaneously to the Chinese *Charge d'Affaires* at Tokio and to the Chinese Government at Peking on March 14, in which the Japanese Government pointed out that the Treaties and Notes in question were formally signed by representatives of both contracting parties invested with full powers and had been duly ratified by the respective heads of State. Therefore, an attempt on the part of the Chinese Government to abrogate perfectly valid Treaties and Notes could not only fail to contribute to the advancement of friendly relations between the two countries, but should be regarded as contrary to the accepted principles of international intercourse. The Note concluded with a firm intimation that the Japanese Government found nothing susceptible of further modification in the Treaties, especially in view of recently concluded arrangements with China on certain matters stipulated therein.

In March, the negotiations which had been carried on at Tokio between the American Ambassador, Mr. Warren, and the Japanese Government, culminated in the cancellation by mutual agreement between the Governments of the United States and Japan of the Ishii-Lansing agreement. In view of the provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty, signed at the Washington Conference, a new understanding had become possible.

In pursuance of the policy of retrenchment initiated when the Kato administration came into power, and also in consequence of the opportunity offered by the terms of the Washington

Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armament, substantial economies were possible in the Budget for 1923-24 introduced in the Diet in January. The defence estimates showed a reduction of some 29,000,000Z. for the naval and military services. On the other hand, an additional sum of 2,600,000Z. was allocated to education, an increase of nearly 45 per cent. Steps were also taken to readjust and somewhat lighten the taxation of income and business. A sum of 55,000,000Z., spread over seventeen years, was set aside for the purpose of modernising army equipment and fortifications.

Early in March, a total of 7,000 men were discharged from the naval arsenals at Tokio, Kioto, and Kure, and by August a reduction of 500 officers, 500 special service officers, and 11,000 non-commissioned officers and men had been effected in naval personnel. On September 20, nine warships which were destined to be scrapped in accordance with the Treaty were struck off the Navy List, and assembled for scrapping at the Yokosuka and Kure Naval Yards.

On February 10, a measure of far-reaching importance was brought forward by the Government in the House of Representatives for the introduction in Japan of the Jury System. The Bill was immediately referred to a Committee, and on March 21 passed the Upper House, its provisions to become effective in 1928. Subsequently the Government despatched a commission of judicial and legal experts from the Ministry of Justice to England where they were given the fullest opportunity of investigating the workings of the Jury system.

Already in January, the health of the Prime Minister, Admiral Baron Tomosaburo Kato, had given rise to some anxiety, and on August 24 his death took place, Count Uchida, the Foreign Minister, being appointed Acting Premier, *ad interim*. On August 28, Admiral Count Yamamoto was summoned by the Prince Egent and invited to form a Cabinet. Count Yamamoto, whose last administration was in 1913, accepted the task of forming a Ministry and was still engaged upon it when the earthquake took place. On September 2 the chief posts in the Cabinet were filled, the remainder being completed a few days later. It is of interest to record that the first meeting of the Yamamoto Cabinet took place in the open air, amid the smoking ruins of the official quarter of Tokio. The composition of the Cabinet was as follows :—

Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs	Admiral Count Gombei Yamamoto.
Minister of Navy.	Admiral Takeshi Takarabe.
Minister for Home Affairs.	Viscount Shimpei Goto.
Minister of Finance.	Mr. Junnosuke Inouye.
Minister of War.	General Baron Giiohi Tanaka.
Minister of Justice.	Mr. Hiranuma.
Minister for Agriculture and Commerce	Baron Kenjiro Don.
Minister of Communications	Mr. Ki Inukai, M.P.
Minister of Education.	Mr. Okano.
Minister of Railways.	Mr. Iohiji Yamanouchi.

At fifty-eight minutes and forty-seven seconds past eleven o'clock on the morning of Saturday, September 1, Japan experienced one of the greatest earthquake disasters in her history, the area affected measuring some 80 miles deep by 120 miles broad, and including the prefectures of Tokio, Chiba, Kanagawa, Saitama and Shidzuoka. More than 1,700 distinct shocks were recorded on the seismograph in the three following days, and shocks of varying intensity continued for two months. In Tokio the greatest damage was caused by the conflagration which broke out immediately after the first shock, eighty-three separate fires occurring within twenty-four hours. When these had been got under control on the morning of September 3, the only two wards of the city which had escaped were Ushigome and Azabu. The Ministries of Home Affairs, Finance, Education, Agriculture and Commerce, Communications and Railways, as well as the Metropolitan Police Headquarters and the Arsenal, were all burnt down, and almost all the other Government offices, including the Foreign Office, suffered damage. In addition, earthquake or fire destroyed the Ministry of the Imperial Household, the famous Niju-bashi (the bridge entrance to the Imperial Palace), the French and Italian Embassies and the Chinese and Dutch Legations. The Imperial University, including the Library, and other University Buildings, the Uyeno Railway Station, many schools, hospitals, newspaper offices, and the big departmental stores, with the greater part of the business quarter of Tokio, were reduced to ruins. Over 300,000 houses were consumed, rendering 1,356,000 people homeless in Tokio alone. The loss of life in Tokio was very great, the dead numbering 67,106, and the missing 34,536, whilst 41,296 were injured.

Yokohama was practically blotted out, great destruction having been caused by fire and by a tidal wave, in addition to the earthquake. The casualties were 23,440 dead, 3,183 missing, and 24,053 injured, and some 70,000 houses were destroyed.

The Government, which, as stated above, was actually in process of formation at the time of the earthquake, took immediate steps to meet the situation. Martial Law was promulgated throughout the devastated area, and, in view of the destruction of railway communications and general transport, the Navy was utilised to the fullest extent to bring supplies for the relief of the sufferers from other parts of Japan to convenient points on the coast of the affected districts. Troops were employed in repairing telegraph and telephone lines and bridges, clearing up debris, burying the dead and erecting temporary shelters for the living. A large contingent of Red Cross workers was despatched to the scene, the whole of the staffs throughout the country having been mobilised. By September 12 some 12,000 cases had been dealt with in Tokio alone, and mobile relief columns were at work on measures of sanitation and disinfection.

The Emperor contributed 10,000,000 yen for relief purposes and help in money and in supplies began to pour in from almost every quarter of the globe.

The Prince Regent, who had refused to leave Tokio, took an active part in relief work and the Empress, who had been in residence with the Emperor at the Imperial Villa at Nikko, returned to Tokio when communications were restored, and visited daily the refugees in the city, many of whom were sheltered in the parks of the Imperial Palace, which had been thrown open to them immediately after the disaster.

The marriage of the Prince Regent to Princess Nagako Kuni was postponed at the Prince's desire, in view of the calamity.

The Government's energetic steps resulted in restoring in a temporary measure the electric, gas, and water supplies in Tokio, as well as a section of the tramway lines, within a week, and railway communication with Kobe was resumed on October 28. The first consignment of raw silk since the earthquake from the Port of Yokohama was effected, by the combined efforts of State, municipal, and private enterprise, on September 17.

The Diet met in special session on December 11, when the help and sympathy received by Japan from foreign nations were recognised in the speech from the Throne and in resolutions passed in the House of Peers and House of Representatives respectively. On December 13 the Prime Minister reviewed the situation in a speech in the Diet, and outlined the schemes for the restoration of Tokio and Yokohama, which were under consideration by the Capital Restoration Council and the Restoration Board established by an Imperial Edict issued on September 16.

The supplementary estimates introduced in the Diet, and approved for the preliminary work of restoration for the period 1923-29, amounted to 468,438,849 yen. This sum included a State expenditure of 342,192,800 yen, and advances of 15,325,402 yen to the Prefectures of Tokio and Kanagawa, as well as subsidies of 89,225,917 yen to the above Prefectures and the cities of Tokio and Yokohama.

A Bill in relation to the organisation and procedure for the execution of town planning in Tokio and Yokohama also was passed, pending the complete working out of the details.

NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES.

Up to the present the "Volksraad" (People's Council) of the Netherlands East Indies, which had been instituted in 1916 as a first instalment of popular representation, has consisted of 49 members, of whom the President is appointed by the Crown, and 24 members, viz., 8 Natives and 16 Europeans and Foreign Orientals, by the Governor-General, the remaining 24 members, viz., 12 Natives and 12 Europeans and Foreign Orientals, being

elected by the members of provincial and communal councils. This year a new scheme was placed by the Government before the Volksraad and adopted by that body at its meeting of July 17, by which it will consist of 60 members besides the President, of whom half will be native subjects who are not Dutchmen, and the other half Dutch subjects and foreign subjects other than Dutchmen, the latter as nearly as possible in the proportion of 1 to 12. The President of the Volksraad will be appointed by the Crown. Twenty native subjects who are not Dutchmen, 15 Dutch subjects and 3 foreign subjects who are not Dutchmen are to be elected; the other members are to be appointed by the Governor-General. In this way the Volksraad will advance a further stage towards representative Government; the centre of gravity indeed will be shifted from the appointed members, who, with the President, are at present in the majority, to the elected members. The proportion which is now 25 to 24 will become 23 to 38.

The revision of the Government Regulation, which had become necessary owing to the changed relation of the Netherlands East Indies to the Mother Country (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1922, p. 267), has not yet been effected. Early in October, indeed, the Government in Holland, on the suggestion of the Volksraad, had introduced a Bill to replace the former "Regulation regarding the Governance of the Netherlands East Indies" by the "Law regarding the Statute of Government of the Netherlands East Indies," but owing to the Cabinet crisis in Holland this Bill had not been dealt with by the end of the year. An important new feature proposed in the Bill is the election, from the Volksraad, of a Legislative Council of 19 members in receipt of a salary, which will be a permanent body engaged in legislative work. The task of the Volksraad itself would then mainly be limited to discussing the Estimates and kindred matters. The Estimates will be fixed in sections by the Volksraad, and the Governor-General and the Dutch Parliament will no longer decide upon the separate items of the Budget, but will have to approve it in sections. The Volksraad itself will be extended by the new Law on the lines mentioned above, whilst on the Council of India, which advises the Governor-General, natives will also be allowed to sit.

The economic revival which commenced in the autumn of 1922 continued throughout 1923, and exercised a favourable influence on the public finances. The policy of retrenchment, moreover, was pursued vigorously. That policy, commenced at the end of 1921, had brought down the estimated deficit for 1922 of 250 million guilders, to not more than about 119 millions; but the forecast for 1923 proves to have been too optimistic, and for that year a deficit of over 181 million guilders is expected. For 1924 the total expenditure is estimated at nearly 718 millions, 76 millions less than in 1923, and the total revenue at over 637 millions, *i.e.*, nearly 24 millions

more than in the preceding year. The deficit will thus be reduced to about 81 million guilders. The deficit on the Ordinary Budget, which, for 1923, is expected to be over 86 millions, has been estimated for 1924 not to amount to more than 23 million guilders.

In 1923 the Netherlands East Indies again issued several loans, which were placed without difficulty. In January 5,000,000(M., being part of the 1921 loan, was issued in London, the rate of interest being 6 per cent., and the price of issue 98 per cent. In May it was decided to issue loans to a further extent of 300 million guilders. Of these 65 millions were issued in Holland, the rate of interest being 5 per cent, and the price of issue 90 per cent., and of the total subscriptions only 13 per cent, were allotted. In London 6,000,000l. were issued, the rate of interest being 5 per cent, and the price of issue 92 per cent., and in New York 25,000,000 dollars, the rate of interest being 5½ per cent, and the price of issue 90 per cent. These two latter loans also were greatly over-subscribed. The floating debt sank in 1923 from 430 to 225 million guilders.

During the year a visit was paid by the Governor of the Philippines, General Wood, to the Governor-General, for the discussion of certain administrative matters.

CHAPTER IX.

AFRICA: RHODESIA—THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND—SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE—MOZAMBIQUE—MOROCCO—EGYPT.

SOUTH AFRICA.

SOUTHERN Rhodesia's emergence from the tutelage of the Chartered Company to the status of a self-governing colony was historically and politically the outstanding event of 1923.

The grant of responsible government marked the termination of a keen struggle between protagonists of conflicting political ideals: the advocates of a system of government by Rhodesians for Rhodesians, and those who espoused the policy of incorporation with the Union. The late Mr. Bonar Law, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, announced in the House of Commons on February 27, that it was the intention of His Majesty's Government to give effect to the Referendum (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1922, p. 274) at the earliest possible moment, and that the procedure would be by way of an Order in Council annexing the territory, and by Letters Patent providing for the Constitution. In the House of Lords, on July 10, the Duke of Devonshire, as Colonial Secretary, announced, in reply to Earl Buxton, the satisfactory conclusion of negotiations between the Colonial Office and the British South Africa Company regarding both Northern and Southern Rhodesia. This statement

synchronised with the publication of a White Paper (Cmd. 1914), giving the correspondence bearing upon the proposals for the settlement of outstanding questions relating to the claims of the Company.

A fortnight later, at an extraordinary general meeting of the shareholders of the Chartered Company, the provisional arrangement arrived at by the British Government and the Company was approved.

The agreement thus sanctioned provided for the termination of the Company's administrative responsibilities upon a defined date, and the settlement of all claims by the Company against the Crown and by the Crown against the Company; the latter being left free to carry on their commercial business without interruption or distraction. Included among the assets retained by the Company were mineral rights in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, about 4,000,000 acres of land in Southern Rhodesia, 2,500,000 acres in North-Eastern Rhodesia, a half interest of land in North-Western Rhodesia for a period of forty years, and all township plots (other than administrative buildings), irrigation works, livestock, etc. The resolution moved by Sir Robert Maguire, and seconded by Sir Henry Birchenough, at the shareholders' meeting, was as follows: "That this meeting hereby approves the provisional arrangement made with His Majesty's Government in terms of the correspondence which has been laid before the meeting." The terms of the settlement are set forth in the Colonial Office letter to the British South Africa Company, dated July 10, 1923.

As foreshadowed by Mr. Ormsby Gore (Under-Secretary for the Colonies) in the House of Commons on July 25, the date fixed for the setting up of responsible government was October 1; but the regime of the Chartered Company practically came to a close, after an existence of thirty-five years, on July 28, when the Legislative Council in Salisbury reached the end of the session.

Southern Rhodesia was thus formally annexed to the Crown and incorporated as a part of His Majesty's dominions on September 12. On this date the King sent the following message to Sir Francis Drummond Chaplin: "The King sends his best wishes and warm greetings to his loyal subjects in Southern Rhodesia on the occasion of the formal incorporation of the territory in His Majesty's dominions."

The new territory is thus defined by an Order in Council: "The parts of South Africa bounded by the Portuguese possessions, by the Union of South Africa to a point opposite the mouth of the river Shashi, by the river Shashi to its junction with the Tati and Ramaquaban rivers, then by the Ramaquaban river to its source, thence by the watershed of the rivers Shashi and Ramaquaban until such watershed strikes the Hunter's Road (called the Pandamatenka Road), thence by that road to the river Zambesi, and by that river to the Portuguese boundary.

The said limits include an area of ten miles' radius round Fort Tuli, but exclude the area of the district known as the Tati district, as defined by the Charter of the 29th day of October of 1889, incorporating the British South Africa Company/' Southern Rhodesia has an area of 148,573 miles. The territory first came under the British flag in 1889, when it was acquired by the British South Africa Company under Royal Charter.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Eobert Chancellor, formerly Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Mauritius and of Trinidad, was appointed first Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the new colony. Sir John Chancellor sailed from Southampton on September 7, and landed in Cape Town on the 24th. He arrived in Salisbury on October 1. Upon this date the ceremonial inauguration of Eesponsible Government took place in the capital. The Governor, having read a congratulatory message from the King to the people of Southern Rhodesia, requested Sir Charles Coghlan to form the first Ministry. The foil owing Ministers were afterwards sworn in: Premier and Native Affairs, Sir Charles Coghlan; Colonial Secretary, Sir Francis Newton; Treasurer, Mr. D. P. L. Flynn; Attorney-General, Mr. E. L. Hudson; Mines and Public Works, Mr. H. U. Moffat; Agriculture, Mr. W. M. Leggate. Two days later the Governor opened a special session of the old Legislative Council called for the purpose of passing a loan bill and ratifying the agreement with the Colonial Office to accept responsibility for financial arrangements for the year beginning April 1, 1928. The sum sanctioned to be raised by loan was 3,000,000Z., of which 2,000,000Z. was required to meet payments due to the Imperial Government. The Legislative Council passed this measure on October 12.

For political purposes Southern Rhodesia has been divided into fifteen electoral districts, each of which will return two members to the Legislative Assembly. The new Parliamentary register remained open to the end of the year, and the elections will probably be held in April, 1924.

Members of the South African Labour Party, at their conference at Durban, in January, agreed to the elimination of the Socialist objective from the constitution. This decision facilitated a *rapprochement* with the Nationalist Party. The proposal had been the subject of prior conversations between Colonel Creswell (Labour), and General Hertzog, the leader of the Nationalists (see ANNUAL EEGINSTEE, 1922, p. 275). General Smuts, the Premier, severely criticised the compact in a striking speech delivered at Ceres (Cape Province) in April. He said the leaders of the Nationalist Party hated the South African Party with a hatred that knew no bounds; that in Parliament Nationalist Party speakers had called the late General Botha a traitor to his people; and that their "holy principle," embodied in the idea of a republic, had become an article of barter in order to gain the co-operation of Labour, Colonel Creswell, in the same month,

issued a counteracting statement, to the terms of which General Hertzog gave concurrence. Colonel Creswell expressed unalterable opposition to what were regarded as the separatist aims of the Nationalists, and said that General Hertzog had given him an explicit undertaking that should a Nationalist Government come into power after the next General Election no member of his party would use his vote to upset the existing constitutional relations of South Africa with the British Crown.

Mr. Tielman Eoos, a prominent Transvaal Nationalist, speaking at the opening of the Transvaal Nationalist Congress, in September, declared that the compact with Labour merely postponed the declaration of independence. He maintained that as independence remained a basic principle of the Nationalist Party there could be no abandonment of independence propaganda outside Parliament.

The Parliamentary session, the third of the fourth Parliament since the inauguration of Union, was opened by the Governor-General, H.B.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught, on January 19. The voting strength of the House of Assembly was made up as follows : South African Party 72, Nationalists 46, Labour, etc., 16. Among the Bills placed upon the Statute Book during the session was the Urban Areas Act, a measure designed to mitigate evils arising from natives flocking to the towns. It provides for their residence in locations, or villages, under the supervision of the municipalities whose powers of administration are accordingly increased.

There was considerable opposition to the measure. A conference representative of the native races and coloured people of the Union met at Bloemfontein in July, and passed a vote of no-confidence in the Government. It was also resolved that, as the British Government had stated that it had no power to intervene in behalf of the native races of South Africa, the time had arrived when the Bantu people should consider the advisability of supporting a republican form of government. This evidence of the awakening of a political conscience in the native masses is more significant in view of the direction in which the development is tending.

The House passed 34 Bills; 2 were withdrawn and 20 were dropped or held over. The Women's Enfranchisement Bill met with the same fate as a similar measure brought forward a year previously, but upon this occasion it was lost by only 1 vote: 56 to 55. The Session ended on June 23.

Mr. Patrick Duncan, Minister of the Interior, in the Senate on May 7, promised to give consideration to a resolution moved by Senator Munnik to set apart certain areas in the Union for Indian residential and trade purposes. This policy of segregation was subsequently endorsed by General Smuts at the South African Party Congress, at Maritzburg, in July. The Premier's statement of policy regarding Asiatics was unanimously approved by the delegates attending the Bloemfontein Congress a month

later. General Smuts stoutly adhered to his policy during the discussions on the status of Indians within the Empire at the Imperial Conference. He strongly opposed granting the franchise to Indians in South Africa in a speech evoking widespread approval in the Union and bitter dissent in India.

At these deliberations the Premiers of the Dominions fully discussed India's claim to full rights of citizenship, including the vote, for every Indian in every part of the Empire; towards it General Smuts adopted an attitude of uncompromising opposition. The gravamen of his case was that the granting of the franchise to Indians in South Africa must be followed by the enfranchisement of the native population of the Union. The result of this would be the swamping of the whites and the destruction of the civilisation they had built up during the last two hundred years.

Before returning to the Cape, General Smuts laid the foundation-stone of the South African pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition, towards the cost of which the Union Government had granted 50,000Z. General Smuts arrived in England on September 24, and sailed for South Africa on November 16.

Another matter in which, outside the boundaries of his own territory, the Union Premier found himself in conflict with a section of public opinion in Europe, concerned the methods adopted for the suppression of the Bondzelwart rebellion (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1922, p. 273). In the House of Assembly on May 22, General Smuts defended the policy of the Government and the actions of its Administrator in the South-West Protectorate, which had, he said, averted a terrible catastrophe. He undertook that Major Herbst, who was at that time attached to the Administration of the territory, should place the official reports upon the affair before the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

These documents came up for consideration at Geneva on July 31. South Africa was represented by Sir Edgar Walton, High Commissioner in London, and Major Herbst. Subsequently the Committee issued its report to the Council of the League. The conclusions arrived at were that a complete and authoritative inquiry into the causes of the rebellion had not been held according to the undertaking of the Mandatory Authority, and that Major Herbst had been a member of the Administration of the territory, and that, notwithstanding the sincerity and spontaneity of his replies, his evidence could only be regarded as one-sided in behalf of the local administration. The Committee further reported that the rising was brought about by the "unfortunate feelings of distrust which characterised the attitude towards each other of the white and black races. . . . The first cause of the trouble was the discontent of a people driven to exasperation by grievances which they probably exaggerated and for which they could obtain no redress/' The second and more

immediate cause was attributed to the despatch of police officers to the tribe at a time when the gravity of the situation made a high civil official preferable. The Committee did not dispute that the Administration acted wisely in taking prompt measures to uphold authority when hostilities became inevitable, but it disputed the employment of aircraft for other than intimidating purposes, and also the presence of the Administrator, a Civil Servant and representative of the Mandatory Power, as director of the military operations.

Sir Edgar Walton, in a critical rejoinder, repudiated the "incredible conclusions*" arrived at by the Committee, and asked for recognition of what South Africa had done for the natives of the territory. His reply was considered by the Council of the League. After a lengthy discussion it was announced in December that the Council had framed a resolution more favourable to South Africa, and had expressed the hope that next year's report of the Mandatory Power would reveal progress in the administration of the territory. An appreciatory reference was also made to what the Union Government is doing to ameliorate native conditions in the mandated area.

On May 22, General Smuts was questioned in the House of Assembly on the Bondzelwart affair. He emphasised that aeroplanes were not employed until the rebellion had actually broken out. He said he had a certain amount of sympathy for the Bondzelwarts, but whatever their grievances they were not justified in rebelling. They were hopelessly wrong, and the punishment inflicted upon them was inevitable.

Mr. G. E. Hofmeyr reported satisfactory progress during the year with various public works in the South-West Protectorate. The railway line from Windhoek to Gobabis is expected eventually to link up Rhodesia somewhere in the neighbourhood of Wankie, or Lobatsi on the Vryburg-Bulawayo line. Expenditure upon harbour improvements at Walfish Bay is expected to exceed 750,000Z. sterling. With a portion of this sum it is hoped to provide Walfish Bay, destined in the opinion of Sir George Cunningham Buchanan to become a port of first class degree, with an adequate water supply of about 500,000 gallons daily, carried to the port by means of a pipe line twenty miles long. The construction of this is expected to cost about 50,000Z.

Mr. Jagger, Minister of Railways, was asked in Parliament to sanction the construction of new railway lines measuring over 2,000 miles and involving an expenditure of more than 8,000,000Z. Owing mainly, however, to the present financial burden of non-paying lines and to the fact that working costs are 75 per cent, higher than in 1914, he held out no prospect of additional construction works, other than those already sanctioned, before 1925. Within the four provinces of the Union there are now over 9,500 miles of railways. Of the twenty-two branch lines under construction at the beginning of the year three have been completed, Two are in the Cape.

One is from Kamfersdam to Winter's Bush (35 miles), and the other from Belmont to Douglas (53 miles.) Both serve promising agricultural and mineral areas. There was also opened during the year a line from Settlers to Tuinplaats, in the Transvaal.

Outside the Union, in Belgian territory, considerable headway was made with railroad construction schemes. In March a start was made with the Ilebo line, which is to connect Bukama, the present terminus of the line from Cape Town with the Lower Congo. Eventually this line will be continued from Ilebo to the Matadi-Leopoldsvillerailway, connecting with Boma at the mouth of the Congo. Along a section of the Cape-Cairo project the Belgians are cutting the equatorial belt between Aketi, north-west of Stanleyville, and Eejaf, on the Sudan-Uganda frontier of the White Nile, with a motor road 1,114 kilometres in length. An important scheme reported upon during the year is the bridging of the Zambesi at Sena. This will connect the Trans-Zambesi and Central African lines, and provide unbroken railway communication between Beira and Blantyre.

Another notable work completed during 1923 is the Har-tebeestesport dam. This is situated about 20 miles to the west of Pretoria. The area submerged at full supply level is 6£ square miles, and from this huge reserve an increasingly-valuable section of the Transvaal is expected to benefit materially. The Vaal River barrage was also opened during the year, by the Governor-General, in July. This scheme was undertaken by the Band Water Board for conserving the water of the Transvaal's most important stream. By means of the barrage, a lake, 40 miles long with a surface area of nearly 7 miles, has been constructed. This lake, containing 13,500,000 gallons, is deemed to be of a capacity sufficient to give the Witwatersrand a perennial supply of water for all purposes. In the Cape, Prince Arthur laid the foundation-stone of the Lake Arthur dam, on the Great Fish Biver. This is to irrigate about 60,000 acres of rich agricultural land in the Cradock district.

To the general regret of the people of South Africa, H.B.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught decided to relinquish the office of Governor-General, which he had held with such marked success and distinction since 1920. In his farewell address he eloquently testified to the warmth of his feelings for the people of the sub-Continent, to which expression of hearty goodwill and esteem the inhabitants made sincere response. Prince Arthur was entertained at a farewell banquet by the Government, at Pretoria, on December 5, and two days later he sailed for England via the East Coast. He is succeeded by the Earl of Athlone. Princess Arthur, accompanied by the Earl of McDuff, left Cape Town on November 16.

Interest was sustained in the proposal to establish an East Coast harbour in Union territory, north of Durban, in order to

lessen the dependence of the Transvaal upon the Portuguese port of Delagoa Bay. Mr. Jagger stated in the House of Assembly, on January 25, that Sir George Cunningham Buchanan, the eminent engineer consulted by the Government (see *ANNUAL BEGISTEE*, 1922, p. 275), had reported favourably upon the scheme, and that his report would be presented to Parliament with the suggestions of the Railway Board. Mr. Jagger added that Sir George thought the construction of a harbour would be practicable at Kosi Bay, Mbangenek, or Sordwana Bay. Sordwana was favoured as being the site where the necessary work could be carried out expeditiously and at a reasonable cost. It was believed that at Sordwana ships could be coaled faster and cheaper than at Delagoa Bay, and superior railway connections constructed at a relatively moderate figure.

At a later date the Union authorities received a report from Sir George Buchanan upon the development of the harbour facilities of Table Bay. His scheme was based upon an expenditure of over three million sterling for extensions which he advised putting in hand without delay, as South Africa, being one of the countries of the future, needed adequate port accommodation and equipment.

Sobhuza I I, Paramount Chief of Swaziland, arrived in London early in the year with a deputation of chiefs and headmen, to lay before the Colonial Office certain grievances connected with the administration of the territory. Sobhuza's case was presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Crown officials by his legal advisers, and the Chief and his followers returned to Swaziland in February. During their stay in London they were received by the King at Buckingham Palace.

The aged and picturesque Khama, Chief of the Bamangwato, died at Serowe, Bechuanaland, on February 2, at the age of 93 years. Throughout his long life this enlightened native potentate, the last of the great aboriginal rulers who have played so prominent a part in the history of South Africa, remained faithful to his British allegiance. He set his people an example of sobriety, honesty, and courage. Under his wise direction they prospered. He was succeeded by his son, Sekgoma.

In August the European Advisory Council of the Bechuanaland Protectorate resolved to ask the High Commissioner to consent to the Union Government being asked to state the conditions upon which the Protectorate would be admitted to the Union. General Smuts intimated at a later date that the time was not yet suitable for raising the question. Whereupon a section of the community expressed itself in favour of incorporation in the new Crown Colony of Southern Rhodesia.

Little can be reported in the settlement of outstanding difference between the Government of the Union of South Africa and the Mozambique. Colonel Brito Camacho, High

Commissioner of Mozambique, who was in Lisbon early in the year, publicly declared that the negotiations for the renewal of the Convention between the two countries broke down because the Union Government declined to give a guarantee regarding the construction of a rival port to Delagoa Bay. In the House of Assembly, a few weeks later, General Smuts replied to this and other criticisms. He announced that the Convention between South Africa and Portugal, dated 1909, would come to an end on March 31. In the event of Portuguese terms for a fresh Convention being too excessive he would be obliged to ask the House to sanction the construction of an East Coast port in Union territory.

In Lisbon, on March 31, Sir Lancelot Carnegie, British Minister, and Colonel Brito Camacho, signed the *modus vivendi* (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1922, p. 276) which is to operate pending the construction of the new Convention. This development aroused the disapproval of Portuguese Nationalists. Senhor Alvaro de Castro asserted that with the re-establishment in the *modus vivendi* of only that part of the old Convention relating to Labour, Portugal had surrendered her best weapon for negotiating a new agreement on more advantageous terms. On July 4 Senhor Azevedo Coutinho, ex-Minister of Marine, was nominated by the Lisbon Senate to be High Commissioner of Mozambique, in place of Colonel Brito Camacho, who had resigned. A week later the nomination was ratified by 38 votes to 3.

In October Dr. Augusto Soares, Minister of Foreign Affairs, headed a delegation to London for the purpose of raising a Mozambique loan and negotiating the Convention. There was an interview with General Smuts on October 12. The deliberations were then postponed for resumption at a later date in South Africa. Dr. Soares reported upon his return to Lisbon that the delegation had succeeded in making satisfactory loan terms.

MOROCCO.

Spanish Morocco.—Although during 1923 Spain continued to regard Morocco as a Protectorate, yet in fact the bulk of what had been the Spanish zone was organised under practically independent native rulers, and Spanish authority was confined to a few places on the coast. The substitution of a civil for a military regime, which had been decided on at the end of the previous year, was actually carried out in January, a civilian High Commissioner, Senor Silvela, being appointed, to whom the generals commanding the eastern and western districts were subordinate. But this step came too late to pacify the tribesmen in the Rif district, who having tasted the sweets of independence would not hear of subjection on any terms; and in the Tazerut district Raisuli was induced to give a nominal allegiance to Spain

and to keep the tribes in order only by being allowed to exercise undisputed authority.

On January 29 the Spanish prisoners in the hands of Abd-el-Krim, the Eif leader, the survivors of the much larger number captured after the battle of Anual in 1921, were released by him for a ransom of 160,000Z. raised chiefly through the efforts of Don Horacio Echevarrieta, a Bilbao industrialist. They reached Spain in a dreadful condition, and the story of their sufferings created a revulsion of feeling, particularly in military circles, against the decision of the Government not to take the offensive any more in Morocco. Permission was asked and obtained to organise a Volunteer Army for service in that country. The Eifis, however, did not wait for the Spanish attack. Under the able leadership of Abd-el-Krim they had acquired an excellent military organisation; and regarding the establishment of a civil regime and the payment of an exorbitant ransom as signs of weakness on Spain's part, they themselves took the offensive with the object of driving the Spaniards out of the country, and more than once they were nearly successful. Isolated attacks commenced in March, and during April the Spanish Government found it advisable to enter into indirect negotiations with the Moors with a view to forestalling a concerted attack in the summer. In pursuance of the same object it tried to disunite the Moors by investing one of their number, Idris-er-Eifi, with the governorship of the Eif province—a purely nominal position in the existing state of affairs. For a time this policy had no result, and at the beginning of June, owing to repeated attacks by the Eif tribes, the situation in the Spanish zone was very serious. They attacked not only in the East, near Melilla, but also in the West, where they threatened the Spanish lines of communication between Tetuan and Sheshuan. To make matters worse for the Spaniards, it was currently reported that Eaisuli, disgusted with attacks made on him in the Cortes, intended to retire into private life, which would have been the signal for the tribes whom he kept in order to join in the attack on the Spaniards. Fortunately Eaisuli did not carry out this intention, and on June 4 the Spaniards succeeded in inflicting a severe reverse on the Moors at Tizziaza near Melilla, killing, it was said, no less than 600.

This success saved Melilla for the time being, but the Eifis were not to be daunted. On August 16 they made a concerted and thoroughly prepared attack on the extreme right of the Spanish advanced line on the Melilla front, and surrounded the important position of Tafarauin, inflicting over 250 casualties on the Spanish forces which advanced to relieve it. A few days later, however, a second attempt at relief was successful, though at the cost of some 800 casualties. This victory was gained only in the nick of time, as the garrison could not have held out longer, and the loss of this post would have exposed Spain to a disaster comparable to that of two years previously. As it was, the new

Cabinet which now came into power at Madrid considered it feasible to adopt once more a forward policy in Morocco, as had all along been advocated by the military party. Strong protests were, however, made by numerous sections of the public, and it was the Moors who for the rest of the year kept the offensive in their hands, though they ventured on no operations of any importance.

French Morocco.—Towards the end of February Marshal Lyautey, the Resident-General, was attacked by a serious disease of the kidneys which necessitated his removal to Paris. There in June he underwent an operation from which he made so good a recovery that he was able to return to his post in Morocco. The affection and esteem in which he was held by the native population were testified by the genuine consternation into which they were thrown by the news of his illness.

The Marshal, who was 68 years of age, would probably after his illness have retired from his office had he not been anxious to see first the "pacification" of French Morocco completed, by the subjection of those few tribes occupying land of value which still refused to acknowledge the Sultan's, *i.e.*, French authority. Before his illness he had made plans for the "encircling" of the chief of these tribes, on the northern slopes of the Atlas. On April 5, after having been delayed for some time by the weather, an expeditionary force under General Poeymirau set out from Taza, and gained a number of successes in consequence of which some tribes submitted; but the "pacification" had not yet been completed at the end of the campaign.

On April 5 the railway from Rabat to Fez, the first section of the projected broad-gauge system of Morocco, was opened. It runs via Meknes and Kenitra, is 155 miles long, and has a bridge over the Bu Regrig near Rabat and a viaduct 115 yards long over another river.

Tangier.—Perhaps the most important event in the history of Morocco during 1923 is the settlement of the problem of Tangier. For several years Tangier with its hinterland had been administered under a system of capitulations which, in spite of the port's unrivalled natural advantages, stifled its trade and made it a scene of stagnation and decay. The three Powers most vitally interested, England, France, and Spain, had long recognised the need of a new and better system, but had been unable to compose their jealousies sufficiently to agree on any change. In June of 1923 they had got so far as to consenting that a committee of experts should meet at London to draft a new Convention, but at the last moment difficulties supervened which seemed likely to make this attempt at a solution abortive like so many before it. However, in October the committee did actually meet, and setting to work in a spirit of compromise and goodwill produced a Convention for the Port of Tangier which it laid before a meeting of French, English, and Spanish delegates at Paris on December 11; and they after due consideration

signed it on December 18. The British and French delegates signed as plenipotentiaries, but the Spanish delegates made the reservation that the Convention should be accepted by the Government at Madrid.

The chief new provisions of the Convention were the appointment of a *Mendub*, a kind of Pasha, for the administration of the natives, and a Committee of Control and an International Legislative Assembly for the general government of the zone, which was declared permanently neutral. These provisions rendered obsolete *ipso facto* the capitulations. The Committee of Control was to consist of the eight consular officers of the Powers signatory to the Act of Algeciras, and the International Assembly of 17 European members, including 4 French, 4 Spanish, 3 British, and 9 native, viz., 6 Moslems and 3 Jews. France was anxious that the whole of the 9 native members should be appointed by the Mendub. As this official was the representative of the Sultan who was entirely under French influence, this would have meant that the native members were practically French nominees, so that half the votes in the Assembly would belong to France. The Spanish delegates objected to this arrangement, and in deference to their wishes, France consented that the Spanish consul should nominate one Arab and one Jew among the native members. Both France and Spain further obtained the right of conveying troops through the port of Tangier. The Convention was to be in force for twelve years.

The Convention leaves room for international bickerings, but from the point of view of good government it is a great improvement on the Capitulations, and if accepted by Spain and Italy may be expected to remove the chief obstacles to the commercial revival of Tangier.

EGYPT.

The constitutional position which had shown noticeable signs of improvement towards the end of the previous year made a marked advance during the earlier half of the year 1923. For a few months the terms of the Constitution remained unsettled, the principal nominal difficulty centring round the relations between Egypt and the Sudan. The real stumbling block was, however, the desire of the King to retain for himself greater powers than the framers of the Constitution were willing to grant. All differences were, however, arranged before the end of April. The Constitutional Party as distinguished from the Absolutists gained practically every point contested, although certain concessions which had no real effect on the questions of principle were granted. By this instrument Egypt became a constitutional monarchy with a Government responsible to Parliament. The clauses regarding the Sudan that had been introduced into the draft constitution, to which the British

Government objected, were deleted, and the status of this country remained a subject for discussion between the two Governments. The settlement was hailed with general satisfaction and enthusiasm, and representatives of all parties hastened to express their congratulations. The only exception was that of the Wafd, Zaghloul Pasha's adherents, the party of intransigents to whom any settlement was abhorrent, but the effect of their objections was insignificant. This satisfactory result was, however, not attained without a further constitutional crisis. At the opening of the year the Government was in the hands of Tewfik Pasha Nessim, the mouthpiece of the autocratic policy of the Sultan, and at the same time the nominee of the Zaghloulist extremists. This Government fell in February. Considerable difficulty was encountered in forming a successor and a month passed before Yehia Pasha, a former Cabinet Minister but a non-party man, accepted office. Before this or any other Cabinet could be formed it was found necessary to secure the removal from the Sultan's service of Hassan Bey Nasha't, who had close relations with the Wafd and at the same time considerable influence at Court. During the interregnum the Wafd got into further trouble with the short lived British military Governorate at Cairo. The issue by them of a manifesto in the midst of the Cabinet crisis led to the warning of six leaders, the arrest of other prominent agitators, and the closing of Zaghloul's house which was their headquarters. The arrests led to some minor demonstrations which were, however, of little consequence. But shortly afterwards there was a renewal of bomb throwing, within one week three bombs being thrown at parties of British soldiers. The six Wafd leaders who had been warned were thereupon arrested. This event marked the end of the period of political crime and stringency in Egyptian affairs.

A new Constitutional Government was formed. Zaghloul Pasha was released on grounds of ill-health within ten days; the military governorship of Cairo was suppressed; the Constitution was adopted; the imprisoned and deported members of the Wafd were released. Finally, at the beginning of July, British Martial Law under which Egypt had been controlled since the beginning of November, 1914, was withdrawn, an indemnity act being adopted simultaneously.

Zaghloul did not return to Egypt until the middle of September. His reception was hearty but fell far short of that of two years earlier. It seemed that recent events had diminished his influence, and now that the Egyptians had the responsibility for their own government they had less attention to give to political extremists. Zaghloul seems to have attributed his reception to the moderation or at any rate quietness that he had recently displayed, and within a few days of his arrival in Egypt he returned to his earlier practice of violent denunciations. Even before Zaghloul's return the Government found it neces-

sary to warn some of his followers of the probable consequences if they continued their violent fulminations. The target of Zaghoul's attacks were the Constitution and the British Government. The grant of independence he denounced as a sham, a cover for some nefarious British design. These outbursts took place during the election campaign in the first stage of which the Zaghoulists gained a signal victory, 90 per cent, of the secondary electors returned being supporters of that statesman. A very large proportion of the voters, however, abstained from voting altogether. The final stage of the elections was not concluded before the end of the year, but it is probable that when they take place Zaghoul Pasha and his party will be in control of the Parliament.

CHAPTER X.

AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES—CANADA—ARGENTINA—BRAZIL—CENTRAL AMERICA—CHILE—COLOMBIA—CUBA—MEXICO—PERU—URUGUAY—OTHER REPUBLICS.

THE UNITED STATES.

SOCIAL phenomena were decidedly ebullient in the United States during 1923, and political affairs were rather on the sluggish side. While news of the 1918 Armistice had unquestionably penetrated, by 1923, into every section of the country, that very considerable potential energy which the Allies had desperately drawn into the World War, continued to explode from time to time into kinetic energy. The year opened, for example, with a big parade of American Legion veterans in Los Angeles, carrying through the streets before the local opera house banners reading: "We Are Not Unreasonable, Only Patriotic: Gadski Shall Not Sing To-night," and "Real American Money For Real American People: Gadski Shall Not Sing." The prima donna, although not unaccustomed herself to moments of heady wilfulness, was apparently dumbfounded at this outburst and readily agreed not to sing, out of respect for the nationalism which she had unwittingly evoked. Farther north, the Pacific University near Portland, Oregon, launched a "campaign" to raise 50,000 dollars for an "American Legion Chair of American History and Patriotism," while throughout the East various State legislatures devoted themselves to the promotion of Bills for combing out of the schools all history text-books which failed to give an adequate account of American motives and American achievements. A typical Bill was the one introduced into the New York legislature, barring from the schools every text-book that "ignores, omits, discounts or in any manner belittles, ridicules, falsifies, distorts, questions, doubts or denies the events

leading up to the Declaration of American Independence or connected with the American Revolution." This measure failed to pass chiefly because the State educational authorities insisted that they themselves could be safely trusted with the character of the text-books used and that such a sweeping prohibition as the one proposed would raise endless controversies. Still, the Bill was, broadly, in harmony with the excessive nationalism which had been aroused by the Great War.

It says a good deal, therefore, for President Harding's personal hold on the country, that he was able, despite this tendency, to bring through to successful conclusion the negotiations for the funding of the British debt. This debt, according to the Secretary of the Treasury, amounted at the close of 1922 to 4,135,818,358 dollars for principal and 611,044,201 dollars for interest—a total of 4,746,862,559 dollars. It fell all too neatly into that old political category in America known as "twisting the lion's tail," but the President had surprisingly little trouble in convincing the country that the settlement reached was, in the language of the American Debt Funding Commission, "fair and just to both Governments" and that "its prompt adoption would be a most important contribution to international stability."

To appreciate the President's achievement in this matter, it should be remembered that Congress had passed a law in 1922 stipulating that the various war debts were to be funded, under the direction of a special Commission headed by the Secretary of the Treasury, with a maturity period limited to twenty-five years and an interest rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The agreement finally reached provided for the issue by the British Government to the American Government of bonds covering the full amount and running for sixty-two years; the interest for the first ten years was to be 3 per cent., and for the remainder of that period $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, [see Public Documents in this Volume]. These negotiations—which occupied some three weeks beginning January 9, 1923—took place in Washington; those participating were the five members of the American Debt Funding Commission and, for the British, Mr. Baldwin (then Chancellor of the Exchequer) and Mr. Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England. At the conclusion Mr. Harding sent a special message to Congress pressing for the ratification of the agreement which had been reached. He said: "This settlement means far more than the mere funding and ultimate discharge of the largest international loan ever contracted. It is a recommitment of the English-speaking world to the validity of contract; it is, in effect, a plight against war and war expenditures. . . . The failure of the British to keep their pledge would have spread political and economic discouragement throughout the world, and general repudiation would have likely followed in its wake. But here is kept faith—willingly kept, be it recorded—and a covenant of peace as effective as if joint British

and American opposition to war were expressly agreed upon. It is a covenant of peace and recuperation, of respect and co-operation/'

That the settlement greatly enhanced British prestige throughout the United States—and throughout the world—is beyond dispute. The American Press reflected general agreement that the British Government had demonstrated its solvency and good faith—in marked contrast with others. For the most part the American public was quite unaware of the severe criticism of the settlement voiced by certain English newspapers; in the States it was popularly considered a fair "fifty-fifty" settlement. It passed the House of Representatives on February 9 by a vote of 291 to 44, and the Senate on February 16 by a vote of 70 to 13. After the House had agreed on February 22 to certain small amendments inserted by the Senate, the Bill was signed by President Harding on February 28. It was to be, as things turned out, the only solid achievement of the year for the administration.

Throughout the year there was something like a running debate between those who wished the country to cancel all the war debts and those who wished the Government to press the other Allies, notably France, for some sort of settlement.¹ One group argued that the debts were in any event uncollectable, that their payment to the United States would be economically disastrous, and that to continue to insist upon payment was to prolong and worsen the European debacle and prevent the economic recovery of the whole world. This view captured the American Bankers' Association at their annual meeting in the summer; its new President, Walter N. Head of Omaha, began at once a movement to have the member banks educate their respective communities as to the merits of a cancellation policy "in exchange for a guarantee of peace in Europe/' On the other hand, most of the senators and congressmen who spent their summer holidays in Europe came back rather anti-French and more or less determined to make France "pay up" or suffer such consequences in loss of financial prestige and fiscal stability as might follow. At the close of the year 1923 this policy, rather than that of cancellation, seemed the stronger and the more likely to dominate.

On the whole, the drift away from Europe continued steadily

¹ According to the report made to Congress by the American Debt Funding Commission, October 20, 1922, France owed the United States at that time 8,917,826,000 dollars and Italy 1,973,880,000 dollars. Neither France, Italy, Belgium, nor Estonia had proposed any payments; Czechoslovakia had agreed on the amount but had made no payments; Hungary had promised full payments; negotiations were then under way with Latvia, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. The Commission said it had not, for various reasons, been in touch with Armenia, Austria, Greece, Liberia, Nicaragua, or the Russian States. Payment by Austria of principal and interest amounting to 27,664,065 dollars, had been, by Act of Congress, postponed for twenty years from April 6, 1922. Cuba had liquidated her war debt to the United States in full, while Great Britain and Finland, alone of the European Allies, had arranged a settlement or were about to.

throughout the year. It began on January 10 with the issue of an executive order by President Harding withdrawing American troops from the Rhine. The *Saturday Evening Post*, a very popular weekly, ran two extremely vigorous "isolationist" articles which had a widespread effect: "Notes on the War Debts/" by Garet Garrett, November 25, 1922, and "On Saving Europe," by Garet Garrett, February 24, 1923. Their argument was that the European peoples were perfectly solvent but that European politicians and militarists were not. For America to become "sentimental" and rush in to "save" Europe while Europe was too lazy to throw off its professional hate-mongers was merely to involve America without helping Europe. Senator Hiram Johnson, in a strong speech delivered on July 25, on his return from Europe, reinforced the "isolationist" position; he greatly popularised the view that what Europe, or more precisely the warring European groups, really desired was not "American wisdom"—"they know we have no especial wisdom to offer; they know that they could get better special wisdom about the Ruhr, for example, from Denmark . . . but the point is that while Denmark is wiser about European affairs, the United States is the world's largest reservoir of money and one of the world's largest reservoirs of potential military manpower"—and that, said the senator, is what Europe really wants.

This, which may fairly be described as a new point of view for the "isolationists," became increasingly popular through the year, and it is a question whether such League of Nations advocates as Lord Eobert Cecil ("I do not ask you to join the League of Nations; I merely ask you if you can afford to stay out," Lord Eobert Cecil, speech in New York, April 2) and Mr. Lloyd George, both of whom lectured to large audiences on behalf of American intervention, really made much headway against it. Certainly President Harding himself felt himself smitten with chill winds when on February 24 he sent to the Senate a message urging that the United States participate in the International Court at the Hague. He defended the suggestion in a speech in New York two months later, but by the time he had started on a speech-making tour across the country in June, he was busy modifying the proposal, and finally appeared to abandon it altogether. No doubt the bye-elections which were none too favourable to the President, made him doubly cautious about proposing anything that could be disagreeable to anybody.

On the other hand, there seemed to be considerable interest shown in the 100,000 dollar peace prize offered by Edward W. Bok, a wealthy publisher of Philadelphia, for the best "practicable" plan for American co-operation with other nations for the maintenance of peace. Furthermore, Secretary Hughes encountered little or no dissent when, on October 26 he accepted the invitation of Great Britain to join in an inquiry to determine Germany's capacity to pay reparations, Mr. Herrick, the

Ambassador to France, said in a speech in Paris, "whether we like it or not, our lot is now cast in with the other nations to a very considerable extent." In the country's relations with Germany, only one incident—aside from the withdrawal of troops from the Rhine— took place—the decision of the German-American Mixed Commission on November 5 that Germany was liable for actual *Lusitania* losses but not for punitive damages. It is worth noting, perhaps, in this connexion that in the interview given out by Admiral Sims through the *New York Tribune* in May the Admiral declared, in the teeth of public opinion, that the German submarine commanders were not guilty of sinking boatloads of survivors from torpedoed vessels. "Propaganda," he called it. "I know of only one such incident—believe me, if the German submarine commanders had done that, they would have won the war."

Echoes of the Washington Arms Conference were heard—perhaps languidly—throughout the year. On March 20 Secretary Hughes, at the request of the British Embassy, issued a statement retracting the assertion made in his New Haven speech of December 29, 1922, that the British were elevating the firing angle of their battleship guns and reinforcing the gun-decks, in violation of the Washington agreement. Italy ratified the two 9-power naval treaties on February 16, Portugal followed April 24, France on July 11; whereupon they were formally signed and pronounced effective in Washington on August 17.

But prohibition furnished by far the liveliest international issue during the year. The United States Supreme Court decided on April 30 that under the Eighteenth (or Prohibition) Amendment to the Constitution, no ship whether of American or foreign registry, could lawfully bring alcoholic liquors, even under seal, within three miles of the coast. This ruling did not touch the so-called "rum-runners" who carefully remained outside the three-mile limit, but it did affect the great passenger liners by compelling them to become as "dry" as their American rivals, the U.S. Shipping Board vessels. It also interfered with the customary use of wines or "grog" served out to the crews of French, Italian, and other ships. By May 26 Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and Holland had all filed strenuous protests against the decision as applied to their ships in American waters. Their protests were warmly applauded in what appeared to be considerable sections of American opinion. The State Department promptly opened negotiations with Great Britain, offering to permit British ships to carry private stocks of liquor under seal within the three-mile limit if, in exchange, Great Britain would permit the search of British vessels suspected of "rum-running" anywhere within twelve miles of the shoreline. Great Britain declined the suggestion on September 19, holding that to extend American right of search from three miles to twelve jeopardised a sound principle of international

law. However, negotiations continued, and it was suggested **that** in place of " twelve miles " the phrase used should convey the idea of the distance equal to " one hour's steaming from the shore/" Great Britain accepted this " in principle " on October 26, and a treaty to that effect was drawn up though not concluded by the end of the year.

Oil was another cause of friction. The American State Department which had had since 1920 a special bureau frankly devoted to keeping track of oil concessions throughout the world with the idea of making sure that no monopolies injurious to American nationals were granted, intervened at Lausanne to protest against including in the treaty between Turkey and the Allied Powers anything which might tend to ratify the Turkish Petroleum Company's claim to a monopoly in the oil-fields of Mesopotamia. At the same time the American authorities pressed, on behalf of the Standard Oil Company, for a share of the Persian concessions granted to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Similarly, there was a lively race between the Standard Oil and the Anglo-Persian for rights in Albania, while Harry F. Sinclair, a powerful American " independent " oil operator, secured concessions in Persia and in Bussia. Incidentally, the United States signed on August 6 two treaties with Turkey, one of " amity and commerce " waiving the famous Capitulations, and the other, of mutual extradition rights. The so-called Chester concessions in Anatolia, granted by the Angora Government on April 29 to a group of Americans and Canadians headed by Admiral A. P. Chester, were finally cancelled because of the alleged inability of the *cessionnaires* to meet the conditions laid down. Bussia was not " recognised/" despite considerable agitation in Congress on her behalf.

European protests against the conditions of the American immigration station on Ellis Island, in New York harbour, led the American State Department to invite Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador, to examine the conditions for himself and report to his Government. He made a careful examination of conditions there in December, 1922, and his report—extremely critical in tone—was made public by the British Government in a White Paper on August 15, 1923. He condemned the overcrowding which he attributed to the lack of any scheme for examining the immigrants before they left home. His suggestions were received in good part and steps were taken by the American Government to enlarge and improve the quarters at Ellis Island while, at the same time, a committee of Congress began a study of the whole immigration policy of the country. This committee was composed for the most part of members strongly opposed to increased immigration, and their Bill, while not completed at the close of the year, was designed to reduce still further the number of newcomers to the United States. This, it seems likely, will be accomplished by provisions reducing the number of immigrants from any one country, from

3 per cent, of the Nationals of that country resident in the United States in 1910 to 2 per cent, of those resident in 1890. This change would leave practically intact the number of immigrants from England, Germany, and the so-called "Nordic" countries and greatly diminish the number from Italy and the Slavonic countries. This whole movement is a recurrence of the so-called "Know Nothing" agitation which swept many parts of the country in the 1840's. Quite in this temper was the decision of the United States Supreme Court early in the year that Hindus must be classed with the Chinese and the Japanese as ineligible for citizenship,

Pan-American affairs occupied a good deal of attention during the year, owing to the Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile, which opened March 26 and closed—after a most ineffectual session—on May 11. To begin with, *La Nation* of Buenos Ayres protested on January 13 against the continued exclusion of Canada from the Pan-American Conference. The argument that Canada lacked "sovereignty" and was therefore ineligible was illogical, said that journal, in view of the fact that representation was cheerfully accorded to Santo Domingo and other countries which "pursuant to their fundamental statutes have their sovereignty restricted in favour of the United States." But the American Government ignored it as a Latin pin-prick; similarly, when the League of Nations asked permission to be officially represented, the United States on February 7 refused permission. But the Conference itself, though a complete failure so far as Latin-American relationships were concerned, did make one point and one only: the South and Central American delegates dropped their differences and combined successfully against the United States on the moot point whether the Pan-American Conference could be attended by delegates from a country—like Mexico—which the United States did not "recognise." Membership in the Pan-American Union had previously been restricted to those countries enjoying American approval, but the delegates upset that arrangement with something approaching rudeness. However, the Santiago Conference made no headway with the problems of disarmament which were on its agenda. Overtures from Spain and Italy during the year greatly promoted the movement of Pan-Latinism as contrasted with, if not actually hostile to, Pan-Americanism. Notwithstanding all this, Secretary Hughes firmly laid down the view that the "Monroe Doctrine" was the concern of the United States alone and would be inflexibly adhered to.

Relations with Mexico greatly improved during the year, thanks to the efforts of a joint Commission sitting in Mexico City. This Commission discussed at great length the points of friction between the two countries, and finally signed a settlement on August 15. A sort of quasi-recognition of Mexico followed on August 31, and on September 8 the State Department signed the Agreement. Full recognition was expected to

follow, but it had not been accorded at the close of the year. The United States freely encouraged the sale of arms and munitions to the Obregon Government in Mexico which was struggling with an insurrection led by De la Huerta. Affairs in the Caribbean were, on the whole, fairly quiet.

But not so in the Philippines. The Nationalist movement there was deadlocked throughout the year with Governor-General Leonard Wood. The Cabinet and the Council of State, protesting against his "autocratic methods" resigned in a body, and their resignations were accepted. Then the Legislature on July 23 passed a resolution demanding that General Wood be recalled. This was sent to the War Department in Washington, but no official attention was paid to it. Then a delegation visited Washington from the archipelago and asked for definite assurances that independence would be granted; the assurances given were vague and the "mission" set up headquarters in Washington and began, in true American fashion, a publicity campaign to press upon the American people the fitness of the islands for independence. In the meantime rumours regarding General Wood's administration became so highly coloured, especially after it was discovered that his young son, a lieutenant in the Regular Army had made an immense fortune "speculating on Wall Street," that an investigation was demanded by Congress; that investigation seems likely to occupy much public attention in 1924.

As usual the enforcement of the prohibition amendment furnished some lively chapters. New York State repealed the Mullan-Gage Act providing for State enforcement of the Federal prohibition law, thus throwing upon the Federal authorities the whole burden of suppressing the illicit traffic in alcoholic spirits. President Harding protested solemnly against this, but the Legislature stood its ground. Wisconsin likewise repealed its "dry law," making a total of five States which threw the burden wholly upon the United States Government—New York, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Maryland. Several Legislatures petitioned Congress for an amendment of the federal law which would permit the manufacture and consumption of "light wines and beer" but the "dry forces" undoubtedly far outnumber the "wets" and any change must be a long way off.

President Harding's sudden death on August 2 came as a shock to the country [see Obituary]. He had journeyed to Alaska, partly on a holiday and partly to investigate the doldrums in which that territory seemed to lie—and on his return was taken ill of ptomaine poisoning in Oregon on July 28. He was immediately hurried to San Francisco and given the best medical attendance. He seemed to be recovering when seized suddenly with an apoplectic stroke. Death was instantaneous. His body was taken to Washington and thence to Marion, Ohio, where it was buried on August 10, The date was marked as a

National Day of Mourning throughout the **country**. **Mr. Calvin Coolidge**, the Vice-President, automatically succeeded to office, and, after taking the oath in his home in Plymouth, Vermont, assumed the burdens of office. He announced that the Harding policies in foreign affairs would be unchanged. Very shortly a movement developed in the Republican Party to nominate Mr. Coolidge for President in 1924; that will undoubtedly occur although Senator Hiram Johnson of California will, it is announced, dispute the nomination with him.

During the year, the Ku Klux Klan was the subject of numerous demonstrations, some in its favour, others against. New York, Minnesota, and Iowa passed laws compelling the "unmasking" of the Klan, but that body continued unhindered. South Carolina awoke an echo of an old controversy when it passed a law granting pensions to those negroes who had been "loyal slaves" during the Civil War. Among the Protestant churches the controversy between the "fundamentalists" and the "modernists" raged with great fury, and various State legislatures took a hand in it. The Florida Legislature, for example, found it necessary to declare that "Darwinism, Atheism, and Agnosticism" should not be taught as truths in the schools of the State. The Presbyterian Church and the Protestant Episcopal church—successor to the Church of England—were greatly occupied with the pros and cons of Darwinism and the truth of various Protestant dogmas. Labour troubles were, on the whole, not numerous, though a strike of railway repair-men disturbed the country for several months and led the War Department to draft a scheme for "railway battalions" which would be "summoned to the colours" in the event of a railway strike. The United States Steel Corporation, which had maintained a twelve-hour day successfully against all the efforts of the men, succumbed to a scathing attack from the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America—the great body of Nonconformist opinion—and substituted an eight-hour day. Political prisoners were finally released, first by President Harding with conditions attached to which eleven of them objected and, finally, by President Coolidge without the conditions. However, the various States, notably California, still have a great many war-time "agitators" in jail.

CANADA.

In the Speech from the Throne at the Second Session of Parliament (the 14th) which opened at Ottawa on January 31, Lord Byng of Vimy, Governor-General, dwelt optimistically on the economic condition of the country, the absence of unemployment, and the signs of revival of trade and industry, although the Governor-General admitted that a full recovery of prosperity must await the emergence of stability in Europe.

Among the measures to be laid before Parliament were the

Eedistribution of Electoral Divisions (based on the census of 1921), the Decennial Revision of the Bank Act, the Restriction of the activities of Combines, the Expansion of the Immigration policy, the development of St. Lawrence Waterways, National Fuel Supply, and the Ratification of Trade Treaties. Other subjects which were to receive the attention of the legislature were Imperial relations (arising from the British Government's despatch during the Near Eastern crisis of September, 1922), and an Inquiry into the needs of agriculturists.

With a majority of only two in the House (two Progressive members having crossed the floor) Mr. Mackenzie King's position was obviously precarious, but the confidence of the Liberals was strengthened when, within the first few weeks of the new Session, the Government was sustained by large majorities on three occasions. The subject of a common foreign policy aroused considerable public interest during and after the Debate on the Address. Referring to the British Government's despatch of September, 1922, Mr. King defended his attitude that Parliament must first be consulted. "We are content" (he said) "to rest our action on the principle that the making of war, which is a matter affecting the lives and happiness of all the people, should not be determined by a few individuals, but is a question to be determined by Parliament alone." ~

on May 11 Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, introduced his seventeenth Budget. Reviewing the financial results of the year, he placed the ordinary revenue at 393,619,000 dollars, which corresponded to the Estimates, and to this he was able to add eight million dollars which had been received from the British Treasury following an arbitration by Mr. Asquith, the Imperial ex-Premier, on certain War adjustments. Ordinary expenditure had been 331,780,000 dollars, but the nominal surplus had been absorbed by the following debit items—Capital Expenditure 14,500,000 dollars, War Claims 6,700,000 dollars; Cost of Loan Flotations 3,050,000 dollars; Railway Advances 92,190,000 dollars, and National Marine Advances 6,060,720 dollars, thus producing an addition to the National Debt of some forty-nine million dollars. Notwithstanding his proposals for tariff changes—including an arrangement by which British goods liable to a duty of 15 per cent, and upwards would be allowed a discount of 10 per cent, on the duties if imported direct via Canadian Ports—and a new system of collecting the Sales Tax at one source instead of three as heretofore, Mr. Fielding could not hold out much better prospects for the ensuing fiscal year.

During the debate the Prime Minister emphasised the necessity of tariff stability as opposed to the idea of a tariff as an instrument of economic warfare, and quoted a resolution of the Genoa Conference that tariffs should be made as far as possible applicable over substantial periods of time and that changes in rates and customs regulations should be made as rarely as possible. Further, that so long as a tariff wall remained against

Canada in the United States, and so long as Canada remained the only country that had reduced her tariff since the War, for that period at least Canada would give those interested in investing capital and establishing industries in the country an assurance that there would be no instability when stability ought to prevail. The Conservatives, on the other hand, assailed the King Ministry for its failure to live up to its pledges of introducing drastic economies. Eventually the House of Commons adopted the Budget resolutions with two important amendments, one making the new discount on British goods applicable to goods shipped on a through bill to a specific Canadian port, even if transhipped *en route* at a British Colony or possession, the other providing that where duties against Canada were reduced by the American Executive, the corresponding reduction by the Government of Canada must be confined to the same commodities.

During the discussion on the question of reciprocity with the United States, Mr. Fielding reaffirmed his belief that three-fourths of the Canadian people were ready to accept the 1911 agreement advocated by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. An amendment submitted by Mr. Robert Forke, Leader of the Progressives, condemning the Ministry's adherence to protection and demanding, among other things, a 50 per cent, increase in British preference, was defeated by 162 votes to 61, the Conservatives voting with the Government. On the whole, it may perhaps be said that the Progressives' part in the deliberations of the Session was characterised by a greater spirit of independence than they had heretofore developed.

Trade and financial matters occupied a large part of Parliament's time and the principal enactments of the Session were: The Ratification of the French and Italian Trade Treaties; the Finance Act, to which reference has already been made; and the Revision of the Bank Act which took nearly three months to complete. Much public interest was manifested in this Act since it incorporated changes (strongly urged in many quarters) which aimed at improving shareholders' audit and providing more safeguards for depositors. Other legislation included The Combines Act, providing machinery for an inquiry into business combinations where they were held to operate against public interest; The Great Lakes Freights Regulation Act, of special importance in the transshipment of grain, and other Acts revising or amending Soldiers' Pensions, Trade Marks and Designs Regulations, and Chinese Immigration restriction. Orders in Council included a vote of 600,000 dollars for co-operation in the British Empire Settlement Act of the Home Government. The Redistribution Bill was held over on the understanding that until redistribution was accomplished no attempt would be made to hold a General Election. An interesting Resolution in favour of Proportional Representation, urged by the Progressives and supported by the Prime Minister, was defeated.

During the sitting of Parliament a Treaty between Canada and the United States was negotiated at Washington to protect the halibut fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean, which were judged to be in danger of serious depletion through overfishing. The signing of this Treaty on March 2 by Mr. Lapointe Minister of Marine as Canada's represen[^]

of the British Ambassador at Washington provoked wide discussion and many articles on its constitutional validity appeared in the Press of the United States and Great Britain as well as in the Dominion. The separate conclusion by the Canadian Government of a Treaty with a foreign power was regarded by some as an important constitutional innovation, and by others as a step towards secession. But while it may be true that the omission of the signature of a British Plenipotentiary on a Treaty of this nature was without precedent, it was felt at Ottawa that a totally undue significance had been given to the incident. To Mr. Meighen and his fellow critics in the Conservative Party who condemned the action of the Government in "dissociating itself from the Empire" Mr. King replied that the Treaty was essentially one for negotiation between Canada and the United States alone: had it been of an Imperial character the Government would have expected the British Ambassador to sign. Moreover, the Agreement was signed by the Canadian Minister on behalf of the King and the action had received the assent of the Crown.

One of the last subjects of debate during the Session was Canada's part in the Imperial Conferences, with the Agenda of which the Prime Minister had already acquainted the House. Many people expected long discussions on Imperial and Dominion policies, but the Premier desired to go to London unhampered by pledges. Beplying to one question, Mr. King said his view was that no steps should be taken at the Conference in any way involving a change in the relations of Canada to the other parts of the Empire. With regard to Preference, his position was that it was a matter for each Parliament to decide for itself, and concerning Imperial federation he was "inclined to think the question had gone to sleep for a time." Enfranchisement of Indians in Canada was another topic which had been raised, and the Prime Minister said that this was not a matter to be determined by any Imperial Conference but by the Canadian Parliament dependent upon sentiment in British Columbia where the problem principally existed.

Several Commissions and Committees were appointed on such varied questions as Forest Resources and the Export of Pulpwood (concerning which an Order in Council was passed providing for an embargo, if necessary, on supplies to the United States), Grain Marketing, Industrial Conditions at Sydney, Cape Breton (where a strike had taken place), Fuel Supply, Agricultural Conditions throughout the Dominion, and Claims of Indians respecting the loss of hunting grounds.

Parliament was prorogued by the Governor-General on June 30.

Shortly after the prorogation Sir Lomer Gouin, Minister of Justice, and Mr. G. P. Graham, Minister of Railways and Canals, left Canada to attend the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, where Canada played a conspicuous part in pressing for an amendment to Article X of the Covenant of the League. This article incorporates the undertaking of the League to "respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all its Members." In the text of the Covenant it is provided that the Council "shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled" in cases of such aggression, but Sir Lomer Gouin urged Canada's desire for a clause to be added recognising the highest importance of the opinion of the Council but stipulating that "no Member shall be under the obligation to engage in any act, of war without the consent of its Parliament." This was consistent with Canada's general attitude to the making of war, and the Amendment had been tabled in 1922. Considerable discussion ensued during which Sir Lomer explained that Canada's main object was to obtain certainty as to her responsibilities and obligations under the Article in question, and would abide by the decision of the Assembly whatever it might be. Eventually an interpretative resolution was carried (in place of an amendment which it was considered would necessitate recasting the original text) along the lines urged by Canada's delegate.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister was busy preparing for his attendance at the Imperial Conference, where he was joined by the two Ministers from Geneva. Views were freely expressed in the Dominion Press concerning Canada's share in the Empire councils, but Mr. King made it clear at the outset that he was not going to London to raise constitutional issues. Speaking at Quebec in September on the eve of his departure he declared that the Dominion had no question to raise: "We do not desire any change in our constitutional relations with Great Britain or with the other British Dominions. We are satisfied with the present position and do not think that this is the time to raise new issues." It would be unfair, continued the Premier, to consider this attitude as one of indifference or as being unsatisfactory. "Our relations with the Mother Country and with the Empire were not always so satisfactory, but it is my privilege to go in the name of the people of Canada without a single grievance and to say that our relations with Great Britain and all parts of the Empire are of the best and that we have only the most cordial feeling towards all concerned."

Nevertheless, several subjects before the Conferences were of paramount concern to Canada, particularly those dealing with Emigration, Empire Defence and Communication, Imperial Relationship and Treaty Powers, and Empire Trade

development. In all these matters the Prime Minister was assisted by his colleague, Mr. Gr. P. Graham, on whom, through the partial indisposition of Sir Lomer Gouin, a considerable measure of the work fell. Opportunity was also taken by the Canadian Ministers to discuss with the British Ministers and officials certain matters arising from the administration of the recent legislation respecting the entry of Canadian Cattle into Great Britain.

The deliberations of the Conference during the two months were followed with great interest in the Dominion, and while the Preference proposals on special classes of produce did not vitally affect Canada, they were received with general satisfaction. The refusal of the Canadian delegates to approve of or accept representation on a permanent Imperial Economic Committee (which they probably regarded as having a tendency to centralise economic policy) was the subject of comment in some Canadian commercial quarters.

During his visit Mr. Mackenzie King enjoyed unbounded hospitality and was honoured by receiving the Freedom of the City of London and the Degree of Doctor of Laws at Oxford. In company with Mr. Larkin, the High Commissioner in London, he also visited the battlefields of Flanders and did honour to the memory of the Canadian troops by placing a wreath on the memorial at Terlincthun, and on his return to England paid short visits to Chatsworth, Sheffield, and Edinburgh. On leaving England on November 23, Mr. King said that so far as the results of the Imperial Conference were concerned, nothing could be more satisfactory from Canada's point of view. Regarding the political situation in England following the Conferences, the Prime Minister expressed his view that the issues of the then pending General Election were purely domestic and that Canada would not in any circumstances think of interfering. Moreover, whatever the results of the Election might be, the relations between Canada and England would remain unimpaired. After the electoral defeat of the Baldwin Government and the consequent suspension of the Preference proposals, Mr. King maintained the same attitude, which was shared in general by the people of the Dominion.

Shortly after his return to Canada, the Prime Minister in a public interview emphasised the spirit of goodwill and mutual understanding which had characterised the Imperial Conferences, and stated his belief that as a result of the meetings relations between the several Governments would be more clearly defined, the interests of the several parts would be mutually advanced, and the unity of the Empire strengthened. Later, in referring to the Conference decisions at a banquet at which he was entertained by the Eastern Ontario Liberals, Mr. King stressed the fact that in future the Canadian Government would have the same power as the Imperial Government to determine whether correspondence between the two Govern-

ments or between the Canadian and other Governments of the Empire should be published, and, in all particulars, the relations between the Prime Minister of a Dominion and the Governor-General would be the same as the relations between the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Sovereign. So far as the Conference itself was concerned the Prime Minister pointed out that it must not be considered as in any sense an Imperial Cabinet to formulate and execute Imperial policies, but only as a Meeting of representatives of the Empire Governments responsible to their Parliaments and people.

During Mr. King's absence Mr. Meighen, the Conservative Leader, had been indefatigable in consolidating the forces of his party. He had toured the Liberal stronghold of Quebec, delivering speeches in which he defined his position on the question of Imperial relations; and shortly after the conclusion of his tour, Provincial Conservative Conventions were held in Saskatchewan and Alberta, both of which he also addressed. During the first weeks of December the Canadian Council of Agriculture, which is recognised as the official policy-maker of the various provincial Farmer organisations, also held a meeting. The Council claimed that it was independent of all political parties or groups, and set forth the basis of its public policy on the following lines: Hearty support of the League of Nations; Further development of the British Empire as a commonwealth of nations, free and equal, and governed in accordance with British constitutional principles; Condemnation of the principle of tariff protection; Bigid economy in public finance; Definition of the fields of Federal and Provincial taxation; Collection of public revenues by direct taxation imposed with due regard to ability to pay and to benefits received by the taxpayer; Betention in public ownership of all natural resources; Public ownership of public utilities; Beform of the Senate; Bevision of the Naturalisation Act to provide for the personal naturalisation of women; Proportional Bepresentation in Parliament; Provision of capital for the agricultural industry by long term loans; Compulsory publication of all contributions received and expenditures made in Election campaigns; and the setting forth by all newspapers and periodical publications of the facts of their ownership and control.

Since their rise to power differences of opinion have been accentuated among the Progressives on the important question of whether the party should "broaden out" on the lines of a national organisation, or should remain a distinctly class group. Organic independence had been strongly urged by the Alberta farmers, but until this problem is settled it is considered in the Dominion that the Progressives as a party will not increase—indeed may entirely lose—the prestige they so rapidly gained, especially in Western Canada.

In the Provincial General Election in Ontario, held during

June, the Farmers' Government, after one term of office with Mr. E. C. Drury as Prime Minister (who favoured the broadening-out policy), suffered an extraordinary defeat at the hands of the Conservatives, led by Mr. G. Howard Ferguson. Mr. Drury himself lost his seat, and many regarded this debacle as the presage of a gradual decay and ultimate extinction of the Farmers' political movement, at any rate in Eastern Canada.

Two other Provincial General Elections took place during the year. In Quebec during February the Liberal Ministry under Mr. Taschereau was returned to power with a slightly reduced majority; and in Prince Edward Island during July the Conservatives under Mr. J. D. Stewart gained a sweeping victory over the Liberal Government. In Nova Scotia during January Mr. G. H. Murray (Liberal) resigned his Premiership and was succeeded by Mr. E. H. Armstrong, Minister of Public Works, who reconstructed the Cabinet. During the same month, Mr. W. E. Foster, of New Brunswick, resigned the Liberal Premiership and was followed in that office by Mr. P. J. Veniot.

The Provincial (Progressive) Cabinet in Manitoba was increased in December from six to seven Members. At the same time Mr. Neil Cameron resigned the post of Minister of Agriculture, and his portfolio was taken over by the Premier, Mr. John Bracken. In Alberta several Cabinet changes took place, one being that the Premier (Mr. H. Greenfield, Progressive) exchanged his additional portfolio of Provincial Secretary and Treasurer for that of Municipal Affairs.

Several changes in the personnel of the Federal Government also occurred during the year. Mr. W. C. Kennedy, Minister of Railways and Canals, died in January. In March Mr. D. D. McKenzie, Solicitor-General, was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court, and was succeeded by Mr. E. M. Macdonald who, a month later, became Minister of National Defence, on the transference of Mr. G. P. Graham from that Department to the portfolio of Railways and Canals. In August Mr. J. A. Robb became Minister of Immigration and Colonisation, being succeeded in the office of Minister of Trade and Commerce by Mr. T. A. Low, Minister without portfolio. In September Mr. E. J. McMurray was appointed Solicitor-General, with a seat in the Cabinet.

In the last weeks of the year the Government sustained two severe defeats in by-elections. At Halifax, N.S., where the vacancy was caused by the appointment of Mr. A. K. Maclean to the Exchequer Court, the Conservative candidate, Mr. W. A. Black, gained a majority of nearly 1,800, thus breaking the ranks of the solid sixteen Liberal Representatives sent to Ottawa by the General Election of 1921. Within three weeks the contest in Kent County, N.B., caused by the death of Mr. A. T. Leger, resulted in Mr. Alexandre Doucet securing a majority of 200 over his Liberal opponent.

With these results the Government's majority in the House of Commons disappeared, the parties being, as on December 31, Liberals 117, Progressive 62, Conservatives 52, Independent 3, Labour 2.

In this position, and with the temporary withdrawal through ill-health of Mr. W. S. Fielding, the veteran Minister (who had been sworn of the Privy Council during his visit to London in January), the year closed for the Government with a difficult task ahead.

Among other events of national significance which took place during the year, the following may be mentioned: The holding of the British Empire Forestry Conference at Ottawa; the revival of the St. Lawrence Waterways project affecting Canada and the U.S.A.; the meeting, on the invitation of the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, between 200 leading people of Quebec and an equal number from Ontario; the sailing of the ship *Arctic* (Captain J. E. Bernier) in command of an expedition to maintain possession of certain Northern islands, following the tragic fate of the Wrangel Island expedition; the visits to Canada of the Prince of Wales, the late President Harding, and Mr. Lloyd George; a proposal of the American Secretary of State to institute a standing Commission of Representatives from the United States and Canada to examine all matters arising along the boundary; the holding of several Conferences with U.S. officials to cope with the illicit importation of liquor; the Referenda (after a period of prohibition) in Alberta and Manitoba resulting in favour of Government control of the sale of liquor; the withdrawal by the Canadian Government of certain privileges previously extended to American fishing vessels in Canadian Atlantic ports; and the foundation in London of a Canadian History Society, following the gift to the Dominion by Sir Leicester Harmsworth of the Wolfe Diaries.

LATIN AMERICA.

ARGENTINA.

In every respect the year 1923 may be described as having been satisfactory for the Republic of Argentina, for that country has made progress, slow it may be, in politics, finance, and commerce. During the year there have been exciting incidents in Congress, but Dr. Alvear, the President, has maintained himself firmly, notwithstanding the fact that there have been movements against him engineered, it is believed, by his predecessor in office, Dr. Irigoyen, who had assisted Dr. Alvear to become President with the idea of keeping control of the political situation. But Dr. Alvear has shown himself to be independent of any control and has freed himself from the tutelage of partisan dictation. The Radical Party to which he belongs has been split by internal dissension, but all this has helped Dr. Alvear,

who has established himself thoroughly in the confidence of his country.

Throughout 1923 Argentina has been free from all labour difficulties, while abundant crops have provided work and profits, notwithstanding the low prices which have ruled during most of the year for the country's products, particularly meat. Towards the close of 1923 business had improved; in the autumn the British-owned railways presented reports which were in nearly every case better than any seen for many years. The leading companies returned to the pre-war dividend rates of 7 per cent., while the crop reports at the end of the year showed every prospect of a larger wheat, linseed, and oats yield than for the previous season.

In October last Dr. Alvear reviewed his first complete year of office, and expressed himself as satisfied with the progress made and optimistic as to the future. An investigation into the country's finances had shown a floating debt amounting to 1,000,000,000 pesos paper which it had been proposed to consolidate into a new loan. A scheme with this object was formulated and presented to Congress, but by the end of the year approval had not been obtained. Since August, 1914, the withdrawal of gold from the Conversion Office has been suspended, and several attempts to modify this law have been made. A few months ago the Finance Minister was authorised to take gold from the Conversion Office in exchange for paper at par, for the sole purpose of meeting the service of the foreign debt.

After the failure of the Pan-American Conference in April to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement regarding the limitation of armaments (v. Brazil), Argentina began seriously to consider the question of reorganising her military and naval forces. A decree was passed authorising changes in the army with a view to improving its efficiency, and the Minister of War presented a report to Congress in which he advocated a complete military reform and the entire replacement by up-to-date weapons of the existing armaments.

In March Sr. Gallardo, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that the withdrawal of the Argentine Delegation from the League of Nations Assembly in 1920 did not mean that Argentina was no longer a member of the League. On the contrary, she intended to pay up all arrears of contributions and expenses to the League.

BRAZIL.

For the exchanges, the year 1923 was hardly satisfactory in the United States of Brazil. It was not until the closing days of the year that a slight improvement was seen, due more to sentiment, caused perhaps by the visit of the British Mission to Brazil. This consisted of Lord Lovat and other authorities

who arrived in Bio de Janeiro at the close of the year. The Mission is investigating the resources of the country, particularly as regards cotton, while the financial position of Brazil is also to receive attention.

As regards politics, there has been little of interest during the past year. The new Government of President Bernardes which was installed at the end of 1922 immediately took steps to examine the country's financial position and reported it to be seriously embarrassed. The greatest retrenchment in public expenditure was insisted upon, and currency inflation, which had been the feature of the previous administration, severely condemned. Towards the close of the year it was reported that a measure of success was being experienced in the Government's attempt to balance revenue and expenditure.

Trade during 1923 showed indications of once again improving, although only to a limited extent. The excess of exports over imports in the first ten months of the year amounted to 17,000,000%. The Centenary Exhibition which opened in Kio de Janeiro in September, 1922, closed in July last, and was regarded as in every respect an unqualified success, particularly the British Pavilion, which was afterwards presented to the Brazilian Nation.

Brazil took a prominent and not altogether happy part in the Pan-American Conference (v. Chile). In December, 1922, the Brazilian Foreign Minister proposed a preliminary Conference of Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, as the three Powers chiefly interested, to discuss the question of naval disarmament. Argentina and Chile refused, whereupon Brazil declared that she would discuss the question of armaments at the Conference proper only as an act of courtesy. At the Conference she again insisted that the matter should be settled by the delegates of the three countries concerned, and this rendered efforts to secure an agreement fruitless. Brazil and Argentina each accused the other of aggressive aims and insisted on its own pacific intentions; and both accused Chile of having thrown an apple of discord between them. Unlike Argentina, Brazil was precluded by financial weakness from taking any steps to improve her military position.

In the course of the year the President of Brazil created a special Committee composed of about forty members to act in an advisory capacity to the Government in all matters relating to Brazilian industry and commerce. A feature of Brazilian trade during the year was the activity shown by German firms, and the increase in German shipping services to Brazil.

CENTRAL AMERICA.

Affairs in the Central American Republics were on the whole quiet during 1923. It is true that towards the end of the year a Presidential campaign in Honduras was accompanied

by disturbances, during which Government troops crossed into Nicaragua, but nothing beyond a protest from the United States appears to have resulted. In Costa Rica three candidates presented themselves for the Presidency at the election in December, but as none received a majority of votes the election was postponed until May next when one of the candidates is expected to retire. Salvador has reached a settlement of its debt default under conditions which assure a good deal of money being used for the development of that Republic; Honduras is again negotiating a settlement of its debt and a scheme is to be put before Congress shortly; and Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Guatemala have continued faithfully to provide for the service of their external loans.

The Conference of Central American Republics (Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica), which had been opened on December 4, 1922, held its final session on February 7. Its chief achievement was to frame a General Treaty of Peace and Friendship (see Public Documents in this volume) which contained those parts of the Treaty of 1907 that had been found to be of value in maintaining friendly relations between the various Central American States. Conventions were also passed limiting armaments, establishing mutual free trade, and setting up international commissions of inquiry with the United States.

CHILE.

. On March 25 representatives of all the American Republics except Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia met at Santiago, the capital of Chile, to attend the Pan-American Conference. The Chilean Minister in London, Sir Augustin Edwards, was elected President. The chief object of the Conference was to promote closer association between the States of the American continent, but its ultimate effect was to foster discord rather than harmony. The reason was that Chile insisted on bringing up the question of naval armaments, discussion of which brought into prominence the old-standing rivalry between herself, Brazil, and Argentina (v. Brazil). The only positive achievement of the Conference was to formulate some proposals for a close co-operation in stamping out disease.

The question of Arica and Tacna which has been in dispute between Chile and Peru for so many years has advanced, it is to be hoped, a step nearer a solution, both sides having agreed to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States.

The increase in the demand for nitrate of soda which set in at the beginning of the year continued throughout 1923, and towards the close had reached considerable proportions. The Budget figures were therefore revised, and the British-owned railway companies which derived much of their revenue from

the transport of nitrate reported a substantial increase in gross earnings in 1923 over the previous year.

The year terminated with a Presidential crisis such as Chile has been accustomed to for many years. On this occasion its immediate cause was the President's insistence on the passing of new measures for increasing taxation with a view to enlarging the country's revenue sufficiently to cover expenditure.

COLOMBIA.

Towards the close of 1922 a settlement was arrived at between the Eepublic of Colombia and the United States by which the latter agreed to pay 25,000,000 dollars as compensation to Colombia for the loss of the State of Panama, and during 1923 the first instalment of 5,000,000 dollars was actually paid. The receipt of this sum of money raised high hopes for the prosperity of the Eepublic; in particular it was believed that United States financial interests would be disposed to assist in the development of the country. These hopes proved groundless; and the unsatisfactory coffee crop only added to the difficulties of the situation. An important native bank closed its doors in July, but as the Colombian Government had for some time had under consideration a scheme for the organisation of a National Bank, the buildings and the business of the defaulting bank were taken over, and the Government-owned "Banco de la Republica" formed. Part of the 5,000,000 dollars received from the United States was used for this purpose.

During the year an important financial mission from the United States visited Colombia to study its economic position, and has given advice to President Ospina which is likely to be followed. The internal debt has been reduced by the operation of the sinking fund which provides for half-yearly redemption.

CUBA.

The year 1923 saw the continuance of prosperity in Cuba. By July the whole of the sugar stocks from the previous crops as well as the bulk of the 1922-23 crop were sold, so that at the close of 1923 sugar stocks in Cuba were at a low level. During the year the Eepublic had to cope with some industrial and political trouble. But the storms were successfully weathered. The financial assistance rendered by the United States at the beginning of 1923 has helped to create confidence, improve trade, and increase the Island's prosperity.

MEXICO.

During the first eleven months of 1923 the Republic of Mexico continued to make slow but steady progress under the rule of President Obregon. But in the early days of December another revolutionary disturbance broke out which appears to

be serious. The Presidential election is due to take place about the middle of 1924, but a year ago candidates began to appear, and by the autumn of 1923 twenty-two were in the field, of whom General Plutarco Elias Calles, at one time Secretary of State, and Don Adolfo de la Huerta, Finance Minister, were the favourites. Apparently General Obregon supported the candidature of General Calles, with the result that General Huerta and his friends took the field, captured the important port of Vera Cruz, and about three-quarters of the line of the Mexican Railway which connects Vera Cruz with Mexico City. Other districts are also in the hands of the rebels. The civil war was still raging when the year closed.

The agreement in connexion with the debt was reached in June, 1922, and approved by the Mexican Senate in September of that year, when it was ratified by the President. In May, 1923, the International Bankers' Committee issued the full terms of the proposed settlement, and later announced that it had received sufficient support from bondholders to warrant the Committee declaring the scheme operative. Cash to the extent of 15,000,000 U.S.A. dollars had been deposited in New York, and this would be sufficient for one year's interest. During 1923 commercial progress was interrupted by strikes at Vera Cruz, and towards the autumn trade depression was affecting the country. Oil production declined during the year. The total trade of Mexico during the first half of 1923 was nearly 52,000,000l. and gave an export balance over imports of nearly 22,000,000l.

As a result of Conferences between Commissioners of Mexico and the United States held at Mexico City between May 14 and August 15, diplomatic relations between the two countries were renewed early in September.

PERU.

President Leguia, who has done much to develop his country since he came to power a few years ago, in the early days of 1923 inaugurated a remodelled constitution which permitted his re-election to the Presidency for a second term of office. This, while meeting with the approval of the majority of citizens, gave offence to his political opponents, and in November a former Prime Minister attempted a *coup d'etat*. The plot failed, for the authorities, warned of what was contemplated, arrested and deported a number of the conspirators, and seized a quantity of bombs and ammunition. Apart from this, political affairs in Peru were normal throughout the year. In November briefs were filed at Washington in connexion with the arbitration on the Arica and Tacna question with Chile, and there is hope that this bone of contention between the two States will eventually be settled. In the meantime Peru's relations with her neighbours have been satisfactory. Considerable progress has been

made in the work of demarcating the frontiers between Peru and Brazil; the boundary dispute with Colombia has been practically settled; similar questions with Ecuador have been submitted to the arbitration of Washington; and a Treaty of obligatory arbitration concluded with Venezuela. The diplomatic and consular service of Peru has been reformed, and the State Bank which was started in April, 1922, has met with considerable success, especially in the important duty of regulating the circulating medium of the Republic. Trade, which declined in 1921 from the high level of 1920, and was further reduced in 1922, showed a substantial improvement during the first nine months of 1923.

URUGUAY.

Politically there was nothing of importance in the Republic of Uruguay during 1923. Strikes were almost entirely avoided, and while several of the British companies which have had matters in dispute with the Municipality of Montevideo have not yet been able to arrive at a settlement, no further difficulties in this respect have arisen. Towards the close of 1923 it became obvious that bigger crops of wheat, linseed, and oats would be obtained during the season which commences in December, while the wool clip was expected to yield 8,000,000l. This led to a rapid improvement in the exchanges which had been seriously depressed throughout the year. The Finance Minister had shown a budgetary deficit of over 7,000,000l. during each of the two years to the end of June, 1923, and anticipated a similar deficit for the year to the end of June, 1924. To meet these deficits a foreign loan was proposed, but negotiations with a leading American bank came to nothing, since the terms offered were unacceptable to the Government. The latest proposals were to raise the money internally, and in order to do this increased taxation was contemplated. The trade of Uruguay, which had rapidly declined during 1921 and 1922 from the high figures of 1919, began to improve during 1923; exports and imports for the first six months were largely in excess of the figures of the corresponding period.

OTHER REPUBLICS.

The civil war in Paraguay which seemed to have come to an end at the beginning of the year broke out again in the early months of 1923 and continued until July. The rebels attacked the capital but were easily put to flight, and the ringleaders were captured. The second half of the year brought promise of prosperity which will last if only the Government is able to maintain itself. The adverse exchanges were the predominant problem in Ecuador; while in Bolivia little occurred apart from strikes. In Venezuela the Vice-President of the Eepublic was assassinated, but this political crime had no untoward consequences for the country.

CHAPTEE XI.

AUSTRALASIA: THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

DURING the greater part of 1923 Australia's internal politics were dominated by happenings outside Australia, in particular by the debates upon Imperial relations at the London conferences during October and November. The absence of the Australian Prime Minister in London necessitated a short session of the Commonwealth Parliament. In addition, four State Premiers visited Britain during 1922-23 and so tended to keep the attention of Australians upon the broader aspects of Imperial politics and economics rather than upon local issues.

Earlier, however, Commonwealth politicians were required to meet the situation resulting from the defeat of Mr. W. M. Hughes at the General Election in December, 1922. Mr. Hughes became Prime Minister in October, 1915, and had held ministerial office for twelve years. The Election reduced the Nationalist members in the House of Representatives from thirty-eight to twenty-nine, the party losing seven seats, in addition to which Mr. Watt definitely left the party, prior to his acceptance of the Speakership, and Mr. L. Atkinson joined the Country Party. Mr. Hughes's position was so weakened that, at a Nationalist caucus on January 16, he consented to open negotiations with the Country Party with a view to an alliance which would ensure a stable Government. In the alternative, Lord Forster, the Governor-General, would have sent for Mr. Charlton, leader of the Labour Opposition, who could have formed an administration and immediately prorogued Parliament until July, the necessary supply being available until the end of the financial year. Directly negotiations with the Country Party were opened, it became plain that the retirement of Mr. Hughes from the Premiership was an essential preliminary to a coalition. Mr. Hughes accordingly retired on the understanding that Mr. Stanley Bruce, the Commonwealth Treasurer, should be accepted by the Country Party as the new Prime Minister. The following Ministry was formed:—

Mr. Stanley Melbourne Bruce, M.O. (V.), Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs.

Dr. Earle Christmas Grafton Page (N.S.W.), Treasurer.

Senator George Foster Pearce (W.A.), Minister for Home and Territories.

Mr. Littleton Ernest Groom (Q.), Attorney-General.

Mr. William Gerrard Gibson (V.), Postmaster-General.

Mr. Austin Chapman (N.S.W.), Minister for Trade and Customs and Minister for Health.

Mr. Percy Gerald Stewart (V.), Minister for Works and Railways.

Mr. Eric Kendall Bowden (N.S.W.), Minister for Defence.

Mr. Llewelyn Atkinson (T.), Vice-President of the Executive Council.

Senator Reginald Victor Wilson (S.A.), Honorary Minister.

Senator T. W. Crawford (Q.), Honorary Minister.

Mr. Massy Greene, Minister for Defence in Mr. Hughes's Ministry, had been defeated at the General Election, otherwise he would have had a prior claim to the Nationalist leadership on the ground of a political experience, which was much longer than that of Mr. Bruce. Senator Millen, who died later in the year and was succeeded in the Senate by Mr. Massy Greene, was also not included in the Bruce Ministry. Of the eleven members, seven had not held ministerial rank, including the new Treasurer, Dr. Earle Page. After a distinguished career at Sydney University and fine service as a medical officer during the World War, Dr. Earle Page was elected to the House of Representatives in 1919 for Cowper, N.S.W., and quickly became leader of the newly formed Country Party.

Mr. Bruce outlined the policy of the composite Ministry in a speech at the Millions Club, Sydney, on February 19, in which he stated that the new Ministry would act as a national Government in the widest sense of the term. The Government would do its best to govern for Australia as a whole, and establish stable government, restore confidence, stimulate enterprise, increase employment and advance the material welfare of Australia.

The First Session of the Ninth Australian Parliament opened on February 28, but adjourned directly after the debate upon the Governor-General's Speech from the Throne, to enable Mr. Bruce and his Cabinet to formulate their policy. This included the surrender by the Commonwealth to the States of all direct taxation, the abolition of the existing *per capita* payment of 255. by the Commonwealth to the States in exchange for which the States were to pay a *per capita* sum of 30s.; the elimination of all duplication of effort as between Commonwealth and States; the abolition of the Federal Electoral office and the reduction of Customs duties on agricultural and farming implements and requirements. Speaking at Perth, Western Australia, on May 3, Mr. Bruce announced these Federal proposals, which he submitted to a Conference of State Premiers at Melbourne on May 23. This conference soon disclosed a serious divergence of views between the Commonwealth and the States, inasmuch as the Commonwealth representatives declined entirely to evacuate the field of income taxation which the States demanded as a necessary preliminary to their agreeing to the discontinuance of the *per capita* payments. The direct results of the Premiers' conference were, therefore, small. The taxation proposals were left over for further discussion in 1924, the only definite outcome being an agreement that the State Treasurers should become the collecting authority for the Federal income tax under a simplified and inclusive schedule. The proposal for a uniform railway gauge throughout Australia was also shelved, chiefly on the ground of cost, this being estimated to be 50,000,000Z., though it was pointed out by the Federal authorities that a single gauge connecting the various coasts was essential

for a proper defence, system. Mr. Bruce's suggestion that a tribunal should be set up, with a view to avoiding the clash of jurisdiction between Commonwealth and State industrial tribunals, was also postponed.

Addressing a deputation later in the year (on July 19) Mr. Bruce promised that during 1924 he would submit proposals for the amendment of the Constitution, providing for the possible creation of new States, a matter on which resolutions had been passed by the New South Wales and Queensland legislatures.

Australia's real parliamentary business was done during the Second Session of the Federal Parliament which was opened on June 13 by Lord Forster. In the Speech from the Throne, the Federal Government announced Mr. Bruce's intention to attend the Imperial Conferences in London, Lord Forster saying: "My advisers hope there may emerge from the Conference a policy which will ensure, so far as possible, a market within the Empire for Empire products." The formation of a National Debt Sinking Fund, the placing of the Commonwealth Bank in the hands of a non-political board, and the reconstruction of the Commonwealth Shipping Line, vesting the control of the line in non-political management, were other features of the programme. After Mr. Charlton, leader of the Opposition, had moved a vote of censure which was rejected, the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was agreed to on June 22.

On July 24 Mr. Bruce tabled the agenda of the Imperial and Economic conferences, and an interesting debate on inter-imperial matters ensued, which included an important speech by the ex-Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes. Mr. Bruce had emphasised the fact that, when one part of the Empire went to war, the whole Empire was necessarily involved, and that there was no way of evading this position while Australia remained part of the Empire. "The only way for Australia to avoid her obligation is to get out of the Empire, and I will be no party to any attempt to sever the ties of Empire." Mr. Bruce added that Australia's position in regard to foreign policy was most unsatisfactory. "If the foreign policy of the Empire could involve the Empire in war, every part of the Empire should have a say in moulding that policy." Mr. Hughes said he was in accord with Mr. Bruce's views on the importance of securing the bonds of Empire and a unified foreign policy. In his term of office he had worked hard for those ideals, and the British Ministers had done all in their power to allow the Dominions to express their opinions on foreign policy. "Australia's right to take a hand in framing foreign policy was as clear as its right to self-government."

The result of the General Election in Britain, showing as it did a tendency to eschew Empire preference, disappointed the majority of Australians. Dr. Page, speaking on December 11, said that the British Election did not finally determine the matter, as it was fought rather upon the question of protecting

home industries than on preference for Dominion products. But the Australian newspapers accepted* the British General Election as a definite repudiation of an imperial trading policy. *The Melbourne Herald*, a Protectionist organ, published a cartoon representing John Bull handing trade to foreigners, while Young Australia stood amazed. *The Melbourne Argus* said that the polling in Britain showed decisively that Britain would not depart from its settled fiscal policy. Self-respect, therefore, required that Australia should not further press her claims for tariff reform.

The main business of the Second Session was the passing of the Commonwealth budget, which was introduced by Dr. Earle Page, the Treasurer, on July 26. The revenue for 1922-23 was 64,720,6352. and the expenditure 63,700,485/., leaving a surplus of 1,020,1502. The accumulated surplus of 7,428,0002. was used, in part, to redeem war gratuity bonds and, in part, to create a defence reserve of 2,500,0002., the remaining 2,475,0002. being held for contingencies. Dr. Page announced the reduction of postal rates and the appointment of a Eoyal Commission to inquire into the advisability of instituting a scheme of national insurance.

The Defence estimates were tabled in the House of Bepresentatives on August 19 by Mr. Bowden, the Minister of Defence. Pending the outcome of the Imperial Conference in London, the Minister proposed to set aside the 2,500,0002. already mentioned for defence purposes, but naval, military, and air-force activities would proceed on the same lines as in 1922-23. It was proposed to maintain twelve ships in commission, the exception being H.M.A.S. *Franklin*. The permanent naval personnel in 1923-24 would amount to 4,572, a reduction of 1,489 on the year. Speaking on October 12, Major-General Sir Thomas Glasgow, who commanded the First Australian Division, urged the advisability of adding a quota to the existing two quotas of citizen soldiers. "This would give us," he said, "60,000 men in training. As the training lasted three years, this would mean 20,000 men passing every year into the reserve. At the end of five years Australia would have 100,000 trained men in reserve, with an active nucleus of 60,000 men. The additional cost would be only about 400,0002. a year, and there would be a sufficiency of trained men for practical purposes."

The reorganisation of the Commonwealth Line of Steamers was discussed on July 4, and a balance sheet showing the cost of working the line was submitted to the Federal Parliament. The total cost of vessels built and under construction was 15,557,0002. Taking into account a gross profit of 2,493,0002. earned during the early years of the line's existence, there was a loss on working of 2,645,0002., the loss during the year ended June, 1923, being 1,626,0002. The Government therefore proposed that the ships should be handed over to an independent Board at a valuation of 4,718,0002., the Board deciding which

ships should be sold and which retained. The Board would also issue debentures to the Ministry for the value of the assets taken over, these debentures carrying a fixed interest of 5 per cent. Mr. Bruce said that he believed that if the Commonwealth Shipping Line and the Cockatoo Dockyard were conducted on a business basis, and removed from political influences, they would not only show a profit, but prove a benefit to the producers and the people of Australia.

Two matters of industrial importance must be recorded. During 1922 and 1923 serious difficulties were experienced in connexion with the export of beef, the trade suffering greatly from competition with Argentine beef. To meet this a subsidy of a farthing a pound on all frozen and canned beef exported was granted by the Federal Government. In announcing the renewal of the subsidy for another year, Mr. Bruce, on April 5, said that the subsidy was granted on consideration that the handling charge at the meat works were reduced by one-eighth of a penny per pound, and that the freight charges were similarly reduced. A subsidy upon live cattle of 10s. a head was also granted. Mr. Bruce made the position of the Ministry clear. He said: "The Government will not assist any industry in regard to which there is not some certainty that it is helping itself. In the present instance the Ministry is prepared to give to the meat industry the opportunity to help itself, but I give you warning that if the present Ministry is in office next year, and you cannot then show that you have taken steps to put your industry upon a proper basis, it will be useless to approach us again. We are not proposing to help the beef industry because certain individuals are in trouble. We are coming to the assistance of the industry because it is essential in the interests of the people of Australia that the beef trade should not fail. It must be continued in the interests of the Empire as a whole. Assistance is warranted also by the need for populating the northern part of Australia."

Emboldened, perhaps, by the success of the beef shippers, the gold industry of Australia approached the Federal Ministry for help. A deputation waited upon Mr. Bruce on May 19 and pointed out the crippling effect of war conditions upon gold-mining. The Commonwealth Government fixed the price of gold at the pre-war rate and yet had forbidden the export of the gold. While other industries obtained high prices for their products, the gold mines had to be content with 1914 rates, though the cost of production had gone up enormously. Wages, freights, and the cost of machinery were all much higher. Whereas the value of Australian gold produced in 1915 was 5,078,000*., in 1922 it was only 2,279,000Z. Mr. Bruce admitted the hardships under which the gold-mining industry was labouring, but declined to give special relief, on the ground that other industries in difficulty, such as shipping, would make similar requests.

Turning to State politics, there was a Cabinet crisis in Victoria soon after Mr. H. S. W. Lawson, the Prime Minister, returned from his English trip. On September 6 Mr. Lawson reconstructed his Cabinet, on the basis of a coalition, including seven members of the Nationalist Party, and five of the Country Party, led by Mr. James Allan, who became Minister for Lands and Immigration in the new Government. The position in Victoria was similar to that in Federal politics, where Dr. Earle Page was acting as deputy leader of a coalition between the Nationalists and the Country Party, just as Mr. Allan was acting as Mr. Lawson's lieutenant. In November, the State Government was called upon to meet a dangerous crisis arising out of a police strike in Melbourne, in the course of which five or six hundred policemen "mutinied" as a protest against uniformed supervisors and low pay. The riff-raff of Melbourne took advantage of the strike to riot, and there was much lawless disorder in the streets, necessitating the formation of a special constabulary. After a long and bitter debate, a Public Safety Preservation Act was passed on November 9. In spite of threats by the Trades Hall Council to throw the whole force of the Labour Movement behind the mutinous police, the Victorian Government held to its position, and the police strike was broken.

In New South Wales, Sir George Fuller remained in office during the year, devoting much time to migration matters (which required a visit to England), and to the cognate problem of the irrigation works on the Murray Eiver. Owing to the absence of feeder railway lines New South Wales land on the banks of the Murray is only worth 21. to 4Z. an acre, compared with 200Z. to 400Z. per acre for similar land on the Victorian bank, which is in railway connexion with Melbourne. The States of Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia are spending between 8,000,000Z. and 9,000,000Z. on weirs and locks on the Eiver Murray and the Hume and Lake Victoria reservoirs, work which will be completed by 1934.

Queensland, where a Labour Government has been in power since 1915, had a General Election on May 12. It resulted in Mr. Theodore, the Labour Premier, returning to power with a considerably larger majority. Before the Election the Labour Government had a majority of two, or one if the Speaker was presiding over the single Chamber legislature. To meet the danger of a snap division, Mr. Theodore devised a system of proxy votes which enabled him to utilise the votes of absent Labour members at any time. He used this proxy system so persistently that during the last week of the session the Labour Prime Minister recorded 121 votes in addition to his own. The Election increased the Labour majority to fourteen. Queensland, as the outstanding centre of Labour activities in Australia, is the object of continual criticism by Australian Liberals. The success of the Labour Party in the State is chiefly due to

the astuteness of Mr. Theodore. Of Eumanian origin, Mr. Theodore is expected to follow the example of the late Mr. Kyan, his predecessor in the Queensland Labour premiership, and migrate to Federal politics, where his gifts should ensure him an outstanding position in the Federal Labour Party.

In the Northern Territory, there has been a heavy loss on railway extensions; accumulated railway deficits since January, 1911, amounted to 2,300,000/. by June, 1923. On his way to England, Mr. Bruce addressed a meeting in Adelaide at which Sir Henry Barwell, the South Australian Prime Minister, urged the completion of the North and South Eailway as a means of absorbing British settlers. Mr. Bruce promised to give the proposal his consideration. The country of the proposed North and South line was further explored during 1923 by Sir Tom Bridges's motoring expedition, which crossed 1,500 miles of country beyond the railway. Sir Tom Bridges, who is Governor of South Australia, led his party through the valley of the Finke Kiver where the towering gorges provided a spectacle of romantic beauty. Sir Henry Barwell, describing the trip, recalled that it had been said that the country south of the MacDonnell Eanges in Central Australia was desert, but this was untrue. "Most of the land is suitable for pastoral purposes. Much of it is splendid agricultural soil. In between the wonderful MacDonnell Eanges are rich alluvial plains so level that they might have been meant specially for irrigation schemes. Water can be obtained within a foot of the surface. The plains are excellently grassed, carrying a vigorous growth of salt bush and other kinds of herbage."

Apart from exploration, the science of Oceania proved its alertness by organising a Pan-Pacific Congress. This was opened in Melbourne on August 14, under the presidency of Sir David Masson. The gathering was an outcome of the visit of the British Association to Australia in 1914 and attracted delegates from the United States, Japan, New Zealand, the Pacific Islands and elsewhere. Dr. Elwood Mead, Irrigation Adviser to the New South Wales Government, gave an address upon irrigation. Dr. Youngberd, of the Philippines, discoursed upon veterinary science, while the cartography of the Pacific was discussed by a section under the presidency of Sir Gerald Lenox-Conynham; mining hygiene was debated under the chairmanship of Dr. Sayers, chief medical officer of the United States Bureau of Mining. As a result of the meetings it was felt that the Pan-Pacific Congress of scientists should establish itself as a regular feature in Australian social life.

NEW ZEALAND.

Towards the end of 1922 the 20th Parliament of New Zealand was dissolved on the completion of the term of three years for which it had been elected. A General Election was held on

December 7 at which the Government, under the Et. Hon. W. F. Massey, P.C., received a severe setback. In the previous Parliament the Government had a majority over all parties, holding 49 out of the 80 seats, but the result of the poll, while showing an increase of 73,000 in the votes cast for Mr. Massey's Eeform Party, was to give him an assured following of only 37, or a Party Vote of 4 less than the combined strength of the Liberal and Labour Parties and the Independents. In most cases the Independents were pledged not to outvote Mr. Massey, but nevertheless the numerical weakness of his party laid it open to defeat on a motion of want of confidence. An unusually early session was therefore convened, and the new Parliament met on February 7. In the speech from the Throne Viscount Jellicoe, the Governor-General, intimated that, as a further session would be convened at the usual time, it was not proposed to submit legislative measures in the present short session. With regard to finance he stated that, as expenditure had been reduced and the revenue had much improved, a surplus was anticipated at the end of the financial year. In view of this satisfactory position it was not considered necessary to make any further reductions in the cost of living bonuses of State employees. In this connexion it may be remembered (see THE ANNUAL EEGISTER, 1922) that reductions in the remunerations of Civil Servants, among whom are included Eailway and Post and Telegraph employees, were generally admitted to have been the cause of much dissatisfaction and the turning of many votes against the Government.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives having been defeated at the Election, the Labour Party challenged the Government by nominating one of their number for the vacant office, but the Government nominee, Mr. C. C. Statham of the Independent Group, was elected by 61 votes against 17. The apparent minority of the Government was thus reduced to three, but "No Confidence" motions introduced on February 15 by both the Labour and Liberal Parties were defeated, the former by 40 votes to 18 and the latter by 39 votes to 36. Mr. Massey, in replying to the Labour motion, declared that the Dominion was "round the corner and its prosperity assured.*" The session closed on February 17, the Reform Party having been placed in a position to carry on the Government and to press forward with its policy of progressive development and strict economy in undertakings of lesser public importance.

The death of the Hon. Sir William H. Herries, K.C.M.G., on February 22 [see Obituary], caused deep regret among members of all political parties throughout the country. Sir William had been a Member of Parliament since 1896 and a Member of Mr. Massey's Cabinet since 1912. He was one of New Zealand's best known and most respected politicians, being especially distinguished for his wise legislation for the Native Eace. He had held the important portfolios of Eailways, Native Affairs,

Customs, Marine, and Labour. His death rendered vacant the representation of the Tauranga constituency, and the fight for the seat was taken up energetically by the Keform and Liberal Parties. Interest was keen throughout the Dominion, and strong candidates were put forward. Sir Joseph Ward, ex-Liberal Premier, re-entered political life to stand in the interests of his Party, but although assisted in the electorate by the Liberal Leader and other Liberal speakers, he did not succeed in capturing the seat—the result being Mr. McMillan (Government), 4,250, Sir Joseph Ward (Liberal), 3,024. Meanwhile Mr. E. P. Lee, Minister of External Affairs in the late Parliament who had been defeated at the General Election, lodged a petition against the declared result of the poll on the ground of informalities. The petition was successful and the General Election result nullified by the Court, a fresh Election being fixed for May 1. The Keform Party made a big fight to hold the seat, but the Liberal candidate was again declared to have been elected.

The opening of the second session, therefore, found the parties in the same numerical strength as before, and the Government was again faced with a "No Confidence" motion. It took the form of an amendment to the Address, which was negatived by a majority of three votes after a protracted debate. The Government was now in a comparatively secure position, and the Budget was introduced on July 3. The Dominion's finances were shown to be in a very satisfactory state, the revenue for the year ending March 31 being 27,579,4432. and the expenditure 26,263,7602— a surplus of 1,315,6832. The result of the economies instituted was patent in the fact that the year's expenditure was 2,203,0782. below that of the previous financial year. The total economies effected since 1921 were shown as 3,735,0492. The loans redeemed during the year, including War debt, amounted to 8,466,2012. and the amount borrowed was 8,365,140/., making a net decrease in the Public Debt of 101,0612. while the accumulated surplus of revenue, amounting to 3,159,9602. was transferred to the Loans Eedemption Account. Public works expenditure for the year was shown as 3,912,8862., while for the coming year the provision of 4,000,0002. for these services is proposed. The Dominion's trade for the year had been most satisfactory, the excess of exports over imports being 8,435,9212. The former totalled 45,548,7002. in value, of which 93 percent, consisted of primary produce. The amount shown as credit in the Post Office Savings Bank was 42,754,8682.—an average of over 642. for each depositor. The Prime Minister stated that the position attained would be regarded as a means of freeing trade and commerce from the onerous conditions of high taxation rather than an indication that further economy was not needed. The efforts to economise, therefore, would be continued.

On August 6 the great tunnel through the Southern Alps

at Arthur's Pass—popularly known as the Otira Tunnel—was officially opened for traffic, establishing direct railway communication between the East and West Coasts and replacing the picturesque but dangerous coast route which was previously the alternative to a sea voyage by way of Cook Strait. August 6, 1923, therefore, becomes a red-letter day in the history of railway construction in New Zealand, for the tunnel is the longest railway tunnel in the British Empire and the seventh longest in the world. It enters the mountain side on the east at an altitude of 2,435 ft. above sea level and emerges on the west at an altitude of 1,586 ft., its length being 5 miles 554 yards and the ruling grade 1 in 33. The construction of such a tunnel was a task of stupendous magnitude for such a young country, and unexpected difficulties were met with in the form of stratas of loose shale which required most elaborate timbering. In such places heavy torrents of water poured into the workings and impeded progress to a great extent. The work was commenced in January, 1908, by a New Zealand firm under contract to the Government, but in the face of these difficulties the firm was forced, after four years, to ask to be relieved of its contract, and from December, 1912, the work was carried on by the Public Works Department of the Government. After the outbreak of war progress was very slow, and it was not until July 20, 1918, that the great barrier of rock was pierced. On that date an iron rod of 11 ft. in length was pushed through from one heading to the other, and on August 21 the Minister of Public Works fired the shot which made it possible for a party of officials to scramble through the breach. The completion of the tunnel was proceeded with slowly, and in October, 1921, the lining was finished and the floor cleaned up. Boring operations had been conducted from both ends and the discrepancy when the headings met was only $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. in level and $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in alignment. Owing to the great length of the tunnel and the stiff grades on part of the line adjacent, it was early decided to work the section by electric traction. A contract was let to the English Electric Company, Ltd., for the installation of a coal-fired generating station and overhead trolley lines, the equipment of workshops and the supply of six electric locomotives.

Since the failure of the contractor to complete the construction of the Otira Tunnel, it has been the policy of the Government to have all railway works carried out by the Public Works Department, but it was announced in the Annual Statement of the Minister of Public Works, brought down in July, that this practice would not be followed in connexion with a new section which it has been decided to build. This section is 18 miles 18 chains in length and will traverse a difficult tract of country in the North Island to link up the existing lines from Auckland and Tauranga. The Minister of Public Works stated that tenders would be called for immediately from Great Britain, Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.

The Public Works Statement records the completion of the gap between railheads on the line running north from Auckland, so that railway communication is now afforded between Auckland and Whangarei and the Bay of Islands. This and the completion of the Otira Tunnel are the outstanding achievements in railway construction chronicled by the Minister. He reported good progress in development of the great hydro-electric schemes, on which 450,2472. had been expended during the year.

Dominion representation at the Imperial Conference was the subject of a good deal of discussion in the House of Representatives, in the course of which Mr. Massey paid a warm tribute to Great Britain when commending her on her attitude towards the repayment of her War Debt. In reply to the Labour Party's contention that he should attend the Conference only as a delegate, the Prime Minister refused to be bound to any set programme, but pointed out that any agreement come to at the Conference would be subject to ratification by Parliament.

An important measure introduced to give effect to the promise of lower taxation was the Land and Income Tax Bill, in which provision was made for the abolition of the remaining 10 per cent, super-tax on the land tax and an all-round reduction of 20 per cent, on income taxation.

While Mr. Massey was absent from the Dominion attending the Imperial Conference the Government was carried on under Sir Francis H. D. Bell as Acting Prime Minister.

Early in the year the Government decided to withdraw as from September 1 the prohibition of the importation of German goods. Imposed as a war measure, this embargo had been allowed to remain although there has been no restriction on the export of goods from the Dominion to Germany.

A further measure of considerable importance was the re-introduction of Penny Postage for inland and Empire letter mails as from October 1. The occasion was marked by the issue of a new design of stamp showing a map of the Dominion in white on a coloured background.

The first Annual Report and Statement of Accounts of the New Zealand Meat Producers' Board, set up in 1922 under the authority of the "Meat Export Control Act," covered the period March 14, 1922, to June 30, 1923. It set out the action taken by the Board in connexion with several matters of vital interest to the meat producers of the Dominion, notably reduction in handling charges by the elimination of many of the marks under which the meat had previously been shipped, the introduction of uniform grading, supervision of the loading and discharge of the meat, the making of arrangements for shipping facilities and the reduction of freights, etc. Reductions in freights alone are stated to represent a saving of over 575,000J. on the meat shipped in one season.

The dairy producers had in 1922 pressed upon the Government the advisability of passing legislation to give to the Dairy Industry power to elect a Board with powers similar to those

granted to the Meat Board. Such legislation was introduced towards the end of the session, but owing to the opposition met with and the short time available, it was left over to be brought forward again in the new Parliament. A Bill similar in practically every respect to the Meat Export Control Act was duly submitted to Parliament, but feeling both for and against the proposed legislation was so keen that a provision for a referendum of the Dairy Producers was inserted, such referendum to declare in favour of the measure before it was brought into operation by Proclamation. The Ballot resulted in the Act being ratified by a large majority, and the Governor-General accordingly declared that it should be enforced as from November 3.

An official visit was made to the Dominion early in the year by the French Trade Mission, which had spent some time in Australia. The members of the Mission were entertained and shown evidences of New Zealand's industrial progress, they in their turn giving illustrated lectures showing French reconstruction activities.

Anzac Day (April 25) was again observed to all intents and purposes as a Sunday, the public services being practically suspended and no newspapers published, while a special message from the King was given prominence in the newspapers on the previous day. Anzac Day is the anniversary of the landing at Gallipoli of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps and is observed in New Zealand as a day of mourning for those who died in the war. Well-attended parades of ex-service men and nurses proceed to special services held in memory of their lost comrades.

The farming year which was brought to a close by the winter of 1923 was satisfactory for all branches of the industry (with the exception of that of beef production), wool, frozen mutton and lamb and dairy produce finding ready markets at reasonable prices. The spring brought with it bright prospects for the new season, lambing being heavy on both islands, and the early flow of milk being almost equal to the record established in the previous spring. In an endeavour to improve the outlook for the cattle grazing industry an interesting experiment is to be made in January, 1924, an English firm of meat importers having made arrangements for a trial shipment of a thousand quarters of chilled beef to London.

In the world of sport the chief events to be chronicled are the visit of a team of athletes from the Universities of the United States and a visit of a New South Wales representative team of Bugby footballers. The three test matches of the tour were all won by the New Zealand representatives, but a team of Maori footballers who visited New South Wales were not so fortunate. They did not win a match until after their return to the Dominion. The lawn tennis authorities have decided to send a New Zealand team to compete in the next Davis Cup contest. Hitherto the Dominion has been included with Australia in the entry for the competition.

PART II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1923.
JANUARY.

1. The New Year Honours were limited to the Departmental lists only: the Prime Minister's list was to be issued later {see under February 7}. The list includes two baronetcies, on Sir Nevil Macready and Mr. Panton.

— *The Times* announced that the Ken Wood Preservation Council had completed the purchase of 100 acres of the Ken Wood Estate for the extension of Hampstead Heath.

— Second Test Match between England and South Africa commenced at Cape Town.

2. Paris Conference on Reparations opened.

3. A Company was formed to establish an express train ferry service between Harwich and Zeebrugge.

4. Paris Conference on Reparations broke down, the French and British proposals being found irreconcilable.

— England beat South Africa in the Second Test Match, by one wicket.

5. Mr. James MacNeill appointed High Commissioner in London of the Irish Free State.

— The Second Test Match between New Zealand and the M.C.C. team began at Christchurch.

7. Labour demonstrations held in London and in some 150 provincial centres on behalf of the unemployed.

8. Part of the performance of *The Magic Flute* at Covent Garden was broadcasted by wireless.

— The first train conveying French troops to the Ruhr passed through Cologne.

— The Second Test Match between New Zealand and the M.C.C. team ended in a draw.

9. The will of the late Lord Spencer was proved at 1,197,826/. gross,

— The Ilford murderers, Mrs. Edith Thompson and Frederick By waters, were executed.

10. The Metropolitan Railway celebrated its Diamond Jubilee.

11. President Harding ordered the complete evacuation of the American Army from Germany.

16. Official announcement of the betrothal of the Duke of York to Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, daughter of the Earl and Countess of Strathmore and Kinghorne.

17. A dense white fog invaded London.

— At the bye-election in East Newcastle to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. J. N. Bell (Labour), Mr. Arthur Henderson, one of the Labour leaders, was returned by a majority of 4,384.

19. First Conference of delegates of the International Society of Contemporary Music opened in London.

— Mr. Dan Radcliffe promised 50,000/. for the benefit of the University of Wales.

20. The left-handed personal salute abolished by the Admiralty.

— Dr. G. M. Vevers appointed superintendent of the staff of the Zoological Gardens.

22. The Third Test Match between South Africa and England, at Durban, ended in a drawn game.

23. A tablet commemorative of the benefactors to the Bodleian Library was unveiled at Oxford University by the Vice-Chancellor.

24. The removal of the treasures from Tutankhamen's tomb resumed ; a magnificent couch was brought out.

25. The Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated, in Westminster Abbey, Dr. A. C. Headlam as Bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. J. H. B. Masterman as Bishop Suffragan of Plymouth.

27. The farm of Ellisland, near Dumfries, where Robert Burns wrote some of his poems, was presented to the nation.

— Mr. D. M. Dalai appointed High Commissioner for India.

31. Mr. W. A. Valentine appointed Controller of the London Telephone Service in succession to Mr. G. F. Preston, retired.

— British Government accepted terms of American Commission for the funding of British debt to the United States.

FEBEUAERY.

2. The British Government sent an invitation to the Channel Islands to make an annual contribution of 600,000/. to the Imperial Exchequer.

— *The Times* published particulars of the late Lord Northcliffe's will, the value of which is expected to be about 5,000,000/.

3. *The Times* announced the resignation of Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia since 1915.

5. At Bow Street Police Court, Arthur Henry Benson was fined 40,000/. for defrauding the Exchequer of 20,300/. by making false returns for the purpose of super-tax.

— Lord Curzon returned to London from Lausanne, where the Conference with the Turks broke down.

6. The engagement announced of Princess Yolanda, eldest daughter of the King and Queen of Italy, to Count Caivi di Bergolo.

— The estate of the late Sir Walter Wilkin, Lord Mayor of London 1895-96, was proved at 388,848*.

7. The British Government sent an invitation to the Legislature of the Isle of Man to increase its contribution to the Imperial Exchequer.

— The Prime Minister's Honours list included three new peers, viz. : Sir George Younger, Bart. (Viscount Younger of Leckie), the Rt. Hon. Herbert Pike Pease (Baron Daryngton), and Sir Owen Philipps (Baron Kysant).

— Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, gave birth to a son.

8. The estate of the late Sir William Hartley of Liverpool, jam manufacturer, proved at 1,086,444l.

— Mr. H. Gosling (Labour) returned by a majority of 2,200 as member for Whitechapel to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. C. J. Matthew, K.C. (Labour).

9. The estate of the late Mr. George Cadbury [*see* Obituary, ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923] has been sworn at 1,071,099*.

13. Parliament opened in state by King George.

14. The Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh elected Messrs. Henry Lintott, John Duncan, and George Pirie as painter academicians, and Mr. Percy Portsmouth, sculptor.

15. *The Times* announced the impending amalgamation of the banking houses of Messrs. Glyn, Mills, Currie & Co., and Messrs. Holt & Co., Army, Navy, and Air Force Agents.

— A great storm swept over America, from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

16. The sealed chamber of King Tutankhamen's tomb at Luxor was opened.

17. Somerset beat Kent in the semi-final round of the Rugby Football County Championship, at Taunton, by 12 points to 5.

19. The ninth British Industries Fair was opened at the White City, Shepherd's Bush.

21. Sir Alfred Yarrow offered the Royal Society 100,000* for the promotion of scientific research. The gift was accepted.

22. The British Debt Funding Bill passed the United States House of Representatives without a division.

— England beat South Africa, at Durban, in the Fifth Test Match, by 109 runs.

25. The 200th anniversary of the death of Sir Christopher Wren.

26. The Duke of Abercorn, Governor of Northern Ireland, made his state entry into Belfast.

— In commemoration of Sir Christopher Wren a special service was held at St. Paul's, and the Royal Institute of British Architects gave a banquet.

MARCH.

3. Mr. Harcourt Johnstone (Liberal) defeated Lieut.-Colonel Stanley (Under-Secretary of the Home Office) at East Willesden by a majority of 5,176.

5. Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, Minister of Health, was defeated at Mitcham by Mr. J. Chuter Ede, the Labour candidate, by 833 votes.

6. Major Hills, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, was defeated at the Edge Hill Division of Liverpool, by Mr. J. H. Hayes, the Labour candidate, by 1,050 votes.

8. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, M.P., appointed Minister of Health, and Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Bart., M.P., as Postmaster-General [*vide* August 28].

11. Celebration of the 800th anniversary of the founding of the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield.

— Over 100 Irishmen and Irishwomen were arrested in different parts of England and Scotland on charges formulated by the Irish Free State, and were transported to Ireland.

12. Four new Ministerial appointments announced, viz., Major A. B. Boyd Carpenter, M.P., Financial Secretary to the Treasury; Lt.-Colonel A. Buckley, D.S.O., M.P., Parliamentary Secretary, Overseas Trade Department; Mr. Godfrey Locker Lampson, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Home Office; and Mr. H. B. Bretterton, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour.

13. Lady Warwick offered the Labour Party the use of Easton Lodge for conferences.

— Rain, which began shortly after nightfall on March 12, continued almost incessantly until about 4 in the afternoon.

17. Miss J. P. Strachey elected Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge,

19. Wiesbaden theatre burnt down (built in 1894).

20. In the House of Commons there was a debate on the Capitalist System, the resolution being moved by Mr. Snowden.

22. Relics of Mary Queen of Scots were bought at auction for public preservation in Scotland.

23. Forty-three fresh cases of sleeping sickness were notified in England and Wales during the last week.

— Leith Hill Tower, Surrey, with 5 acres of ground, purchased for the public and vested in the National Trust.

24. Oxford beat Cambridge by three-quarters of a length in the University Boat Race.

— Oxford beat Cambridge in the Athletic Sports at Queen's Club by seven events to four. H. M. Abrahams (Cambridge) cleared 23 ft. 7¼ ins. in the long jump, which beat the record for the sports.

25. State control of war-time allotments ended.

28. The death penalty imposed by the Soviet authorities on Archbishop Ciepliak and Mgr. Butkevitch aroused widespread protest in this country.

31. The new customs duties came into operation throughout the Irish Free State at midnight.

— The number of persons in receipt of Poor Law relief in England and Wales was 1,346,000, equal to 1 in 28 of a total population of 37,885,000.

APRIL.

I. Until October 1 the price of milk in London was fixed at 6d a quart.

5. Mr. P. C. Thomson, M.P., appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland in succession to Mr. D. P. Fleming, K.C., resigned.

9. Bitterly cold weather experienced in London; snow fell in various parts of the country.

— Marriage of Princess Yolanda, of Italy, to Count Calvi di Bergolo.

— At the bye-election at Anglesey, Sir B. J. Thomas (Liberal) was returned by a majority of 4,748.

10. Temperature rose in most parts of the country.

— Defeat of the Government in the House of Commons by 7 votes on the motion that the Speaker leave the Chair.

II. Labour Demonstration in the House of Commons; the House adjourned at 7 P.M.

— The India Office announced the reduction of portfolios among members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, following on the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee.

13. A protest published against the Soviet warfare on religion; the protest was signed by the heads of all religious communities in the country, including the two Archbishops, Cardinal Bourne and the Chief Rabbi.

— Dr. Campbell, of the Lick Observatory, announced that an examination of the photographs taken of the sun and the surrounding stars during the eclipse of September, 1922, confirmed the Einstein theory.

14. *The Times* reported the appointment of Mr. H. P. Colebatch as Agent-General for Western Australia, in place of Sir James Conolly resigned.

— Fatal flying accident in Berlin; three town councillors killed.

— Members of the Oxford University Dramatic Society arrived in Copenhagen.

16. Budget introduced by Mr. Baldwin.

17. New world record for flying established at Dayton, Ohio; two airmen remained in the air 36 hours 5 minutes 20 seconds, covering **2,541** miles over a triangular course of 314 miles.

18. Motion in the House of Lords unanimously adopted to **save** the

Whitgift Hospital, Croydon, the demolition of which **was** part of a Bill promoted by the Borough.

19. Through the intervention of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Norfolk Farming Dispute was settled.

— Egyptian Constitution signed.

20. At the Ludlow bye-election, Colonel Windsor Clive (Conservative) retained the seat for the Conservatives.

21. The celebration of the tercentenary of the publication of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays began in London. The Archbishop of Canterbury preached a Memorial Sermon to John Heminges and Henry Condell.

22. Summer time commenced at 2 A.M. (to continue to 3 A.M. on Sunday, September 16).

— Wintry weather in the North of England.

23. Lausanne Conference resumed.

— The German Reichsbank raised the Bank-rate to 18 per cent.

24. Mr. John Henry Layton, K.C., of Liverpool, for family considerations, becomes a solicitor. *The Times* declared that "it is doubtful whether there is any record of a King's Counsel . . . becoming a solicitor." Mr. Layton's action is characterised as rare, if not unique.

25. *The Times* announced the foundation of the Henry P. Davison Scholarship Fund, for establishing six scholarships for Englishmen from Oxford and Cambridge at Yale, Harvard, and Princeton Universities.

26. Marriage of the Duke of York, second son of King George, to Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon.

— Sir Michael Sadler elected Master of University College, Oxford.

— Mr. Glyn Warren Philpot, A.R.A., elected Royal Academician, and Messrs. W. G. de Glehn and George S. Watson, elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

27. Mr. Leonard Campbell Taylor, painter, and Mr. William Curtis Green, architect, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

— The Alliance Bank of Simla closed its doors.

28. Bolton Wanderers beat West Ham United by 2 goals to none in the final round of the Football Association Cup Competition at Wembley Stadium, which was utilised for the first occasion. King George V. was present, and enormous crowds of spectators attended, the number being officially estimated at 200,000. Part of the crowd got out of hand during the match and extraordinary scenes were witnessed. There were some casualties but not of a serious character.

MAY.

3. Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons announced the Government's new policy in Irak.

4. The hottest fourth of May since 1871; the temperature was 81 degrees in the shade.

5. Their Majesties King George and Queen Mary left London for Rome, to pay an official visit.

6. M. Georges Barbot crossed the English Channel twice in a "motor glider"—a tiny monoplane fitted with a 15 h.p. engine. From St. Ingelvert to Lympe, a distance of 58 kilometres (36¼ miles), the journey occupied 61 minutes; the return journey took 44 minutes.

8. At Bath, J. B. Hobbs, the Surrey cricketer, scored 116, not out, against Somerset, and in doing so registered his hundredth century in first-class cricket.

9. King George and Queen Mary received by Pope Pius X I.

10. *The Times* announced that under the Chantrey Bequest the oil painting "The Road : Winter Morning," by Mr. George Clausen, R.A., now exhibited at the Royal Academy, has been purchased for the nation.

— Assassination of M. Vorovsky, the Soviet accredited agent in Italy who was in Lausanne to represent Russia at the Conference.

12. Mr. Roger Wethered won the Amateur Golf Championship at Deal, beating Mr. Robert Harris in the final match of 36 holes by 7 holes up and 6 to play.

14. Cheaper postage rates came into force, including the 2½d. (instead of 3d) rate for foreign letters.

— The King and Queen returned to London from Italy.

— A Paris-London aeroplane crashed to the ground and its six occupants were killed instantly.

16. *The Times* announced that the British Government have agreed to recognise an independent Government in Trans-Jordan subject to the approval of the Council of the League of Nations.

18. *The Times* announced that the Earl of Carnarvon [see Obituary] left property of the gross value of 398,925/.

— "Big Ben" was stopped for cleaning and overhauling for the first time for eight years.

19. The previous week was one of cold and storm. The warm weather broke on the 12th ; on that day there was a severe hail storm in London and in the country; and on every subsequent day in the week there was a hail storm with very cold winds. Never in the memory of cricketers was there a case of wickets standing in snow, a sight reported from at least one ground.

20. Mr. Bonar Law placed his resignation in the hands of the King.

22. Mr. Stanley Baldwin accepted the invitation of the King to form a Ministry.

23. The Lord Mayor of London (Sir Edward Moore) was knocked down and injured by an omnibus near the Mansion House. The injuries he sustained incapacitated him from the discharge of many of the duties of his office, and eventually resulted in his death.

24. M. Georges Porto-Riche, the dramatist, elected a Member of the French Academy to fill the fauteuil vacated by the death of M. Layisse.

25. List of Mr. Baldwin's Ministry published. Mr. Baldwin remains Chancellor of the Exchequer for the present, but it was announced that the Et. Hon. Reginald McKenna would be appointed to that office later in the year.

— Independence of Trans-Jordan, under the Emir Abdullah, proclaimed by Sir Herbert Samuel at Amman.

28. Mr. Baldwin elected Leader of the Conservative Party.

— The number on the live registers of the unemployment exchanges in Great Britain was 1,221,300, of whom 971,600 were men and boys and 249,700 women.

30. A statue of Joan of Arc unveiled at Winchester Cathedral.

31. The foundation-stone of the new University College Obstetric Hospital laid by the King.

— The Obelisk at Drogheda, which for two centuries marked the site of the Battle of the Boyne, was blown up.

JUNE.

1. Mrs. Hilton Philipson returned in the Conservative interest at the bye-election at Berwick-on-Tweed, by a majority of 6,142. The bye-election was rendered necessary by the unseating, on petition, of the former member, Captain Hilton Philipson, Mrs. Philipson's husband. Mrs. Philipson is the third woman member of Parliament.

4. The price of *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* raised from 1½d to 2d

5. Celebrations of the eighth hundred anniversary of the foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital begun.

6. Mr. B. Irish's Papyrus won the Derby at Epsom by a length from Lord Derby's Pharos. Mr. Goculda's Parth was third. The winner was ridden by Donoghue who has thus won three Derbys in succession.

7. *The Times* announced that Scolt Head, an island off the Norfolk coast, is to be handed over to the National Trust as a nature preserve.

8. *The Times* announced that a Royal Charter of Incorporation has been granted to the Federation of British Industries.

— Sir William Orpen elected President of the Royal Society of Portrait Painters.

9. *Coup d'etat* in Bulgaria: the Government of M. Stambulsky replaced by a Coalition Ministry.

10. The Distributive Workers' Union called a strike of their members employed by the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

15. Arthur Havers won the Golf Championship against the United States holder.

— M. Stambulsky killed in an attempt to escape from his captors.

16. The Submarine X.1, the largest underwater craft in the world, was launched at Chatham.

— Mount Etna burst into eruption: many villages submerged.

19. Pascal tercentenary celebrations in Paris.

21. At the Morpeth bye-election Mr. Robert Smillie retained the seat for Labour by a majority of 6,966, and in the Tiverton Division of Devonshire Mr. F. D. Acland gained the seat for the Liberals from the Conservatives by a majority of 403.

— *The Times Literary Supplement* reduced in price from 6d. to 3d.

25. Imperial Education Conference opened by the Duke of York.

— The Seventh International Air Conference (the first to be held in London) opened by the Prince of Wales.

26. Mr. Bertram Priestman, A.R.A., elected a Royal Academician.

27. The Twenty-third Annual Conference of the Labour Party opened in London under the chairmanship of Mr. Sidney Webb, M.P.

— Conclusion of three days' sale of Mme. Sarah Bernhardt's library; the sale yielded 195,977 francs.

— A fire broke out in Peking, destroying several buildings including a valuable library.

— News came to hand of the safety and crew of the steamship *Trevesa*, which foundered in the Indian Ocean some time towards the end of May. The survivors journeyed in two small boats for 22 days a distance of about 1,700 miles, ultimately reaching Rodriguez, a small island lying some 250 miles west of Mauritius.

— Mr. T. Middleton Dron and Mr. Richard C. Sennett were elected City Sheriffs.

— Aided by the gift of 100,000/. from Mr. Alexander Grant, to be used as a permanent endowment, the Government accepted the offer of the Faculty of Advocates of their historic library to form the nucleus of a National Library of Scotland.

— The report of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution for 1922 showed that 436 lives were saved during the year.

29. Opening meeting at the Foreign Office of experts on the Tangier question.

— The Prime Minister's list of Birthday Honours issued. It comprised two new peerages, Mr. H. C. Gibbs (Lord Hunsdon of Hunsdon) and Mr. C. Napier Lawrence (Lord Lawrence of Kingsgate); ten baronetcies and thirty-one knighthoods.

30. Conclusion of the International Air Congress.

— Sir John Merry Le Sage retired from the managing editorship of the *Daily Telegraphy* after having been connected with that journal for sixty years.

— This year's month of June is described as the coldest, dullest, and wettest probably during the last eighty years. The average sunshine in London amounted to 120 hours, as compared with 226 hours in June, 1922, and 224 hours in June, 1921. At the Rothamsted Experimental Station, Harpenden, the amount of sunshine registered for the first six months of the year was 586 hours, as against the average for the past thirty years of 811 hours.

JULY.

1. Engagement of the Crown Prince of Sweden to the Lady Louise Mountbatten announced.

2. The Prince of Wales opened the new anatomy, biology, and physics departments at Guy's Hospital.

— A strike, unauthorised by the Unions, commenced by dockers in Hull, Grimsby, Cardiff, and Bristol, soon spread to London.

— The number of persons on the live registers of employment exchanges in Great Britain as wholly unemployed was 1,191,400 (907,300 men, 216,700 women, 35,100 boys and 32,300 girls), being 294,478 less than on January 1, 1923.

4. The eightieth regatta at Henley opened in glorious sunshine.

— The tercentenary of William Byrd, the famous English musician, was celebrated at Peterborough Cathedral in a festival of church music.

5. The Bank-rate raised from 3 to 4 per cent.

— Four persons were killed and several injured in a railway collision at Diggle, near Huddersfield; three passengers were killed and fourteen injured in a railway accident in Norway.

— *The Times* announced the issue of an army order containing "Fusilier" as the new designation for private soldiers.

— Great strike of miners and steel workers in Nova Scotia.

— At Shorncliffe the Duke of Connaught unveiled a statue to Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna.

— Warmest day of the year with 84 degrees in the shade at Kew Observatory.

— Fourteen passengers killed in a railway accident in New Zealand—described as the worst railway disaster in that country.

— Mile. Lenglen again won the ladies' singles lawn tennis championship, at Wimbledon.

7. The Washington Treaty for the limitation of naval armaments was ratified by the French Chamber of Deputies by 460 to 106 votes.

9. From a little before midnight until 6 A.M., London experienced one of the longest and most violent thunderstorms within living memory. The storm was accompanied by torrents of rain, and the alarm caused by the storm kept very many people awake. Numerous members of Parliament spent the night in the precincts of the Palace of Westminster.

10. At Lords Oxford beat Cambridge by an innings and 227 runs.

12. At Kew Observatory a maximum temperature of 91 degrees was registered, establishing a new July record there. It was the eighth day of the present warm spell.

13. Ninth (and concluding) day of the heat wave.

— At a sale of pictures by old masters at Christie's, a portrait of Vandyck by himself fetched 5,700 guineas.

14. The weather became considerably cooler, slight showers falling during the day.

16. The bicentenary of the birth of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first President of the Royal Academy, was celebrated by the President and Members of the Royal Academy.

17. The Triennial Congress of the International Surgical Society was opened by the Prince of Wales at the Royal Society of Medicine, Wimpole Street.

— The King, accompanied by the Queen, formally opened Westminster Hall on the completion of the work of restoration of the roof, which had been going on for more than eight years.

— Celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society.

19. *The Times* announced the appointment of Mr. E. G. Boulenger as Director of the new Aquarium at the Zoo, and of Miss Joan B. Procter as Curator of Reptiles.

20. Sir C. C. Bowring appointed Governor of Nyasaland.

— The Prince of Wales, who was visiting Dorset, lunched with Mr. Thomas Hardy at Man Gate, Dorchester.

23. A service aeroplane of the Instone Air Line, piloted by Captain F. L. Barnard, made a record flight from Croydon aerodrome to Cologne, covering the distance of 325 miles in 2 hours 25 minutes.

24. The Treaty of Peace with Turkey signed at Lausanne.

— The Rt. Hon. Francis Burdett Thomas, fifth Baron Latymer, a partner in Coutts & Co., bankers, and a poet, left unsettled property in his own disposition of the gross value of 1,038,972l.

25. Lieut.-Col. Leslie Wilson appointed Governor of Bombay, in place of Sir George Lloyd.

27. Dr. David, Bishop of Edmundsbury and Ipswich, appointed Bishop of Liverpool.

— At the bye-election in Central Leeds, Sir Charles Wilson retained the seat for the Conservative Party by a majority of 1,726 over the Labour candidate.

28. A number of "No more War" demonstrations were held in different parts of the country, to coincide with similar demonstrations held in twenty countries.

— Two great colliery disasters occurred, one at Maltby in Yorkshire, and the other at Kilsyth, near Glasgow ; thirty-five men lost their lives.

31. The Suffragan Bishop of Swansea (Dr. E. L. Bevan) was elected first Bishop of the new diocese of Swansea and Brecon.

AUGUST.

1. *The Times* announced the publication of an Order in Council annexing to New Zealand that part of the British Dominions in the Antarctic comprising the coasts of the Ross Sea.

2. Death of Mr. Warren G. Harding, President of the United States.

6. The eighth "Aerial Derby" which took place over a course around outer London was won by Mr. L. L. Carter on a biplane of 20 ft. span, with a 450 h.p. Napier Lion engine, at a speed of 192.4 miles per hour, an advance of 16 miles per hour over the machine which won last year.

10. A great memorial service for President Harding was held at Westminster Abbey where a crowded congregation assembled.

— Particulars published of the will of the late Mrs. Ludwig Mond, mother of Sir Alfred Mond. Among her bequests were 2,000/. to the University of Manchester for Ludwig Mond lectures ; 2,000/. to the British Academy to endow a lecture and prize on subjects connected with Anglo-Saxon or early English literature or the history of England; 1,000/. to Bedford College; and 500/. to the University of Liverpool.

11. The last issue of the *Clarion* appeared. The paper had been in existence for nearly thirty-two years.

13. At the Portsmouth bye-election, Major H. R. Cayzer retained the seat for the Conservative Party by a reduced majority.

— Mitcham Fair opened on the old fair green for the last time.

— The largest motor-lifeboat in the world (*The William and Kate Johnston*) commenced a maiden voyage round the coast of the British Isles.

14. Quill pens which had been used at the Southwark County Court for nearly 150 years were replaced by ordinary steel pens.

16. Dr. Warman, Bishop of Truro, appointed to the Bishopric of Chelmsford, and the Ven. Walter G. Whittingham, Canon of Peterborough, to the Bishopric of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich.

— *The Times* reported that the north-west coast of Korea had been swept by a tidal wave, destroying over 600 houses and causing loss of life to over 1,000 persons.

17. The Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague gave its decision in the Wimbledon case, thus establishing freedom of navigation in the Kiel Canal.

18. Hong-Kong was swept by a severe typhoon.

20. London Dock strike ended (*vide* July 2).

21. An anonymous gift of 1,500/. made to the Treasury as a contribution towards the reduction of the National Debt.

23. The Angora Assembly ratified the Peace Treaty of Lausanne.

27. Polling for the Irish Free State General Election Result: Government, 63; Republicans, 44; Independents, 16; Labour, 15; and Farmers, 15.

28. It was announced that Mr. McKenna was unable to join the Government (*vide* May 25) and that the Rt. Hon. Arthur Neville Chamberlain, M.P., had been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Rt. Hon. Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Bt., M.P., Minister of Health.

29. Italy presented a threatening note to Greece, owing to the murder of Italian military men on Greek territory.

31. After nine years and four months the United States Government formally recognised the Republic of Mexico.

— Italian troops occupied the island of Corfu.

— Jubilee of the Queen of Holland celebrated in The Hague.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Earthquake shocks in Japan destroyed nearly the whole of Tokio and all Yokohama. Estimated loss of life nearly half a million.

— After an interval of many years the passenger service of the Atlantic Transport Company between London and New York was resumed.

— News reached Vancouver that all the members of the Canadian Wrangel Expedition, led by Mr. Alan Crawford, of Toronto, had perished.

2. The centenary of St. Columban celebrated at Bobbio. The Irish Free State was represented by President Cosgrave.

5. The Prince of Wales sailed for Canada to visit his ranch in Alberta.

— For the first time in the history of organised Freemasonry the United Grand Lodge of England met outside London—at Liverpool.

8. Starting from the French coast, during the night, Charles Toth, of Boston (U.S.A.), swam across the English Channel in 16 hours 54 minutes. He is the fifth man to accomplish the feat.

12. *The Times* published the police report of street accidents in London during the months of April, May, and June, 1923. They numbered 18,028 and resulted in 171 deaths.

— Particulars published of the will of Earl Farquhar, who left many bequests to members of the Royal Family.

— Lord Derby's *Tranquil* won the St. Leger from *Papyrus*.

13. Army revolt in Spain led to fall of the Cabinet.

14. The London to Manchester air mail crashed near Ivinghoe Beacon; the pilot, mechanic, and 3 passengers were killed.

15. The German Reichsbank raised its rate of discount from 30 per cent., the figure adopted on August 2, to 90 per cent

16. Summer time ended at 3 A.M. (summer time).

— A Military Directory established in Spain.

21. *The Times* announced the appointment of the Rt. Rev. F. T. Woods, D.D., Bishop of Peterborough, to the Bishopric of Winchester.

25. A coal pit near Falkirk was flooded, and 41 men lost their lives. The disaster is said to be the biggest that has occurred in Scotland since the explosion at the Redston Colliery, Lanarkshire, 36 years ago, when 73 lives were lost.

26. Miss Margaret Bondfield elected Chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. She is the first woman to be chosen for this position.

27. Five hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Guildhall Library.

28. Abyssinia admitted into the League of Nations.

29. Sir Louis A. Newton elected Lord Mayor of London for the coming year.

30. The Italian Squadron left Corfu [*vide* August 31].

OCTOBER.

1. The Imperial Conference and the Imperial Economic Conference opened.

— The Johore causeway, 3,465 feet in length, connecting Singapore island with the mainland, was opened.

— Responsible Government inaugurated in Southern Rhodesia by Sir John Chancellor, the first Governor.

— The number of persons recorded on the live registers of the employment exchanges in Great Britain was 1,246,200, being 14,163 more than in the preceding week, and 239,587 less than the figure recorded on January 1.

2. Allied troops evacuated Constantinople.

3. The Rev. Dr. Walter H. Frere, of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, appointed Bishop of Truro.

4. Five men were rescued alive from the Redding Pit, near Falkirk, after 214 hours' imprisonment [*vide* September 25].

11. The German Mark exchange reached 19,000,000,000 to the pound sterling.

— An Exhibition of Australian Art was opened at Burlington House by the Duke of Connaught.

— The King and Queen entertained at dinner at Buckingham Palace the Dominion and Indian delegates to the Imperial Conference.

12. *The Times* reported that since June 1, 1,160 cases of smallpox were registered in England and Wales.

— Sir Ernest Pollock, K.B.E., K.C., appointed Master of the Rolls, in the place of Lord Sterndale.

— A gale unprecedented in fury for many years caused extraordinary scenes on the South Coast. At Dover a gigantic wave swept over the pier and dashed into a military train, smashing a carriage, and seriously injuring three men. The coast road connecting Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe was impassable for some hours, and a section of the wall of Sandgate Castle collapsed.

— Rain came down in London incessantly for 16 hours.

13. It was announced that Lord Rothermere (the *Daily Mail* Trust) and Lord Beaverbrook have purchased Sir Edward Hulton's newspaper interests for the sum of 6,000,000l. Lord Beaverbrook's share is 61 per cent, of the interest in the *Evening Standard*.

— The Fell and Rock Climbing Club handed over to the National Trust "for the use and enjoyment of the people of this land for all time," a property in the Lake District comprising nearly 3,000 acres and includ-

Ing that portion of land above the 1,500 feet contour line running from the Black Sail Pass (including Kirk Fell, Great Gable, Green Gable, and Brandreth) to the other side of the Styhead Pass (including Thornythwaite Fell, Glaramara, Allen Crag, Great End, Sprinkling Tarn, and Ling Mell). The gift was made as a Memorial to members of the Club who fell in the war.

16. *The Times* announced that, through the generosity of Col. and Mrs. R. W. Leonard, the historic house at No. 10 St. James's Square, at various times the residence of the Earl of Chatham, Lord Derby, and Mr. Gladstone, had been presented to the British Institute of International Affairs. The donors of the house have also presented an endowment of 8,000*l*.

17. The Memorial to Field-Marshal Lord Roberts in St. Paul's Cathedral was unveiled by the Duke of Connaught.

20. The Prince of Wales returned home from his trip to Canada [*vide* September 5].

21. A Rhine Republic proclaimed at Aix-la-Chapelle.

24. Mr. Harvey, the United States Ambassador, unveiled the Signpost at the village of Ringmer, in Surrey, with memories of which the names of William Penn and John Harvard are connected.

— *The Times* announced that Mr. Geoffrey E. Duveen has made a gift of 10,000*l*. to the University of London to found a Chair of Otology, and a further gift of 15,000*l*. to University College Hospital for providing the most modern treatment of the deaf.

25. Foundation laid of Sukkur barrage scheme, the longest in the world. It will carry two bridges across the Indus, each more than five times the length of London Bridge; and will provide for seven canals, the largest being 205 miles long. The total estimated cost of the scheme is over 12,000,000*l*.

27. Last appearance after nearly sixty years of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which has been merged with the *Evening Standard*.

29. The quartern loaf in London reduced from 9*d*. (price fixed on December 1, 1922) to 8*d*.

30. A Republic was proclaimed in Turkey.

31. At the bye-elections at Yeovil and Rutland respectively, the Conservatives retained the seats with about the same majorities as at the General Election.

— October was a wet month. The amount of rainfall registered at the Rothamsted Experimental Station was 4.974 inches, an excess of 1.913 inches; the total duration of the rainfall was 79*9 hours.

NOVEMBER.

2. Mr. Harvey, the retiring United States Ambassador, left London on his return home.

3. Marriage of the Crown Prince of Sweden and Lady Louise Mountbatten.

6. *The Times* announced that the University of Liverpool has received a bequest under the will of Mr. William Prescott, cotton broker of Liverpool, for the founding of a Chair of Agriculture or of some cognate subject.

— After seven years of prohibition, the Province of Alberta decided in favour of Government control and sale of all liquor.

8. The Imperial Conference ended.

9. The Economic Conference ended.

— Mr. Lloyd George arrived at Southampton on his return from a tour in Canada and the United States and received a public welcome.

13. Armistice day fell on a Sunday and the day was solemnised in a particularly impressive manner in London and the provinces. Streams of people filed past the Cenotaph and the Unknown Warrior's Grave, and the procession continued during Monday and Tuesday.

14. Marriage of Princess Maud, niece of the King, and Lord Carnegie.

— First anniversary of the official beginning of broadcasting in this country.

— The Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to Mr. William Butler Yeats.

— Continuous rain flooded wide areas of land in the north of England, necessitating the closing of schools and factories.

15. *The Times* announced that the sale in New York of thirty original MSS. and printed books of Mr. Joseph Conrad realised 22,000(M.

16. The fourth Parliament of King George V. was prorogued.

17. Lord Robert Cecil created a peer (Viscount Cecil of Chelwood).

19. The extension of the Hampstead Tube from Golder's Green to Hendon was opened by Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame, President of the Board of Trade. The extension is a little over a mile and a half in length) took 17 months to construct, and cost over 500,000l.

— The tomb of Tutankhamen was re-opened,

23. The Rev. Dr. Cyril Charles Bowman Bardsley appointed Bishop of Peterborough.

— A gift of 20,000l. has been made by Mr. Henry Barber, of Culham Court, Henley-on-Thames, to the University of Birmingham for the purpose of endowing a Chair of Law.

24 Professor H. H. Turner, of Oxford, wrote to *The Times*, announcing that Einstein's theory of relativity had at last received general recognition, some United States mathematicians who had hitherto been sceptical (Mr. C. E. St. John in particular) having been converted to it.

26. A new Fellowship at Christ's College, Cambridge, endowed by Mr. John Pierpont Morgan, who is a member of the College.

27. An alarming gas explosion occurred at Newington Causeway, South London, not far from the Elephant and Castle. As a result of the explosion it was found necessary to close temporarily the City and South London Railway.

29. A dinner was held at the Hotel Victoria, with Sir Donald MacAlister, President of the General Medical Council, in the Chair, to celebrate the centenary of *The Lancet*

30. It was announced that Professor Alfred Fowler and Mr. G. I. Taylor had been appointed to the Research Professorships founded by Sir Alfred Yarrow [vide February 21].

DECEMBEE.

2. As a result of the floods in Northern Italy, the great dam at Lake Gleno gave way and swept through the two Alpine valleys of Scalve and Camonica, carrying away numerous houses and causing the loss of several hundred lives.

— Centenary of the foundation of Birkbeck College, London.

— Retail price of milk in London increased to 8d. per quart.

3. Seven men were killed and forty-six injured at the Nunnery Colliery, Sheffield, through the breaking of the haulage chain while they were travelling in tubs to the workings.

5. The celebration of the centenary of the Oxford Union was planned to take place on this day, but owing to the Elections the banquet has been postponed until the New Year.

6. Polling Day. Throughout the day the weather was bright, but in the evening a thick fog settled over London, seriously marring the arrangements that had been made for announcing the results of the Elections.

12. The members of Lloyd's unanimously approved a contract for the purchase of nearly an acre of ground in the East-India Avenue Estate, in Leadenhall Street, on the site of which a hall would be built as a new home for Lloyd's.

14. The Board of Governors of the University of Toronto announced that the Rockefeller Foundation had granted the University a million-dollar endowment fund for the maintenance of the Medical Faculty of the University.

— The Annual Report of the Metropolitan Water Board was issued, showing that the Board supplied a total volume of 88,810,000 gallons of water, being a daily average supply per head of 35*07 gallons.

15. An earthquake destroyed the towns of Cumbai and Chile, near the frontier of Ecuador.

17. After three and a half years of uninterrupted success, the run of Gay's *Beggar's Opera* came to an end at the Lyric Theatre, Hammer-smith.

— The number of persons recorded on the live registers of the unemployment exchanges in Great Britain was 1,137,100, being 348,778 less than on January 1.

18. The first Public Library in the borough of Marylebone was opened.

21. It was announced that the Rockefeller Foundation would make a grant of 14,000J. to the Welsh National School of Medicine, at Cardiff, for building new laboratories and clinic facilities.

24. The French airship Dixmude, with fifty-one men on board, was reported lost.

27. The Archbishop of Canterbury addressed a letter to the Archbishops and Metropolitans of the Anglican Communion summarising the Keunion Movement, and giving an account of various conferences and discussions between members of the English and Roman Churches at Malines under the presidency of Cardinal Mercier.

28. The agreement was issued between the President of the Air Council and the British, Foreign and Colonial Corporation, Ltd., providing for the formation of the Imperial Air Transport Company, Ltd., with an initial capital of 1,000,000l. in 1l. shares.

29. The price of coal in London was advanced by 1s. a ton. Best Silkstone costs 52s. a ton, best nuts, 50s. and best gas coke, 33s.

31. Over 1,600,000 visitors came to the Zoological Gardens during 1923, so far the record total.

— A serious epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease broke out in August, and from August 27 to the end of the year 1,846 outbreaks were recorded. The number of animals slaughtered in consequence of the epidemic was: cattle, 62,822; sheep, 23,631; pigs, 30,785. The gross amount of compensation estimated to be payable in respect of slaughtered animals was 1,846,000l.

— In regard to human beings, *The Times* reported that the year was the healthiest in the history of the country. The death-rate never rose in any one week above 13.5 per 1,000; and for the whole year it averaged 11.8 per 1,000, the lowest on record.

— In regard to the weather, the year was characterised by excess of rainfall and deficiency of sunshine.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1923.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with art asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

THE following analysis of books published in the United Kingdom during 1923 is taken from the *Publishers' Circular*, by kind permission of the Editor, Mr. R. B. Marston. The increase over the total for the previous year exceeds 1,400, and the whole output has only once been surpassed, in 1913.

CLASSIFIED ANALYSIS OF BOOKS PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1923.

Classes of Literature.	New Books.		
	New Books.	Translations.	Pamphlets.
Philosophy	218	26	29
Religion	613	36	125
Sociology	545	15	249
Law	107	—	68
Education	174	1	57
Military and Naval	106		81
Philology	155		23
Science	468	23	80
Technology	483	6	109
Medicine, Public Health, etc.	270	14	56
Agriculture, Gardening •	127	—	34
Domestic Arts -	54		5
Business	84		27
Fine Arts	222	7	17
Music (Works about)	80	2	25
Games, Sports, etc. -	131	1	7
Literature -	340	25	19
Poetry and Drama -	428	48	68
Fiction - - - -	1,162	85	7
Juvenile -	569	10	54
History	380	17	52
Description and Travel	339	8	25
Geography	83	1	31
Biography -	336	24	5
General Works •	169	—	I 1
Totals	7,643	349	1,254
		9,246	

It was pleasant to note, both in the number of new publications and in the space devoted to the subject by those already established, the evidence of a growing popular interest in literature. *Cassell's Weekly*, which soon added to its title the honoured initials of its new editor, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, revived the name and the associations of *T. P.'s Weekly*. Later in the year the *Weekly Westminster* appeared in a new form, under the editorship of Mr. Ramsay Muir, having severed its connexion with the *Westminster Gazette*. Mr. J. Middleton Murry's new monthly, *The Adelphi*, favoured individualism, and afforded space to the less formal pronouncements of eminent writers and critics, but has hardly earned the distinction and authority it was expected to command. *Life and Letters*, a monthly devoted to current questions, politics, and literature, made its appearance in November. *The Bermondsey Book*, a new quarterly review of life and literature, in which many distinguished contributors ranged over a wide field, aimed definitely at bridging the rivers of prejudice and misunderstanding that divide the various classes of our population. *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, to be published annually in the first instance, displayed the scope and activity of the Cambridge History School; and in the field of science, special mention must be made of the appearance of three more volumes of Sir Richard Glazebrook's * *Dictionary of Physics*.

Biography, autobiography, and kindred works maintained their prominence, and there was a considerable increase in the number of volumes under the heading of history. In certain particulars a welcome change made itself manifest. Living personages suffered less from the attentions of the "analytical" biographer than had been their lot for some time past, and, despite the controversy naturally aroused by Mr. Winston Churchill's volumes, the general improvement in the temper of works dealing with the war period was undeniable. The many acceptable volumes of travel which made their appearance included nothing of major importance. In imaginative literature much admirable work was done, but the most fervent of the moderns would admit that masterpieces did not abound in fiction, poetry, or drama. In fact, for a year in whose output the foremost of our writers were represented, 1923 was curiously undistinguished. It did, however, witness a striking revival of interest in fine printing, such productions as the Congreve of the Nonesuch Press being particularly successful.

It is to be hoped that the historian of the future will be properly grateful for the work of our day in biography and autobiography; the age is at least *bien documentée*. Several works appeared in celebration of notable anniversaries. A beautiful *Memorial Volume, 1632-1723*, by various hands, was only one of many that marked the bicentenary of Sir Christopher Wren. The tercentenary of a delightful English musician called forth Dr. Edmund H. Fellowes' *William Byrd*, while Mr. Newman Flower's *George Frideric Handel* appeared on the eve of the great Triennial Festival. Among those not written for special occasions, the lives of statesmen may be given pride of place. *The Life and Times of John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale*, by Mr. W. C. Mackenzie, succeeded in winning understanding, not admiration, for the agent of Charles II's policy in Scotland. The two volumes of Lady Frances Balfour's *Life of George, Fourth Earl*

of Aberdeen, were rather a huge memorial to that minor Victorian figure. Two illustrious Liberal leaders were portrayed full length in the **Life, of Sir William Vernon Harcourt*, by Mr. A. G. Gardiner, and the **Life of the Rt Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, G.C.B.*, by J. A. Spender. Mr. Shane Leslie compiled a brilliant memoir of a Parliamentary figure of high promise and considerable achievement in *Marie Sykes: Life and Letters*. The Hon. Clive Bigham supplemented his previous volume with **The Chief Ministers of England, 920-1720*, and Mr. Charles Whibley published a second series of his *Political Portraits*, including a noteworthy set of papers on Disraeli. National leaders outside the Empire were represented by Lord Charnwood's able and enthusiastic *Theodore Roosevelt*, and Bay Stannard Baker's *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, written from the unpublished and personal documents the President took away with him from Paris, the importance of which to the history of the Peace Conference justifies the scale of three volumes. Soldiers and sailors provided the central figures of several conspicuous works: Lady Brownrigg's attractive *Life and Letters of Sir John Moore*; the *Life of General the Rt. Hon. Sir Redvers Buller, V.C.*, to whose memory Colonel C. H. Melville did welcome justice; the *Life of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Arthur Knyvet Wilson*, by Admiral Sir E. E. Bradford; and Mr. Hugh Robert Mill's *Life of Sir Ernest Shackleton*. A great scientist was commemorated in the *Life of Sir William Crookes, O.M., F.R.S.*, by Dr. E. E. Fournier d'Albe. **Lord Shaftesbury*, by J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, may perhaps be fittingly coupled with the *Life of George Gadbury*, by Mr. A. G. Gardiner; both were amply entitled to the gratitude of their fellow-men, yet both were hard to love. *Bernard Vaughan, S.J.*, by C. C. Martindale, S.J., showed how far the real greatness of Father Vaughan was apart from his newspaper notoriety. Historical biography was represented by the **Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, a scholarly piece of work undertaken by Dr. Bernard Henderson, an Oxford Historian; and **Manin and the Venetian Revolution* from the pen of Mr. G. M. Trevelyan. Artists ancient and modern provided material for several important volumes. Sir Theodore Cook's *Leonardo da Vinci, Sculptor*, supported the attribution of yet more masterpieces to his hero. *Rembrandt's Paintings*, a handsome work by Mr. D. S. Meldrum, dealt with the artist's uneventful life, and criticised his work with the authority that comes from deep admiration. He did not, however, discuss the question of the authenticity of the paintings attributed to Rembrandt, over which high dispute arose during the year. One of *The Studio's* beautiful volumes of reproductions was devoted to *Thomas Rowlandson: His Drawings and Water-Colours*, by Mr. A. P. Oppe; a masterly and masterful portrait-painter was depicted in the *Life and Letters of Sir Hubert Herkomer*, by Mr. J. Saxon Mills; and *Claud Lovat Fraser*, by Mr. John Drinkwater and Mr. Albert Rutherston, and *The Book of Lovat Claud Fraser*, by Major Haidane Macfall, were rather grandiose tributes to a graceful but restricted talent and an attractive personality. Authors were by no means neglected. There were Mr. Andrew Baker's *Robert Burns; His Life and Genius*, and Mr. H. W. Garrod's *Wordsworth: Lectures and Essays*, an unusually fresh and acute study; in *Tennyson: A Modern Portrait*, Mr. Hugh I'Anson Fausset set out to show that the Georgians do not

criticise the Victorian poet out of inherent depravity, but on serious grounds; and *Carlyle till Marriage (1795-1826)*, by Mr. David Alec Wilson, was the first volume of an ambitious, anti-Proudhian biography, in which the young man's personal history and philosophical development were studied in remarkable but never bewildering detail. Mr. Sidney Dark and Miss Rowland Grey hardly did full justice to their subject in *W. S. Gilbert: His Life and Letters*. Mrs. Janet Penrose Trevelyan told worthily the story of her mother's literary and social work in the *Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward*. No more complete and faithful portrait of a fine Englishwoman could be desired.

Diplomats and politicians were prominent in the autobiography of the year. Walburga Lady Paget's *Embassies of Other Days* ranged over the period from 1860 to 1893 in the embassies of Copenhagen, Lisbon, Florence, Rome, and Vienna. Sir Rennell Rodd's second series of *Social and Diplomatic Memories, 1894-1907*, covered a momentous epoch in Egyptian history, and gave a thrilling account of the author's mission to Menelik of Abyssinia. *An Ambassador's Memoirs*, by M. Maurice Paleologue, translated by Mr. F. A. Holt, though the published volume only carried the story of events at the Russian Court from July, 1914, to the following June, was obviously destined to have supreme historical value. This year also brought an English edition of **All in a Lifetime*, the autobiography of Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to Turkey during two years of war. Sir Henry Robinson's *Memoirs, Wise and Otherwise*, gave the harvest of forty years of official life in Ireland. There was uncommon personal and political interest in the *Memories* in which the Rt. Hon. Viscount Long of Wraxall looked back over the career of the better-known Mr. Walter Long, and another journey to the Treasury Bench by a very different road was described in *From Workshop to War Cabinet*, by the Rt. Hon. George N. Barnes. Sir Harry's Johnston's *Story of My Life* narrated such an experience as explorer and administrator in Africa, as naturalist, philologist, artist, and novelist as might well content a dozen men. There was a surprising but far from unwelcome outbreak of autobiography on the part of journalists. Of Sir Henry Lucy's *Diary of a Journalist*, however, two volumes had already appeared; the third (1910-16) happily disregarded the earlier date, and, though 1916 saw the end of "Toby M.P.V diary in *Punch*, the conclusion of the private journals need not yet be feared. Fleet Street proper was represented by Mr. Ernest Smith's thrilling *Fields of Adventure* and Sir Philip Gibbs's *Adventures in Journalism*. Mr. H. W. Nevinson's *Chances and Changes* took up to 1903 the personal history of a daring war correspondent, social worker, and controversialist. Two novelists contributed their recollections—Mr. Algernon Blackwood, in his exciting but unenviable *Episodes before Thirty*, and Mr. Pett Ridge, whose *A Story-Teller: Forty Years in London*, might justly have given his own attractive personality more prominence than he allowed it. The stories, excellent in themselves, hid the story-teller. The triumphant career of our great woman military painter was absorbingly told in *An Autobiography*, by Lady Butler. Mr. Oscar Browning's characteristic *Memories of Later Years* was the last published work of his lifetime. About the Rev. A. H. Sayce's *Reminiscences* the only possible complaint would be that his wide-ranging researches,

achievements, and adventures had been two briefly told. The burlesque prophetic reminiscences contained in Father Ronald A. Knox's * *Memories of the Future* made one of the most amusing volumes of the year.

Among cognate works, the second volume of *The Farington Diary*, edited by Mr. James Greig, containing the entries for a further two years up to 1804, claimed general attention. The most noteworthy part of the *Letters of Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, John Sterling, and Robert Browning*, edited by Mr. Alexander Carlyle, was the correspondence with Mill. The *Letters and Papers of John Addington Symonds*, edited by Mr. Horatio F. Brown, contained many interesting references to Browning, Tennyson, Gladstone, Stevenson, and the other giants of those days.

To the huge mass of the literature of the Great War, additions of the highest importance were made by two of the most prominent figures of that period, whose works were as sharply contrasted as their personalities. *The Genesis of the War*, by the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, M.P., had the coolness, deliberateness, and impersonality—one might almost add, the aridity—of a judgment propounded in another planet. Mr. Asquith set himself to prove two things: that for long before the struggle began England had striven for peace as obstinately as Germany had driven towards war, and that his own Government had meanwhile taken the proper steps to confront in detail the perils it foresaw. The development of the first thesis was familiar enough, but Mr. Asquith's account of the work of the Committee of Defence was packed with new and valuable information. If Mr. Asquith was the unemotional judge, Mr. Winston Churchill was the impassioned advocate. About the two volumes of *The World Crisis*, devoted to 1911-14 and 1915 respectively, violent controversy was bound to arise, given an author and politician of so challenging a quality. Whenever the personal issue could be ignored, there was no lack of tribute to the literary and historical significance of so brilliant a chronicle of the coming of the war, the supreme part played by the British Navy, and the hopes, triumphs, and tragedies of the Dardanelles Campaign. Volume III. of the official * *History of the Great War Naval Operations* was the last work of the lamented Sir Julian S. Corbett, finally edited by Lieut.-Colonel Daniel; it ranged somewhat discursively over the period from the evacuation of Gallipoli to the close of the Battle of Jutland. The first volume of another official history, *The Campaign in Mesopotamia*, compiled by Brigadier-General F. J. Moberly, closed with the capture of Kut in September, 1915, after providing an excellent survey of the conditions governing the whole campaign, and an admirable account of its troubled course before real disaster began to overtake it. It is no slight upon the many praiseworthy records of individual units to single out the two volumes of *The Irish Guards in the Great War*, edited and compiled from their diaries and papers (not to mention the proof of much verbal communication) by Mr. Rudyard Kipling, whose only son was last seen wearing their uniform at Loos. To this task Mr. Kipling dedicated his whole genius. The work contained battle pictures that were marvels of the constructive imagination; and in commemorating the deeds and the sufferings of the two battalions of the Irish Guards it came near to being the epic of the whole of the armies of Britain.

Among historical works the great enterprises of the Cambridge University Press led the van with the first volume of the * *Cambridge Ancient History*, edited by Professor J. B. Bury, Mr. S. A. Cook, and Mr. R. E. Adcock, bringing the story of Egypt and Babylonia down to B.C. 1580; Volumes II and III. of the * *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919*, edited by Sir A. W. Ward and Dr. G. P. Gooch, covering the periods 1815-66 and 1866-1919, and concluding the work; and the fourth volume of the * *Cambridge Mediseval History*. Professor J. B. Bury re-wrote on a much larger scale his famous *History of the Later Roman Empire*, and Mr. T. Kice Holmes issued three volumes on *The Roman Republic and the Founders of the Empire*. *The Legacy of Rome*, edited by Mr. Cyril Bailey, was a collection of essays on the arts, Empire, science, and thought of Rome; *The Pageant of Greece*, under the direction of Mr. R. W. Livingstone, aimed at revealing Greek writers and their work to readers who know no Greek. Dr. Gooch's *History of Modern Europe, 1878-1919*, was rather a history of chancelleries than of peoples. A second edition of Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire*, whose history the author had carried from 1288 to 1914, was continued to 1922 by Sir Valentine Chirol's record of the rise of German influence in Turkey, and the War and its outcome at that date. Works devoted to single nations included the second volume (1815-30) of M. lillie HaleVy's noteworthy *Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIXihne Siecle*, and plentiful material for the analysis of insurrections in *The Revolution in Ireland, 1906-23*, by Professor W. Alison Phillips, who was specially fortunate in having access to documents now unavailable, Mr. H. J. Stenning's translation of *The German Revolution and After*, by the Marxian Heinrich StrObel, an interesting but congested work, and Dr. Otto Bauer's authoritative survey *Die Osterreichische Revolution*. Commercial history received such valuable additions as the letters of the great house of merchants and bankers, the Fuggers of Augsburg, published in Vienna, and Mr. J. Aubrey Bees' *The Worshipful Company of Grocers : An Historical Retrospect, 1345-1923*. Mrs. Ethel M. Richardson chronicled in the two volumes of *The Lion and the Rose* the annals of the Norfolk and Suffolk lines of the ducal house of Howard.

In the realm of politics and economics there was all the call and counter-cry to be expected amid the manifold bewilderments of the time. Mr. Lloyd George collected under the title of *Is it Peace?* newspaper articles that scarcely encouraged an affirmative. In *Questions of the Hour* Viscount Milner discussed the aftermath of war, industrial peace, taxation and economy, and the wider problems of Empire in a generous and heartening spirit. Mr. Caillaux's *Whither France? Whither Europe?* with its sombre review and explanation of the economic disintegration of the Continent, appeared in an English translation. Narrowing the scene to this island, Mr. Olive Bell's *On British Freedom* lamented the passing of our personal liberties, which have so often survived their own obituary; and it may not be amiss to mention here a German work, *England*, by W. Dibelius, an astonishingly detailed, satisfactory, and approving description of every department of this country's life. The problems of the Near East were dealt with in the lively pages of Mr. Thomas Lyell's *The Ins and Outs of Mesopotamia*, and Mr. J. de V. Loder's fair

and amply documented *The Truth about Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria*. In *China in the Family of Nations* Mr. Henry T. Hodgkin showed a confidence and optimism that the present condition of the country hardly justifies. Dr. Alfred Marshall made another important contribution to economics in **Money, Credit and Commerce*, though he was unable to complete the task he originally set himself. Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey issued his balanced and thoughtful *Economics of the Hour*. Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb and Mr. and Mrs. Bertrand Russell represented Socialist thought in diverse fashions in their respective works, *The Decay of Capitalist Civilisation* and **The Prospects of Industrial Civilisation*. A useful account of the shop-steward movement developed during the War was provided in *Workshop Organisation* by Mr. G. D. H. Cole.

To the literature of travel and discovery several interesting additions were made. The late Viscount Bryce's *Memories of Travel* ranged over Tahiti, Iceland, Western America, Siberia, and 1 Switzerland. The Marquess Curzon of Ke lleston wandered wide in the days of his youth, in Central Asia, India, Afghanistan, and Egypt, winning the esteem of Oriental potentates by an unexpected resourcefulness and humour, and acquiring or applying an erudition that defeated experts on their own ground. His *Tales of Travel*, with their separate chapters on the world's great waterfalls, the Vocal Memnon, and the phenomenon of singing sands, made one of the year's most entertaining volumes. The Earl of Ronaldshay published in *Lands of the Thunderbolt* what his expeditions into Sikkim, Chumbi, and Bhutan had taught him of their geography and religions. Brigadier-General the Hon. C. G. Bruce and his companions told an unforgettable story in their second work *The Assault on Mount Everest, 1922*. Another fascinating volume, mingling triumphs and disappointments, was Mr. Hiram Bingham's *Inca Land: Explorations in the Highlands of Peru*, the story of his journeys in the Andes on behalf of Yale University and the American National Geographic Society. Mr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson again urged in *The Northward Course of Empire* that the Arctic is really a comfortably habitable and desirable region, destined to become a valuable addition to the Empire. An unfamiliar corner of Europe provided Mr. D. H. Lawrence with a fitting subject in *Sea and Sardinia*. Mr. Howard Carter and Mr. A. C. Mace issued the first volume of *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, which unfortunately shared its title with a translation of a French work on the same subject by M. Jean Capart. Mr. C. Dalrymple Belgrave, in his description of an extraordinary town and its inhabitants in *Siwa; The Oasis of Jupiter Ammon*, suggested the treasures that the Libyan desert might one day yield up to the archaeologist.

Philosophy and theology entered upon no new phase, though considerable activity was evident in both. The doctrine of Relativity inspired numerous volumes of exposition and application, and the polemics which any hint of the possible reunion of the Churches seems to evoke bulked large in the publishers' lists. The Earl of Balfour's second series of Gifford Lectures, published as *Theism and Thought/ A Study in Familiar Beliefs*, would content neither materialist nor metaphysician; but the charity and clarity of thought manifest as ever throughout these papers are still rather the treasure of individuals than of schools. In **Science*

and *Civilisation* Mr. Marwin continued his series of papers, each by a different pen, on the fundamental questions of the age. The last work of a great European philosopher, hardly more than an introduction to the work he had contemplated, appeared in the two volumes of Ernst Troeltsch's *Der Historismus und seine Probleme*. Sir J. G. Frazer's abridgment of his **Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* made a famous work accessible to a wider public. In the first of the three volumes which are to compose his **Five Centuries of Religion*, Mr. G. G. Coulton laid the foundation of what promises to be a superb history of mediaeval monasticism with his study of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, his predecessors and successors, from A.D. 1000 to 1200. *The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ*, by the Kt. Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, C.H., D.D. (now Bishop of Gloucester), was the first volume of his fine examination and vindication of the Gospel narrative of the ministry of Christ.

Essays, whether critical or general, present another of the minor problems of the time. Enough volumes are composed entirely of papers reprinted from the daily and weekly press to justify the question whether the work is less ephemeral than of yore, or the authors more economical. Such work as that contained in the three volumes of Mr. Augustine Birrell's *Collected Essays*, which include five papers previously unpublished, need not abide our question any more than the *Collected Essays and Papers* (three volumes) in which the universality of Professor Saintsbury, whose *Second Scrap Book* appeared during the autumn, was conqueringly displayed. Another unchallengeable collection was that of Sir Walter Raleigh's literary essays, 1896-1916, published as **Some Authors*. As the work of a modern on the moderns, Mr. Edward Shanks's *First Essays on Literature* is unfairly dwarfed by this juxtaposition; the author showed at least the virtue of being more intent on communicating and explaining pleasure than on exposing faults. This work, however, had not the challenge, the ardour, the vivification of Mr. Aldous Huxley's slightest papers in *On the Margin*. Mr. J. C. Squire presented his *Essays on Poetry* with the modesty and authority of a true poet. The deft handling of much curious lore of men and things antique gave a peculiar charm to Mr. A. M. Samuel's *The Mancraft Essays*. *Shepherd's Crowns* was a collection of gentle, wise, and mystical reflections by Viscountess Grey. Mr. A. B. Walkley entitled his typical group *More Prejudice*, and Mr. Robert Lynd, Mr. E. V. Lucas, and Mr. G. K. Chesterton respectively contributed *The Blue Lion*, *Luck of the Year*, and the rather contentious *Fancies and Fads*. *Marcel Proust: an English Tribute*, by various admirers of the French novelist, and M. Andre* Chevrillon's *Three Studies in English Literature: Kipling, Galsworthy, Shakespeare*, may perhaps be allowed to stand as reciprocal courtesies. Mr. Laurence Housman's *Echo de Paris* reconstructed a moving episode with the fallen Oscar Wilde as its central figure, and Mr. Norman Douglas published his rather studiedly ruthless and wayward *Together*, which might equally well be classified as autobiography, travel, or *olla podrida*. Mrs. Taylor's **Aspects of the Italian Renaissance* contained brilliant word pictures rather than historical narrative.

The place of honour in the field of poetic drama must be given to Mr. Thomas Hardy's austere and moving version of the Tristram and Iseult

story, *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall* Mr. Laurence Binyon retold the kindred tale of the falsehood of Lancelot **and** Guenevere in his tragedy of *Arthur*. Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie handled impressively the rather disagreeable theme of **Phoenix : a Tragi-Comedy*, and Mr. John Masefield published a tragedy in verse, *A King's Daughter*, a free and peculiar treatment of the story of Jezebel, omitting Elijah, and introducing Helen of Troy as a theme for the songs of the chorus. *True Travellers : A Tramp's Opera*, by Mr. W. H. Davies, was, in spite of some felicitous lyrics, a not wholly successful essay in the genre of the *Beggar's Opera*. In the prose drama Mr. Arnold Bennett, following great exemplars, took the subject of his *Don Juan de Marana* from an old and famous story ; his version will one day do honour to the English stage. Mr. Harley Granville-Barker published a three-act play of ideas, **The Secret Life*; and Mr. St. John G. Ervine, more easily satisfied as a playwright than as a dramatic critic, the trifling *Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary*. Mr. C. K. Munro's *The Rumour* was hailed in many quarters as one of the most distinguished plays of our time. The strange and powerful work of Mr. Eugene O'Neill was displayed in two further volumes, *The Moon of the Caribbees* and *Beyond the Horizon*; while Mr. Laurence Housman continued his dramatic pictures of aspects of Franciscan Life in his *Followers of St. Francis*.

Volumes of poetry appeared in the abundance which has hardly ceased, even after several years, to be astonishing. The four volumes of the *Poetical Works of Andrew Lang*, edited by Mrs. Lang, were particularly welcome; their wit, fancy, and scholarship should long defend them from oblivion. Among living poets the practice of issuing Collected Works very much betimes seemed to be on the increase, as witnessed the two volumes of the **Collected Works of John Drinkwater*, Mr. W. H. Davies' *Collected Poems: Second Series*, and Mr. John Masefield's *Collected Poems*. In the *Last Poems of Alice Meynell* a rare and restrained talent gave its final offering. Another posthumous volume, the *Poems* of Miss Katherine Mansfield, proved her work in verse to be as vivid, searching, and subtle as her prose. Mr. Walter de la Mare issued no fresh work, but his **Songs of Childhood* appeared in a new edition, and his anthology *Come Hither* was annotated in a delightful vein. Mr. Robert Graves allowed himself many a frolic in *Whipperginny*. Mr. D. H. Lawrence, not content with figuring among the travel books and the fiction of the year, produced a collection of free verse, *Birds, Beasts, and Flowers*. In **King Cole* Mr. John Masefield gave us a curious mixture of naturalism and mysticism. Mr. J. C. Squire's *American Poems and Others* contained his disturbing piece on the Chicago stockyards. Mr. T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* won laurels across the Atlantic before appearing here; it was less a poem than an intellectual exercise, for which the author's notes provided no adequate elucidation. Mr. Sturge Moore introduced strange elements of psychology and comparative mythology into his blank-verse variation on the Gospel story in *Judas*, and Mr. Arthur Waley repeated his former success in the translation of Chinese poetry in *The Temple*.

In the list of the year's novels the names of our most famous writers of fiction appeared, and their supremacy in this department was not

seriously disputed, in spite of the constant revelations of new talent. Mr. Arnold Bennett confirmed—it would not be untrue to say retrieved—his reputation with * *Riceman Steps*, adapting his Five Towns method to a Clerkenwell setting, and giving London a new place of literary pilgrimage. Mr. H. G. Wells also reverted to an earlier manner in * *Men Like Gods*, his new Utopia being situated in a different Dimension. In * *The Rover* Mr. Joseph Conrad exerted his skill rather than his magic in a work that was therefore below his greatest. Mr. Hugh Walpole's *Jeremy and Hamlet* was a holiday piece about a boy and a dog, who made many friends in a previous volume, and Mr. Frank Swinnerton published his rather trivial * *The Three Lovers*, and *Young Felix*, a study of boyhood and adolescence which suffered by appearing later in the day than many another on the same lines. Sir Hall Caine deserved all respect for the appeal for peace and reconciliation between the peoples dramatised in his tragic story *The Woman of Knockaloe*. If Mrs. Edith Wharton's *A Son at the Front*, the moving tale of an American father, his divorced wife, and their adored son in the French Army, had not been disfigured by evidences of a "war mind" still dominating the author, its real qualities might have been more fairly recognised. *Peace in Our Time*, by Mr. Oliver Onions, was a study of the unemployed ex-officer problem, but the characters did not evoke the sympathy they claimed. Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith showed remarkable power in *The End of the House of Alurd*, the story of a great family in decay, and Mr. Michael Sadleir made the ancient house of an ancient line the gloomy background of his hectic *Desolate Splendour*, while all the passions ran riot in the mansion that was the setting of Miss Storm Jameson's * *The Pitiful Wife*. For relief the reader might turn to the characteristic *Moordius and Go.* of Mr. W. J. Locke, the vigorous satire on the artistic cliques and cults of to-day in Mr. Louis Golding's * *Sea Coast of Bohemia*, Miss Rose Macaulay's more subtle play with the congregated follies of half a century in * *Told by an Idiot*, or, if sophisticated enough, to the dance of satyrs in Mr. Aldous Huxley's *Antic Hay*. Miss G. B. Stern displayed her usual wit and dexterity in * *The Back Seat*. Mr. Compton Mackenzie did delicate and moving work in *The Seven Ages of Woman*, but *The Parson's Progress*, the second part of another trilogy, required an interest that not every one can feel in a clergyman's wanderings on the Anglican and Roman borderlands. Mr. James Stephens retold an ancient tale in his brilliant * *Deirdre*. Mr. D. H. Lawrence's experiences in Australia went to the making of *Kangaroo*, and a set of his powerful "long-short" stories appeared in * *The Ladybird*. The sentimental history of a sensitive man gave Mr. J. D. Beresford the theme of * *Love's Pilgrim*. Mr. Michael Aden's *These Charming People* might well, for purposes of contrast, accompany *Under-London*, by Mr. Stephen Graham, which described the continual waste of human potentialities in mean surroundings. Among first novels three distinguished pieces of work may be mentioned: *The Conquered*, an historical novel, by Mrs. Naomi Micheson; Miss Madeline Linford's * *Broken Bridges*; and *The Shoreless Sea*, a book of astonishing maturity by a girl of sixteen, Miss Mollie Panter-Downes. American novels issued in this country comprised two early works by Mr. Sinclair Lewis, *The Trail of the Hawk* and *Our Mr. Wrenn*, Mr. Joseph Hergesheimer's

picturesque *The Bright Shawl*, and Mr. Sherwood Anderson's *Many Marriages*, comment on which is discouraged by the fact that one review of the book cost an English editor four months' imprisonment.

The vogue of the short story continued to increase. Mr. John Galsworthy's *Captures* and Mr. Walter de la Mare's *The Riddle and other Stories* and a posthumous volume by Miss Katherine Mansfield, *The Dove's Nest*, were worthy of their authors, and Mr. Rudyard Kipling's *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides* was one of the successes of the year. Thrilling situations and powerful writing abounded in Miss C. E. Montague's *Fiery Particles*, Miss May Sinclair's *Uncanny Stories*, and Mr. John Russell's *In Dark Places*. Mr. Robert Nichols issued three lengthy parables, with a combative preface, in **Fantastica*, and the ingenuity and humour of *According to Gibson*, by Mr. Denis Mackail, met with general appreciation.

Of the above books the following have been deemed suitable for special notice:—

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Cambridge Mediaeval History: Volume IV.—The Eastern Roman Empire, 717-1453 (Cambridge University Press). The Cambridge University Press deserves the gratitude of scholars for at least four works on a grand scale which it has issued during the year. Pride of place must be given to the fourth volume of the Cambridge Mediaeval History, which continues the tradition of the three previous volumes. It tells the story of the Byzantine Empire throughout seven centuries, and the picture it presents is in accord with the best results of modern research. When it is recalled that Professor Bury, Professor Diehl, and Mr. Miller are responsible for large portions of the work, it will be readily understood that the book is fully abreast of modern scholarship. The two glories of this fourth volume are Professor Bury's Introduction and Professor Diehl's last chapter. In the latter we have a fascinating narrative depicting Constantinople. Within the compass of a single chapter Professor Diehl gives us a vivid and clear account of the Byzantine Capital, its palaces and churches, its markets and shops, its monks and scholars. The book is furnished with the ample Bibliographies which we have come to expect in this series, and the maps will be found extremely useful.

The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1918. Edited by Sir A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch. Vol. I L, 1815-66. Vol. I I I ., 1866-1919 (Cambridge University Press.) The second volume of this great work suggests in its own plan one of the outstanding features of the period it covers. The career and policy of Castlereagh can be well handled in one chapter by a single author, and so it is with Canning. With Palmerston, however, the practice of general survey is abandoned in favour of a series of specialist papers on particular developments during his administration. Professor Alison Phillips establishes firmly the reputation of Castlereagh, too long foolishly maligned, and his study of the irreconcilable views and ambitions

of Great Britain and her Allies at the end of a titanic conflict has a poignant interest for the reader of 1923. Castlereagh was undeniably the spokesman of the Britain of his day. Of Canning, as Mr. Temperley's excellent chapter suggests, it is truer to say that he spoke and the country followed. Before him no direct appeal to public opinion here and abroad on questions of foreign policy had ever been made outside Parliament. This innovation, with its later development in the issue of Blue-books, marked a new epoch in diplomacy, and it was the lot of Palmerston to explore the possibilities and perils of the system in face of the astonished indignation of the potentates of Europe and Asia. Many writers deal with the separate phases of his policy—Mr. Omond, for example, with the Belgian settlement, Professor Newton with our difficulties during the American Civil War, Professor Clapham with the negotiations resulting in the Commercial Treaty with France, and Mr. Mowat with Eastern affairs. Professor Hearnshaw has the congenial task of appraising Palmerston's real greatness as a statesman, and maintains it against all comers. If the France of Napoleon III. is the villain of the piece in this volume, Germany fills the same role in Volume III. The policy outlined by Mr. Crutwell in the opening chapter on "Neutrality in Continental Affairs," our anxiety to avoid "entanglements" between 1866 and 1874, is seen bringing in its revenges when Mr. Gooch closes the story. Professor de Montmorency discusses "Sea Policy and Alabama Claims," and Mr. W. H. Dawson contributes two chapters on the general history of 1874-99 and the problems of India, Africa, Egypt, and the Far East. Had the latter been treated so as to show more vividly their relation to the growing antagonisms of the European Powers, it would not seem such a sudden, gratuitous outbreak of malevolence that Sir Valentine Chirol has to describe in his account of the international position at the time of the Boer War. The final period, the twelve years before the outbreak of the Great War, is in the capable hands of Dr. Gooch, who adds a discreet chapter on the Peace which does credit to his self-restraint. Mr. Algernon Cecil's lively and informative chapter on the history of the Foreign Office, which concludes the work, deserves special commendation.

The Cambridge Ancient History: Volume I.—Egypt and Babylonia to 1580 B.C. Edited by J. B. Bury, M.A., F.B.A., S. A. Cook, Litt.D., and F. E. Adcock, M.A. (Cambridge University Press). The intention of the editors of the *Ancient History*, which begins courageously with the dark backward of geological time, is to link up with the *Cambridge Medieval History* at A.D. 324, and to form with that and the *Modern History* one continuous work. The first two chapters of the present volume, by Professor John L. Myres, are devoted to Pre-Glacial geography, the chief races of principal man, the Ice Age, the Stone Age, Neolithic culture, and the Bronze Age. His exposition of the wonderful work of interpreting prehistoric life from its poor kitchen leavings, flints, and shards, is effectively supplemented by Professor E. A. Stewart Macalister's fascinating account of exploration and excavation in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and the iEgean, and the decipherment and recovery of forgotten scripts and languages. The complexities of

chronology are next examined: Mesopotamian and Old Testament by Dr. Stanley A. Cook, the Egyptian system by Dr. H. R. Hall, and that of the four great archaeological divisions of prehistoric Greece by Mr. A. J. B. Wace. Dr. Cook then begins the history of the Semites, their languages and migrations, mentality and outlook, social and political philosophy, and their earliest history so far as it is recoverable from their complicated annals. Professor T. Eric Peet starts the Egyptian section with his account of the Predynastic Period in the light of the evidence disclosed by the spade, and the account of Egyptian life and thought during the Old and Middle Kingdoms is also his work. Dr. H. R. Hall is responsible for the history of the first twelve dynasties and the coming and expulsion of the Hyksos kings; the chapter on the art of Early Egypt and Babylonia is entrusted to the same authority. Five chapters are devoted to Babylonian history. Professor Stephen Langdon deals with the physical characteristics, traditional dynasties, city-states, and cities of early Babylonia, and the great Semitic conqueror, Sargon, his descendant, Naram Sin, the Kings of Gutium and Lagash, and the revival and decline of Sumerian power. Mr. R. Campbell Thompson relates the development of the triangular contest between Isin, Larsa, and Babylon, and describes the city of Babylon and life, thought, literature, and administration during the golden age of Hammurabi, which is followed by the descent of the Kassites upon his successors, and the establishment of the Kassite dynasty. The marvellous results of modern research have provided Mr. A. J. B. Wace with the material for the concluding chapter on the Minoan, Cycladic, Helladic, and Thessalian civilisations of the *Ægean*. Bibliographies, comparative tables, and lists of Egyptian and Babylonian kings complete the volume, which is furnished with clear well-indexed maps. The importance of this new undertaking need not be emphasised. The various authors have succeeded in making their respective chapters interesting to readers of quite ordinary scholarship, and even this first volume of the very dawn of history is rich in detail of irresistible human appeal.

Five Centuries of Religion, by C. G. Coulton. Volume J. St. Bernard, his predecessors and successors, A.D. 1000-1200 (Cambridge University Press). Two things strike the reader of Mr. Coulton's first volume of his work, which is planned to be completed in three: his style and his learning. There are in the book some wonderful prose passages, and the author's erudition seems stupendous. He gives the impression of knowing everything there is to be known and of having read every authority on his subject. These two qualities make up for the lack of method which characterises the book as a whole. But we can well tolerate this weakness, if weakness it is, seeing that in return Mr. Coulton furnishes us with a living picture of one aspect of mediaeval religion. It may be that some specialists will not accept all Mr. Coulton's conclusions; it may be that they will disagree with his general attitude towards mediaeval monasticism. The plain man, however, will find the book delightful reading. Despite Mr. Coulton's obvious dislike of monasticism, he yet, like a true scholar, strives to understand it, weighing up the good and the evil in the system. It is often **imagined** that scholars who are learned of necessity write dry-as-dust treatises.

Mr. Coulton shows that such a supposition is utterly groundless. His narrative is alive; every page has its harvest of interest, and readers will be grateful to the Cambridge University Press for having made Mr. Coulton's work accessible. The illustrations which accompany the book are exceedingly interesting, but perhaps there are far too few of them.

The *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, by Bernard W. Henderson (Methuen). Of the meagre material available for the study of Hadrian's baffling personality, Dr. Henderson has made remarkable use. His figure of the Emperor, if not likely to be accepted without demur, is at least solid-seeming and of human port. He has portrayed a ruler of many varied gifts, whose taste and talent for the arts did not weaken his practical statcraft and interest in military organisation, whose Wall still runs from coast to coast of Britain, whatever may have befallen his own sculptures in Rome. It is as soldier and administrator that he commands the admiration of the author. Dr. Henderson sees him as the strong man armed keeping his Empire, where another interpreter of the same scanty records might find nothing more than an obtuse adherence to traditionalism and the idea of centralisation of power. His Hadrian is sculptor, author, and musician, the patron of all the arts, but everywhere the perpetuator of tradition, devoted, as literature and architecture remain to testify, to the established forms. He felt these, perhaps, a heritage to be guarded as faithfully as the Empire itself, and, as with the Empire, his policy was to hold, not to acquire. Dr. Henderson's volume has a vitality and interest unusual in works on such a subject.

The events of the past ten years have put up a great barrier between us and the statesmen of that far-off period before the Great War. The younger generation know of them only by repute : and even to the older they have become dwarfed through the greater events which have intervened. The *Life of Sir William Harcourt*, by A. G. Gardiner (Constable, 2 vols.) comes to remind us of the importance which this period once enjoyed, and must still enjoy in any comprehensive view of the history of this country. In the struggle for supremacy which is now going on before our eyes, it remains of the utmost importance to remember the figures which led the great constitutional parties along the road of progress and brought about thereby much of what is most characteristic and most to be admired in English politics. In addition, Harcourt's is an unusually interesting character—to read about if not to associate with—in an age when a drab uniformity was rapidly gaining ground. His was an open and jovial personality, very human in every sense of the word, childlike and affectionate yet irascible and impetuous. It is a remarkable contrast which is formed with his great leader. Gladstone's intense conviction and invariable seriousness accorded ill with the flippant and light-hearted manner of the man who became his principal lieutenant. Temperamentally, Harcourt inclined far more to Disraeli, glorying like him in the battle for its own sake and gifted with a levity which did not seem far removed from cynicism. His buoyant and impetuous record as politician is apt to make us forget that Harcourt had made his position in law and letters before he ever obtained Cabinet rank and even before he joined the House. It is enough to say that he succeeded

Maine as Whewell Professor of International Law at Cambridge; and to this may be added the reminder that his brilliant Budget of 1894 was the only triumph of a singularly unfortunate Ministry. He was, too, perhaps the last great Parliamentarian of the heroic age—an essential "House of Commons" man: and this is in itself no small praise. **Yet** in spite of all his great gifts he was never really popular or trusted in any of the many circles in which his versatility allowed him to move, though his friendship with his son "Lulu" has already passed into a proverb. It goes without saying that Mr. Gardiner naturally looks upon his subject and writes about him in a manner which no stretch of the imagination can describe as impartial; and the book has perhaps in addition the fault of excessive length, a result of needlessly heavy quotation from the words of its subject. But like his own life, though frequently provocative, it is never dull: and even in its partisanship it serves to call up the recollections and the atmosphere of the strife of a bygone age.

Another work of biography largely dealing with the same period is the **Life of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman**, by J. A. Spender (Hodder & Stoughton, 2 vols.). His was, however, a personality diametrically opposite to that of Harcourt. His character was anything but brilliant, and his rise to office slow and painstaking. He achieved the leadership of the Liberal Party at one of its darkest periods almost by default, at a time when Rosebery and Harcourt were still at the height of their powers; and it was united under him by something approaching a masterly inaction upon his part coupled with the strategical blunders of his opponents. Thus he arrived at last to enjoy the fruits of office in the teeth of men more brilliant by far than he. Yet in office he achieved that settlement which remains one of the highest and noblest monuments of British statesmanship at its wisest and its best, and which the experience of recent years has so amply justified. Mr. Spender, as private secretary to Campbell-Bannerman during the later and more important years of his career, has the best of all qualifications for writing his biography; and personal acquaintance serves to vivify the somewhat drab record which his earlier life must present to any but an enthusiast. The character of the subject appears very clearly in these pages—patient, orderly, unpretentious, and unambitious. His was a nature supremely honest and outspoken, with a carelessness of the consequences frequently perilous at the moment though sometimes since justified by experience. Already one instance from Mr. Spender's work has become almost historic—that, in the opinion of Louis Botha, three words of Campbell-Bannerman, *methods of barbarism*, "made for peace and union in South Africa." Yet this outspokenness, and in particular this instance of it, brought its author unbounded trouble and contumely in his life-time. Mr. Spender's book, like **the** last, is the monument to an age which is past. Yet Campbell-Bannerman's character contained so much that was upright and admirable, that it deserves in itself this monument.

Lord Shaftesbury, by J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond (Constable). Mr. and Mrs. Hammond have done well to centre their attention upon Lord Shaftesbury's work rather **than on** his personality.

It is satisfactory to find the book planned so as to analyse his activities under their various headings, factories, ragged schools, mines, chimney-sweeps, public health, and agricultural labour. His personal history is, nevertheless, adequately treated, from the days of his unhappy childhood under his unfeeling father, the tyrant of his Dorsetshire estate, the inflexible primitive Evangelicalism learnt from an old servant, and the dreadful school at Chiswick, to the self-dedication that followed the shock of the pauper's funeral at Harrow. The authors are by training peculiarly fitted to describe the conditions against which he waged unceasing war—the sufferings of women and children in the mills and mines, the incredible heartlessness of the authorities, local and national, the hideous cruelties of the chapter on "Climbing Boys" (not at an end before 1875, after years of evasion of the existing laws), and the horrors of the asylums. Their record of his Parliamentary period describes his return for a pocket borough, his elevation to the Ministry two years later; the stupid content of Brougham giving way to the relative enlightenment of Peel and Melbourne and the epoch of the Royal Commissions; the fourteen years of struggle for the Ten Hours Bill, the Mines Act of 1842, and the disappointments of the Board of Health. In the two final chapters, "Religion and Philanthropy" and "Shaftesbury's Place in the Century," the authors cannot conceal the gulf that lies between their period and Lord Shaftesbury's. As an opponent of Reform, and no exemplary landlord, as a man hardly capable of collaboration or compromise even with his most loyal helpers, and fiercely devoted to the gloomiest of creeds, he can hardly inspire perfect sympathy. Again, Mr. and Mrs. Hammond belong to the day of a battle in which he would have been among their most stalwart opponents, the age of a discontent for which, after the abuses he had known, he would have recognised little justification. But the foibles and limitations of such a man rather add to the wonder of what he accomplished; and a little more enthusiasm for what he did in his own day and his own manner achieve would not have marred this work. The volume is an excellent addition to the "Makers of the Nineteenth Century" series edited by Professor Basil Williams.

Manin and the Venetian Revolution of 1848, by George Macaulay Trevelyan (Longmans). Compared with Garibaldi, Daniele Manin is an unfamiliar figure to English readers, the hero of a period prior to the *Risorgimento* to which Mr. Trevelyan's three previous volumes were devoted. The narrative of the early teaching which fired Manin for the cause of Venice and of Italy, the constitutional agitation which cost him his liberty, and the rising which freed him from prison to proclaim anew the ancient Venetian Republic, is stirring and inspiring. However fully the enthusiasm and devotion of the people, and the ability of Manin's officers may be recognised, it is clearly established that the whole campaign depended upon the energy of this one ailing man, and was in least peril when his authority was most complete. Mr. Trevelyan does not conceal his mistakes. But the fact that the author has to tell the story of a defeat, that after a year of siege Venice fell to the enemy, was not the fault of Manin. Whatever a man could give, he gave; as Mr. Trevelyan states, "No man raised to power by revolution has left a

purser record." Mr. Trevelyan's history moves swiftly and dramatically in spite of its full equipment of detail and documentation. Fairness is one of its most notable qualities, admirably displayed in the treatment of Pio Nono and Radetsky, and the author has supplemented his text with numerous maps, illustrations of unusual interest, and a valuable bibliography. When it is remembered that no other book on the subject is to be found in English, and that the standard Italian work is fifty years old, the importance of Mr. Trevelyan's study becomes apparent.

The Chief Ministers of England, 920-1720, by the Hon. Clive Bigham, C.M.G., C.B.E. (Murray). The success of Colonel Bigham's work on the Prime Ministers of England for the last two hundred years, which appeared last year, has encouraged him to compile a volume dealing with their forerunners. Beginning with Saxon times and the rule of St. Dunstan, who survives rather in legend than in recorded history, he has traced the development of this great office, and the personal history of its holders, for eight hundred years, up to the beginning of Government by a Cabinet. The great Burghley and his son loom largest of all the twenty-seven statesmen with whom the author deals. There are gaps in the story where powerful rulers trusted to themselves alone, and where foolish rulers could keep no great man by them, and there are tragedies enough, as the names of De Montfort and Strafford bear witness. The volume ends with Harley, the Lord High Treasurer of Queen Anne, and the author's verdict is that, all things considered, "the vast majority of the Chief Ministers were worthy of their trust," and well able to bear comparison with the illustrious figures of any other country. Colonel Bigham writes throughout with vigour, judgment, and impartiality. He does not spare his subjects their blemishes; he brings out the qualities which won them their position; and he has done useful work in assembling this collection of political portraits.

All in a Lifetime, by Henry Morgenthau (William Heinemann). In this autobiography Henry Morgenthau draws a picture of a typical American product—of an immigrant who becomes Americanised and gains material success in the land of unlimited possibilities which offers prizes to men of energy, brains, and enterprise. Mr. Morgenthau acquires a fortune, goes into politics, becomes a friend of the late President Wilson, and is appointed, in 1913, United States Ambassador to Turkey. The personal narrative is most attractive and the quotations from private letters lend a charm to the volume. Every page of the book bears the impress of the writer's personality—whether he is describing his early struggles, or life in Constantinople, or his journey to the Holy Land, or his mission to Poland. He has a sense of humour and of the incongruities of life. He points out, for example, his own peculiar position in Constantinople. He was a European by birth, yet represented the greatest Republic of America; a Jew, he was Ambassador of the greatest Christian nation in the world. The book is alive with interest and deserves to take a foremost place among the autobiographies which have appeared of late.

Aspects of the Italian Renaissance, by Rachel A. Taylor (Grant Richards). This book is not a history of the Renaissance, but rather a

series of essays and reflections. **Mrs. Taylor looks on the Renaissance with the** eyes of a poetess ; she strives to see the life of the time as the men and women of the age did. The artistic appeals to her immensely; one may say that she paints intensely impressionist pictures of the scholar, the artist, the courtier, the women, the papacy, and last but not least, the Florence of the Renaissance period. The book is distinctly personal, and an impression of the writer's method may be conveyed by saying that in her study of the Popes she avoids both the Catholic and Protestant views, and takes what may be termed the human view. Here is a specimen of her style. She is speaking of the Popes: "Consider these Popes therefore, each by each, for a moment—a strange human procession, crowned with the triple tiara, stiff like idols in their precious copes closed with marvellous morses, stricken with terrible diseases, racked with rapacities and unseemly desires, yet hungry for the beauty of the past, troubled with grandiose visions, fiercely energetic to create new splendours, unreasonably conscious of bearing some heavenly flame transmitted from the very breath of the Christ. Look at their heavy heads arrogantly stamped on their medals—heavy heads charged with animal Csesarean will." To those who know nothing of the Italian Renaissance Mrs. Taylor's work can hardly be recommended as an introductory study. But those who are acquainted with the general trend of the history of the period will find the book stimulating.

Money, Credit and Commerce, by Alfred Marshall (Macmillan & Co. Ltd.). A new book from the pen of Dr. Marshall is an event, and the present volume is the third of a series of Economic Treatises which have long won for themselves the position of standard works on all aspects of economics. The latest of his volumes represents the result of a "study of the influences on the conditions of man's life and work, which are exerted by money, credit, and international trade." The questions which are treated in this book are thus distinctly topical—money and metallic currencies, the part played by credit in modern economic life, Stock Exchanges and investments, the relation between credit and unemployment, and the meaning of index numbers. As in all his works, Dr. Marshall is methodical and systematic, and above all lucid and readable. Dr. Marshall goes into the market place, for he desires to be understood by all men. While students will of necessity have to make themselves acquainted with Dr. Marshall's writings, the ordinary reader who desires to comprehend the economic trend of affairs around him will also turn to Dr. Marshall, and will find delight in the freshness of his treatment of one aspect of economic life which is of special interest to every citizen.

The Prospects of Industrial Civilisation, by Bertrand and Dora Russell (George Allen & Unwin). From time to time it is good to look **on** modern economic life and ask whither it is tending. Mr. Bertrand Russell and his wife have done this in a deeply thoughtful book which deserves notice by all serious readers, whether or no they agree with their conclusions. The fact is that there is much discontent in the world around us; the authors analyse its causes along well-known socialistic **lines**, but **in so original a** fashion as to **make** them attractive. They **recognise** class war, they **condemn** private property,

they regard nationalism as one cause of the present discontent, they advocate self-government in industry, international understandings, socialistic philosophy and universal peace. Mr. Russell utilises by way of illustration his knowledge of China and Chinese life. He and his wife have written an illuminating, thought-provoking book which looks on the world of to-day through the eyes and mind of a thinker. Among so much that is ephemeral, this book stands out as one that must appeal to all serious people. Mr. Russell may be compared to a modern Prophet, the burden of whose message is worth close attention. This, too, may be placed among the great books of the year which dealt with social and economic problems.

Science and Civilisation, edited by F. S. Marvin (Oxford University Press), is the sixth volume of the Unity Series, planned by Mr. Marvin to illustrate the common foundations and the essentially identical spirit of the different phases of the western civilisation. The present volume illustrates a truth that runs a grave risk of being overlooked when, as in the previous volumes of this series, it is emphasised that the unity of modern civilisation is to be sought in its origins in Greece and Rome. That truth is that our civilisation is essentially scientific in character, based on the methods, concepts, and conclusions of modern science—"the spirit of seeking further inventions" as it is defined by Mr. Marvin. The historical retrospect in this book, and more especially the chapters by Dr. Charles Singer, Mr. Arthur Piatt, and Dr. J. L. E. Dreyer on the achievements of the Greeks in medicine, biology, mathematics and astronomy, convince one that the two points of view are by no means incompatible, for with one important exception, the introduction of the experimental method, unknown even to Aristotle, the roots of all modern science can be traced to the great thinkers of Greece. If Mr. Marvin's book emphasises this point, it also dispels the misconception that science has contributed to the material side only of our civilisation, and, indeed, that the worst evils of the industrial revolution can be referred to the physical sciences. The fallacy is completely exposed in the chapters on "Science in Industrial Revolution," by Professor C. H. Desch, "Science and Education," by Mr. A. E. Heath, and "Science and Health," by Mr. F. G. Crookshank. Science as the "grand expression of the human spirit" is adequately dealt with by Professor J. Arthur Thomson, who shows its ideal side and its influence on our striving after the good, the true, and the beautiful. Mr. Julian Huxley develops this idea more fully in his profoundly suggestive chapter on science and religion, perhaps the best in the book.

Folk Lore in the Old Testament, by Sir James G. Frazer (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.). Encouraged by the success of the one-volume edition of his *Golden Bough*, Sir James Frazer has also produced a one-volume edition of his great work on *Folk Lore in the Old Testament*, which was originally published in three volumes. Yet the book before us is not a mere summary, it is an original work. Literature and learning combine to give it a character of its own. That Sir James possesses abundant knowledge is sufficiently well known. Its extent is positively amazing. When, however, this knowledge is presented in that inimitable way of his of telling a story, the reader is both instructed and edified.

Sir James takes a number of stories of the Old Testament, re-tells them in his own fashion, and then furnishes parallels from other sources extending practically to the five Continents. Thus, in treating of the Flood, he draws upon Flood stories from Babylon, ancient Greece, ancient and modern India, Eastern Asia, Australia, South America, Central America and Mexico, North America, and Africa. Perhaps the most fascinating study in the book is that which deals with the Fall of Man, a story which in the judgment of Sir James Frazer was intended to account for the origin of death. The book casts a light on the Old Testament narrative and literally illuminates it. It is to be wished that all readers of the Bible will read Sir James's book. Not only will they derive pleasure from doing so, but they will also come to understand the Old Testament narrative to better purpose. It is not perhaps too much to say that Sir James Frazer's book was among the important publications of the year.

Some Authors. A Collection of Literary Essays, 1896-1916. By Walter Raleigh (Oxford University Press). This posthumous volume contains fourteen essays, only two of which are entirely new, though many of the others have not hitherto been easily accessible. It is a collection in every way worthy of its talented and lamented author. Characteristically enough, he made the subject of his longest paper an Elizabethan gentleman, Sir Thomas Hoby, once ambassador to France, but here commemorated as the translator of Castiglione's "Il Cortegiano," the Book of the Courtier. The good fortune which led Professor Raleigh so unexpectedly to Hoby's own manuscript diary has added immensely to the interest of an almost forgotten figure, and the life and times of Castiglione himself are skilfully depicted. From Hoby the volume ranges as far as James McNeill Whistler, whose literary forays have won him his title to inclusion. Another modern figure, Matthew Arnold, has not the author's perfect sympathy. Professor Raleigh shows himself gently resentful of the patronising and consciously superior attitude of the "Olympian schoolmaster dandy." In the case of Burns he can understand and condone all that might have offended him. If the essay on Burns is sympathetic, the treatment of Shelley does perhaps little justice to its subject. Professor Raleigh seems to find in him only a pallid and febrile quality; he is a poet, granted, especially "for the young," but not enough of a full-blooded man to please this critic. Political writers are represented by Halifax and Burke, and the rest of the papers in the volume show the vigour, directness, penetration, and humour which will make every reader regret that no more similar studies can come from the same pen.

King Cole and Other Poems, by John Masefield (Heinemann). The "merry old soul" of nursery minstrelsy figures in Mr. Masefield's poem as a benevolent *revenant*, whose function it is to go about the world in the guise of "an old, poor, wandering man, with glittering eyes," helping the unfortunate and cheering the downcast. The subjects of his present ministrations are the proprietors of a travelling circus, whose luck seems altogether to have deserted them. Trade is bad, their son has left them, and at Wallingford, where they are billed to perform, the simultaneous presence of the Queen and the Prince, for some civic function,

has robbed them of all hope of attracting an audience. But Cole, learning of these mischances, comes to the rescue. Arrayed "in snowy cramoisin," he enters the Prince's presence and has no difficulty in persuading a rather bored young man to visit the circus. So the Court and the civic functionaries arrive at the tent in state, the players surpass themselves, the showman is rewarded with a bag of gold, and happiness is perfected by the timely return of the prodigal son; while King Cole, piping on his pipe and attended as ever by his choir of birds, vanishes from the scene. It is a simple tale, written, partly in rhyme royal and partly in couplets, with the rather self-conscious simplicity which Mr. Masfield affects for narrative work. But it is a good tale and good poetry, pervaded with its author's intense and rather wistful sense of beauty, and told with an economy which is a comparatively recent acquisition of Mr. Masfield's. There is life and movement in it: the open road, the busy town and the crowded tent are vividly realised. Here and there one finds a strong though doubtless quite innocent reminder of *The Scholar Gipsy*. The volume contains nearly a dozen other shorter poems, all of them characteristic and interesting. *The Eider at the Gate*, a very effective ballad of the spirit of Pompey returning to Rome to warn his old rival of his approaching fate, and *The Haunted*, a series of sonnets in which the influences of an old house are tellingly evoked, suggest, in conjunction with *King Cole* and *Melloney Holtspur*, that Mr. Masfield has lately been finding the idea of ghosts an absorbing preoccupation.

Collected Poems, by John Drinkwater (Sidgwick & Jackson). There comes an hour in the life of every poet when he wishes to garner the harvest of his endeavours, to see his work as a whole. That hour has now struck for Mr. John Drinkwater, and the result is two comely volumes, each of more than two hundred pages, which contain all the non-dramatic poetry that he has written during the last fifteen years, except such pieces as he deems unworthy of preservation. The publication of these volumes at the present moment is particularly timely; for though no one who cares for poetry has forgotten that Mr. Drinkwater is a poet, it is as a dramatist that he has of late been more prominently in the public eye. Yet his first love was the lyric, and one feels that, accomplished playwright as he is, it will in all probability be his last. It would be matter for great regret, at any rate, if this collected edition implied a farewell to poesy. For Mr. Drinkwater is a singer of distinction, and one who, as the chronological arrangement of his work makes clear, is still increasing in strength. There is a depth of thought in his latest poetry which one does not find in his earliest, though there is beauty and accomplishment from the beginning. And from first to last he is characteristically an English poet. In an age of eccentricity and far-sought influences, he walks securely on the *via media Anglicana*, which, where poetry is concerned, is a green and open road. He sings of the Southern Midlands, which are the heart of England. Spiritually, too, he is, nationally speaking, "of the centre," finding that middle point between classic lucidity and romantic fervour, between the solid earth and fairyland, which is the point to which, from Chaucer onwards, it has been the tradition of our poetry to tend.

Phoenix, by Lascelles Abercrombie (Martin Seeker). There is a strength, both imaginative and intellectual, about all that Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie writes which gives him a high place among the poets of his time : a place which, had he but a little surer gift for the magic use of words, would be almost without question the highest. His *Emblems of Love* was one of the most remarkable books of verse published in the present century; and ever since its publication one has been expecting something from him which would justify one in saying with complete conviction, what one then said tentatively: "This is a great poet." *Phoenix* is not that something, but it is none the less a piece of work of compelling interest. It is a "tragi-comedy" in three acts and of very simple plot. Its action "is placed in a town on the coast of Northern Greece, in the times before the Trojan war;" and it is characteristic of Mr. Abercrombie that he should choose a remote and vague epoch and make it intensely actual, creating an atmosphere at once barbaric and modern. The story is of the rivalry of Amyntor the King and Phoenix, his son, for the favour of the charming Rhodope, whom the King has bought from a pirate ship; and of the wiles of the Queen to spite her peccant husband by throwing the girl into the Prince's arms. They are all, as Alice would have said, "very unpleasant people." Amyntor is a garrulous dotard; Phoenix a prig, a Hippolytus without that hero's resolution; and, great though her provocation, it is very difficult to see on what grounds the conduct of the Queen is to be commended. It is for Rhodope alone that one feels any sympathy : she is at any rate a frankly sensual baggage. Her final triumph, when having, through sheer levity, brought equal discomfort to every member of the royal trio, she goes forth to seek new worlds to conquer, is whimsically reminiscent of the exit of Mr. Beerbohm's famous heroine, Zuleika Dobson. The play, which has proved very effective on the stage, is written in a mood of sardonic humour and in vigorous, nervous blank verse.

Songs of Childhood, by Walter de la Mare. Illustrated by Estella Canziani (Longmans). These poems were first published twenty years ago, when their author was known, though to a far smaller public than is now familiar with his proper name, as Walter Ramal. They are altogether charming songs of innocence, full of that magic which it is Mr. De la Mare's unrivalled power to evoke. But it is a simpler magic than pervades his poetry for "grown-ups," and without the sinister note which nowadays he sometimes strikes. Primarily it is based on a whimsically imaginative way of looking at such ordinarily visible inhabitants of the world as birds and beasts and flowers; which easily extends itself to include what the ordinary eye does not see at all. Once one has divined a witch beneath the semblance of a hare, one has only to look but a little more intently into the moonlight to see witches undisguised.

Miss Estella Canziani has furnished this new edition of *Songs of Childhood* with a number of illustrations which on the whole echo faithfully the spirit of the poetry. If she seems happier in black and white than in colour, it must be taken into account that the colour-printer has not treated her very kindly. In her combination of the homely and the fanciful, she sometimes makes one think of Arthur

Hughes: a Victorian reminiscence which is the more appropriate in that Mr. Walter de la Mare, while uniquely himself, is the unmistakable spiritual nephew of the authoress of *Goblin Market*.

Followers of St Francis, by Laurence Housman (Sidgwick & Jackson). Mr. Laurence Housman has written four short plays to form, so to speak, an appendix to *Little Plays of St. Francis*, which were published a short while ago. In only one of them does the Saint himself figure: the scene being his audience with Pope Honorius III., at which he pleaded for, and obtained, the power of plenary indulgence for the church of the Portiuncula. The other plays are concerned with incidents in the lives of his followers, and it is clear that St. Francis and the early brothers of his Order are as real and living to Mr. Housman as the modern statesmen and men of letters with whom, as other recent plays and dialogues of his show, they share his present attention. The words which he puts into their mouths have the quality of actuality, and the sort of naive humour which one finds in such mediaeval stories as that of the "Tumbler of our Lady." One is inclined to wonder, indeed, whether the *naivety* the "pure foolishness," of these holy men is not a little over-stressed. No doubt it is in the spirit of the legend, but it is difficult to believe that a man who displayed so near an approach to imbecility as does Francis in his conversation with Pope Honorius, as reported by Mr. Housman, could have had the influence which it is a historical fact that Francis had. The Saint is held to have been the most Christ-like of Christians, but a lack of understanding of the mental processes and motives of *Vhomme moyen sensuel* is certainly not to be attributed to the protagonist of the Gospel story.

The Secret Life, by Harley Granville Barker (Chatto & Windus). There was a time when it seemed as though Mr. Granville Barker was to take his place among the foremost dramatists of his generation. When, nearly twenty years ago, in conjunction with Mr. Vedrenne, he made the Court Theatre the Mecca of all who cared seriously for the drama, he produced no better play than his own *Voysey Inheritance*. Here, it seemed, was a subtler intelligence than Mr. Galsworthy's, a profounder humour, and certainly a more distinguished literary gift, than Mr. Shaw's. *The Voysey Inheritance* was followed by *Waste*, relegated by the censor to private production, and by *The Madras House*: good plays, both of them, but neither of them quite so good as *The Voysey Inheritance*. Then followed a long silence, broken only by a few not very important one-act plays, a couple of collaborations in fantasy, and some translations. Now, at last, comes another play in three acts, and it is a play upon which it is very difficult to pass judgment. The old intelligence, the old humour, the old distinction in writing are still there; but, after all, the touchstone of a play's excellence is its suitability to the theatre. *The Secret Life* has not, it appears, been put upon the stage, and it is hard to imagine it there. As its title implies, its chief concern is with what goes on in the hidden places of the mind. Its leading motive is the unfulfilled love of a man for a married woman, an ideal love which has paralysed his grasp on the real, made the activities and compromises of the world seem futile, and driven him deeply into himself. Most of the characters are people

of middle age, and they speak out of their experience, elliptically, with allusion to the much more that they do not say. Consequently, even in reading, the play demands pondering, pauses, occasional goings back. In the theatre, where there is no opportunity for such things, one cannot but feel that it would be bewildering. Nevertheless, one would like to see it there; for it is possible that, as happens with Tchekhov, its significance would be brought out by intelligent acting.

Naval Operations, Volume III., by Sir Julian Corbett (Longmans, Green & Co.) Sir Julian Corbett had written the whole of this volume before he died, and it was only necessary to revise and edit it before publication, a work undertaken by Lieut.-Col. Daniel. The book deals with naval operations during the war from the spring of 1915 to the Battle of Jutland, and contains, besides the story of that engagement in the North Sea, an account of the Dardanelles campaign and of the naval operations in Mesopotamia. The main interest of the book naturally centres around the Battle of Jutland, which is told, one may say, in its development hour by hour. But the narratives of the Dardanelles and of Mesopotamia are equally thrilling. As in the case of the previous volumes it can be said of this one that it is eminently readable, and that the man in the street will find pleasure in a story written by the pen of a ready writer.

A Dictionary of Applied Physics, edited by Sir Richard Glazebrook. Volumes III., IV., and V. (Macmillan & Co.). The three volumes published in 1923 complete this great work which will surely rank as one of our standard reference books. The dictionary is not a dictionary in the ordinary sense of the word, it is more in the nature of a collection of monographs by specialists. The alphabetical order of treatment and the numerous cross-references have afforded a means of handling a mass of material which by its sheer magnitude might well have defied successful treatment by any other means. From its very nature the book is one for specialists—scientists, engineers, and technicians. Nevertheless, it may safely be predicted that its thousands of pages which also contain matter of general interest will act as a medium of general education among non-specialist readers in reference libraries.

It would be difficult adequately to convey the scope and standard of these three volumes, but a reference to some of the articles and their authors will demonstrate their value. Volume III. is devoted to meteorology in its widest interpretation, and includes articles on "The Investigation of the Upper Air and Radiation" (W. H. Dines); "Atmospheric Electricity" (C. T. R. Wilson); "Oceanography" (D. J. Matthews); "Tides and Tide Prediction" (F. J. Selby); and "Earthquakes" (the late Prof. Knott). In the section on measurement, the article on "Gauges" by F. H. Rolt, is practically a treatise, and sets forth admirably much of the exact workshop and test-room procedure developed during the war. In this volume, too, there are interesting articles on barometers, balances, "clocks and time-keeping" (Prof. Sampson), and maps (A. R. Hinks), and an excellent introduction, by Dr. S. Brodetsky, on the fascinating method of graphical solutions now known as "Nomography." Vol. IV. deals with Light, Sound, and Radiology, and both theoretical and practical aspects receive adequate treatment.

Then there are articles on Glass, Coloured Glasses, the Kinematograph, the Microscope, the Pianoforte and Piano-players. Vol. V. includes Aeronautics, the youngest of the applied sciences, and Metallurgy, one of the oldest. Dr. Rosenhain and Dr. J. M. Haughton are responsible for much of the information under the latter heading; these two names are sufficient recommendation for the excellence of the treatment. One suggestion in conclusion may perhaps not be out of place: it is that steps should be taken to keep up-to-date the information in a work which may be expected to remain a standard reference book in its particular sphere.

FICTION.

Memories of the Future: 1915-1972, by Ronald A. Knox (Methuen). Mr. Ronald Knox presents himself as the editor of the reminiscences of Opal, Lady Porstock, who wrote in 1988 this valuable survey of an era that is still vivid in the nightmares of our own day. Lady Porstock lived to see the Great War of 1972 and it is interesting to learn that during her long life she suffered from an air-raid complex set up by the primitive skirmishes of her childhood in 1917. Her schooldays (1930-1934) were made hideous by the ridiculous restraints and brutalising punishments prevailing in those dark days. At Oxford, in the early days of fees and bonuses for attendance at lectures and chapels, when Proctresses and moving pavements could be spoken of as novelties, and when Canon Dives was first formulating his "Explanation of the Existence of God," she was the first woman President of the Union. Over the amusing details of railway travel on the Continent in 1938, before the jarring units of Middle Europe were, by the genius of a renowned Tourists' Agency, welded into the hotel-state of Magiria, it would be tempting to linger. No one, however, will envy Lady Porstock her experiences with the crude psychopathy of 1940—the auto-suggestion course, the colour-cure, mental homoeopathy—and even the placid ruralities of the chapter on "Business and Pleasure" are doubtless best appreciated in retrospect. "London Society and its Follies" (1945-1953) will console many for their absence from the scene, though there can be few of to-day's readers to whom the story of the Parliamentary Election of 1953 will not have an intimate appeal. Lady Porstock's visit to the U.S.A., shortly after the discharge of the British debt by the sale of peerages to American citizens, and at the height of the anti-chewing-gum campaign, led to her marriage to Wilse Harkness, Lord Porstock. Her home life and Parliamentary career, her reminiscences of the great men of the day, her religious pilgrimage from relativism to Rome, and her reflections on the unfit, overcrowded, restless, indisciplined, materialistic England of 1972, the very eve of the Great War, complete a memorable volume. Mr. Knox has edited these important memoirs with rare discrimination; his satire has an attractive freshness, and the fertility of his ideas furnishes abundant amusement for his readers.

Told by an Idiot, by Rose Macaulay (Collins). Miss Macaulay has written a satirical history of the last half-century, its movements, fads, and cults, in illustration of the passage from which her title is taken. The Garden family is large enough and responsive enough to all the

influences of its times to afford a collection of diverse and entertaining types. Mr. Garden samples all brands of religion and its substitutes; gentle Mrs. Garden keeps up with him until advancing years dispose her to the comfort of Anglicanism, Their sons and daughters, and the grandchildren in their turn, are always intellectually up to date. Miss Macaulay has assembled with a devout malice all the necessary detail for the domestic and social setting of their continual quest. One daughter, Rome, remains an unmoved spectator of life after a love affair which, however burlesqued, is tragic. Stanley, her sister, brings an unchanging earnestness to an endless variety of causes. The many attractive qualities of Stanley's husband, Denman, do not include fidelity. Imogen has the poetic temperament in its finest disorder; Maurice is an iconoclast; Vickey is bright and practical. The general theme, perhaps over-stressed, is reminiscent of *Milestones*: the younger generation is always in rebellion against the standards of the old; the wheel goes round; the same situations repeat themselves; it has all happened before and will happen again. The reception of Miss Macaulay's book showed that our readiness to laugh at demoded follies is an equally permanent characteristic of the race.

The Back Seat, by G. B. Stern (Chapman & Hall). Robert Carruthers occupies the back seat in the household. He has been a failure in business, and Leonora, his wife, is the most charming and successful of London's actresses. The position is by no means uncomfortable, for he has some solace in carpentering, Leonora is the embodiment of affection and generosity, and domesticity has for her a publicity value to be exploited with grace and humour; but Robert does not accept the situation so utterly without question as she does. Their elder daughter, Faith, nineteen years old, is sufficiently like her mother for a certain rivalry to be possible between them, however little Leonora may realise it. Her younger sister, Sally, is wholly absorbed in posing as the forlorn, loving, little figure whom every one overlooks; and the company usually includes young Pat Ormond, assiduously attendant on Leonora. Pat writes a play with a young girl part intended for Leonora, the plot of which has a curiously direct application to the Carruthers household, although its author has not perceived this. Part II. interrupts a reading of the play at the point when Pat and Robert realise that Faith is the ideal interpreter of the part meant to be her mother's. It is Robert who, disconcerting Pat by his unexpected insight, and winning Leonora over by a sentimental appeal for a few months of her company away from the stage, secures the part for Faith. There is an abundance of pretty comedy in Part III., "Family Life of an Actress," the period of Faith's rehearsals and her conquest of Pat, and of Robert's attempted recapture of his youthful idyll. Part IV. shows Faith on the first night of the piece, broken by the realisation of failure in the first two acts, and unable to bring herself to face the audience for Act III. It is then that Leonora, entering the dressing-room, interprets the part to her daughter and conveys to her sufficient of her own genius for the situation to be saved. In Part V. Faith accepts Pat and leaves the stage; Leonora makes ready for her American tour; Robert returns to the back seat. The author has not allowed the real drama of the

position to overweight her novel. The story is so swiftly and concisely told as to suggest the dialogue of a play held together by what the film world calls "continuity," and Miss Stern's wonted cleverness and irony are employed with delightful effect.

The End of the House of Alard, by Sheila Kaye-Smith (Cassell & Co.). The author chooses the ancient Sussex family of the Alards to display one of the most painful of contemporary social phenomena, the decay of the landed proprietors. Sir John Alard is a gouty old tyrant; Lady Alard is completely under his dominion; with that ruthlessness which characterises a *roman a these*, they and their children are made the victims of family pride and family necessity. Peter, the eldest son, the chief sufferer in the struggle between inclination and the need for money, gives up the doctor's daughter, Stella, and marries a wealthy Jewess. George, the second son, anything but a zealous clergyman, holds the family living. The eldest daughter, Doris, finds no one worthy of her hand, and sinks into a soured spinstershood. Mary, the second daughter, marries a rich man she does not love. After the fairy-tale fashion, it is the youngest children who have a happier fate, through choosing a path of their own. Geivase brings on himself the wrath of his father by taking to motor engineering, and at last enters a Brotherhood. Jenny, after giving up a desirable but impoverished equal, seeks contentment in a lowlier sphere, and secretly marries a local farmer. Sir John has his final stroke; Peter commits suicide; Mary is divorced; *angina pectoris* makes an end of George. Gervase, now Father Joseph, becomes heir, and announces to the survivors the sale of the estate. Miss Kaye-Smith shows her indisputable power, but her story is unduly sombre, and an express and obtrusive Anglo-Catholicism is out of place in a work of fiction.

Love's Pilgrim, by J. D. Beresford (Collins). The pilgrimage of Foster Innes is made up of no more than four episodes, a modest allowance for modern fiction, and the second of these hardly justifies much expense of spirit. His sufferings are not due to external circumstance. He is a young man of birth and possessions, morbidly sensitive of a congenital malformation of the foot. Between him and his mother there is intense but selfish affection, "the love that cannot stand the test of jealousy," under the tyranny of which Mrs. Innes adds to the acuteness of her son's emotional crises, and he in turn frustrates what would probably have been a happy second marriage. Foster Innes first tells the story of his idealisation of Tertina Whitefield, and the agony of his disillusionment; next comes the war-time episode with Nita Fleming, whose affections are, to say the least, all too comprehensive. Grace Brewster is selected for him in the interests of the family and the succession to the peerage he is to inherit; sense of duty and a certain tenderness on both sides are defeated in an admirable scene in which Grace, who has learnt the difference between liking and love, ends the situation. An accidental meeting with Claire Morton brings Foster the worst of his ordeals and a final triumph. Claire, her sister Hettie, and her father are sheltering from the notoriety brought upon them by the father's trial for the murder of his wife and his doubtful acquittal. Foster's struggle with Claire's scruples and his family's opposition lasts

until Hettie's confession that it was she who made away with her insufferable mother, and her own death under a fallen tree. Generous love has worsted the selfish love incarnate in Mrs. Innes, and she is left defeated and unforgiving. Mr. Beresford has done work of much greater significance, but within the limits of the present novel his undeniable powers are impressively displayed.

Broken Bridges, by Madeline Linford (Leonard Parsons), depicts the emotional development of Rachel Silver from the evening on which, to her overwhelming grief, her schooldays at St. Faith's, Sussex, come to an end. Her passionate idealism, and the fervent religious aspirations she brings away from her school, are for a while disturbing to the pleasant, placid scheme of things in her home in a Manchester suburb. Gradually, however, she expands to the ordered routine and the small excitements of life in Milham Park, but not sufficiently to respond to the eager wooing of young Hugh Senior. Her sister marries, and she takes up a course in a commercial college. This part of the book ends with the first real shock to her poise, caused by a kiss from Philip Frew, the husband in a raptureless manage in which she is staying on holiday. The war breaks out; Mrs. Silver goes north to await a grandchild; Rachel takes a room in a hostel for working-women and a position as typist with an advertising company. The manager is Maurice Rideal, upon whom matrimony weighs but lightly, and Rachel cannot resist his fascination even when she learns his position. Only a fortuitous glimpse of Mrs. Rideal shows her the true supremacy of the wife, and halts her at the last moment. Rachel falls ill. On her recovery she takes up war work among refugees in France, in a hospital for the care of orphan children, part of a great maternity hospital. Work among the children, and experience during emergencies in the main building where the mothers lie, complete her womanhood. It is there that Hugh Senior, himself on sick leave, comes to provide a happy ending. Miss Linford's writing, though at times overloaded, has unusual charm and felicity, and the concluding part of her novel proves that she holds considerable strength in reserve.

The Pitiful Wife, by Storm Jameson (Constable). Miss Jameson's work is peopled with beings of thews and passions beyond the measure of common men. The Trudes have a fitting home on a lonely crest of the Yorkshire moors. Its present master is John Trude, a lame demonic giant of Gargantuan appetites and monstrous violence of speech and conduct. His wife Anne is the mother of a daughter, Jael, whom she uses cruelly in order to harden her against the cruelties of life. After the birth of a son, Anne escapes from her heaped humiliations by seeking her own death of a chill. Jael grows up a very faery's child, the sweet-heart of Richmond Drew, who has inherited the genius of his sculptor grandfather. Book II. brings Richmond back from his studies abroad, continues the love idyll of the pair, and ends with their marriage. After four years of happiness the war takes Richmond away for five years. He returns to his wife and son a changed man. The war has warped his being; he has betrayed Jael with Buddy Marsh, the daughter of a Kentish farmer. Life at Trudesthorp henceforth has only passionate intervals in a growing estrangement, more and more bitter and perplex-

ing to Jael. John Trude, swilling on the bed in his hall, still bulks over their lives and fates. He agrees to sign away his land, now in the last stages of neglect, to his son-in-law, and Richmond and Jael set about the regeneration of Trudesthorp. The intrigue with Buddy Marsh continues, and in the end Jael discovers it. The book closes with the long, searching, revelatory dialogues in which Richmond and she come to a reckoning. The illness of their child confirms this new understanding, and they are left with such assurance of future peace as their natures and situation can allow. Miss Jameson's is a violent and tumultuous work; the rough handling it received in some quarters revived the ancient controversy as to the limits of fair criticism. In this instance, author and reviewers alike should have been more economical of their thunder.

The Rover, by Joseph Conrad (Fisher Unwin). Peyrol, the old searover, comes with his last prize into Toulon harbour, and makes his abode for eight years in the lonely farmhouse of Escampobar. A cloud is over the wits of its real owner, the girl Arlette, to whom the scenes of the Toulon massacres in which her Royalist parents were killed before her eyes, and in which she had afterwards dementedly taken part, are still more vivid than anything about her. Scevola, one of the Jacobins prominent in these ghastly events, brought her back to the farm and has made himself its master. Her silent aunt Catherine completes the household, but the young Lieutenant Real frequently forms part of it, by reason of the duties imposed on him by the presence of the blockading English fleet off the coast, as well as for the sake of Arlette. Peyrol's wild past as one of the Brotherhood of the Sea has not spoilt his innate composure and warmth of heart. His influence assists the love of Real to restore the sanity of Arlette, and it is his self-sacrifice that leaves open to them the prospect of a happy future. An English corvette is always watching the coast; Peyrol from his own beloved little vessel watches the English ship. By a trick he secures for himself the dangerous exploit on which Real was about to embark, and puts to sea with the unwilling Scevola to lure the English into pursuing him and capturing a parcel of false despatches. The chase ends with his death, which he meets with humour and nobility, and the success of his whole plan for the deception of the English and the peace of Escampobar. Mr. Conrad's story is more swift, direct, and objective than are most of his greater works, and so gives the effect of a slighter performance; but Peyrol is one of the finest of all his sailors, and at least the final chapter of the novel is beyond cavil the work of a master.

Riceyman Steps, by Arnold Bennett (Cassell). The impression of unrelieved sordidness which any more outline of this story and its setting is bound to leave is precisely what the book itself, with uncanny mastery, contrives to avoid. For only one brief episode does the action pass out of the dingy region of Clerkenwell, and the chief characters are an ageing second-hand bookseller, Earlforward by name, the foolish, comparatively well-off widow across the way, whom he marries, their pilfering maid Elsie (also a widow, with the undisclosed resources of a Government pension), and her weak-witted ex-soldier lover, Joe, the victim of shell-shock and malaria. Earlforward's purchase of a

wedding-ring with the proceeds of his wife's old one, the reduction of their honeymoon to a trip to Madame Tussaud's and a teashop, his wife's contests over scraps of food and fuel, are typical of the incidents of the story. Earlforward and his wife discover in one another rivals in miserliness; from their successes in this they draw a queer happiness. Success, however, is excess: under-nourishment brings about the illness of both. In the crisis Elsie rises to astonishing heights of devotion and endurance. Joe is concealed in the house, suffering from malaria, while Earlforward lies ill, refusing a doctor; Mrs. Earlforward has died in hospital after an operation. Toiling and bewildered, Elsie becomes almost an heroic figure, and on the death of Earlforward she and Joe are taken into the service of Raste, the local doctor. The magic that endows Clerkenwell with beauty and wonder, and makes of these unlovely personages creatures of high interest and moment, belongs to Mr. Bennett alone. He has written a London masterpiece worthy to rank with his major epics of the Five Towns.

Men like Gods, by H. G. Wells (Cassell). Mr. Barnstaple, sub-editor of the *Liberal*, an "organ of the more depressing aspects of advanced thought," has been ordered a complete change, and is speeding in his two-seater, away from wife, family, and work, along the Maidenhead road, when he suddenly skids into another dimension of space. He is not alone in the lovely but unfamiliar landscape. The occupants of another car are discussing the situation in front of him. They include the philosophic statesman, Mr. Cecil Burleigh; the adventurous Secretary for War, Mr. Rupert Catskill, and his secretary, the famous patron of the gifted young, Mr. Freddy Mush; Father Amerton, Society's pet denouncer of its sins; and Lady Stella, conspicuous in all the illustrated weeklies. At a later stage arrives that powerful magnate, Lord Barralonga, with a cosmopolitan party. This representative and recognisable collection of Earthlings has been translated into Utopia by two Utopian experimenters who have paid for their success with their lives. Other Utopians soon carry the party off in aeroplanes for interrogation; they believe Earth to be a dimension a little retarded in time in relation to their own, and are anxious to check their own history by the experience of the Earthlings. Into the details of Utopian history and governance it is impossible to enter here; all that is mean, vile, false, and stupid in our world has been abolished—and for that reason Mr. Burleigh and his associates have a great many objections to raise. Their position has grown worse in Book I I. The Utopians, after centuries of immunity from all infections, are an easy prey to the disease germs brought from Earth, and the Earthlings have to be confined in the castle on Quarantine Crag. Here Catskill, Barralonga, and the others act after their kind, and project an armed attack upon the Utopians. Mr. Barnstaple, in love with the sanity and happiness of Utopia, finds himself compelled to turn traitor to his companions. This part of the novel, ending with the destruction of Quarantine Crag, is a most successful feat of sheer story-telling. Book the Third is the record of Mr. Barnstaple's experiences as a neophyte in Utopia, whose science he consents to serve by being restored to Earth by the reversal of the experiment which removed him thence. He goes back home to start life anew under the inspiration

of what he has foreknown of its possibilities. Mr. Wells's return to this happy blend of scientific romance and social teaching has been warmly welcomed on all hands.

Fantastica, by Robert Nichols (Chatto & Windus). The author announces these three "Tales of Imagination" as "Bomances of Idea, Volume One." He supplies a verbose and violent Preface on abstract ideas and symbols, on the purpose of his stories, on the duty of contemporary poets to dissociate themselves from the record of comparatively trivial emotions, to rise and save the liberty of the soul of mankind, and on the numerous philosophic truths and formulae revealed unto Mr. Robert Nichols alone. Only a curiously ingenuous exaggeration of the importance of his own work can explain this portentous introduction and the apparatus of dates, footnotes, and prefatory mottoes with which the book is overladen. In "The Smile of the Sphinx" the author seeks "to bring to light the very justification of life itself." It is in fact a pleasant Oriental apologue, well suited to Mr. Nichols' ornate style, relating how the young scribe Es-siddeeh went forth at the bidding of the beautiful Sa-adeh to discover the secret of the Sphinx's smile, how at the end of his life he learnt that the smile was itself the secret, and how he was found between the paws of the Sphinx with a smile like hers upon his face. "Sir Perseus and the Fair Andromeda," described as "an extremely sophisticated parable," imagines Andromeda rescued by a mediaeval Christian knight, who takes her to the virtuous and wearisome Court of Camelot, whence she is glad to return to her Monster. "Golgotha & Co." takes up the greater part of the book, and is meant to express the author's dread and hatred of the industrial Servile State, and of the deliberate misguidance of public opinion in the interests of plutocracy, and his faith in the power of Christianity alone to re-establish the sacredness of the individual. Golgotha & Co. was founded to use Christianity to subdue popular unrest and so perpetuate the rule of its directors, the Brains of Power. Cyrus Magniferox, Professor Ulysses Mammon, and their colleagues set about the exploitation of this religion by means of all the agencies that can impress the herd psychology—airplanes, wireless, and the cinematograph among them. The scheme is put into full operation despite the opposition of Dr. Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, who is Anti-Christ. The world is converted, but in the great Passion Play held at Jerusalem the Unknown Protagonist dies on the cross, and the dominion of the Brains of Power is overthrown in the resultant upheaval of the Proletariat. Mammon hangs himself. Ahasuerus, hearing the people's cry of "Christ is risen!" renews with exultation the eternal battle. In an Epilogue Mr. Nichols gives expression to his despair at the aimlessness of England and his cult of the Fascisti of the Spirit. There are moving and significant passages in this curious volume, but the author has too little sense of proportion and restraint to gain the influence to which he aspires.

The Ladybird: The Pox: The Captain's Doll, by D. H. Lawrence (Seeker). These three stories, all of which are admirable examples of Mr. Lawrence's individual and remarkable gift, are in essence variations on a single theme, a theme which Catullus condensed into a famous couplet. They are love stories, but love, as Mr. Lawrence understands

it, is something very different from the "tender passion" envisaged by an older, less sophisticated generation of novelists; and although wedding-bells chime in *The Fox* and are foreshadowed in *The Captain's Doll*—**it is** more than improbable that "They lived happily ever after" is to be the corollary in either case. Mr. Lawrence's heroines, in fact—in each of these tales a woman is the central figure—are all lovers in their own despite: like Catullus they hate and love, and they certainly excruciate. It is Mr. Lawrence's special virtue that while he is a psychologist to whom the older, intellectualist psychology of Henry James seems superficial, he never loses sight of the surface. His creatures live in their outer as well as in their inner beings. They are perfectly realisable as flesh and blood and wearers of clothes; and they are set in vividly visible surroundings. In other words, Mr. Lawrence is an artist—one of the most interesting of our time.

Deirdre, by James Stephens (Macmillan & Co.). While Conachur, King of Ulster, is passing the night in the house of Felimid mac Dall, his story-teller, a daughter is born to Felimid, and it is prophesied that she will bring evil to Ireland and destruction to Ulster. Conachur, thinking to outwit fate, has Deirdre brought up in the guarded palace at Emaria, with no company but her servants and the King's "conversation-woman," Lavarcham. While the King is absent from Ulster, his Queen Maeve, whom he married by force, flees from him to Connacht, and Lavarcham plans to wed Deirdre to the King in her stead. One night, however, Deirdre steals from the palace, and for the first time sees young men, Naoise, Ainnle, and Ardan, the sons of Uisneac, by their camp-fire. Another night it is Naoise alone that she awakens, and their love-tragedy begins. When the King at last is brought to see his beautiful ward, he swears he will wed her in a week. Terror fills Deirdre's heart, she flees to Scotland with the sons of Uisneac, and Book I. closes with the scene in which Lavarcham breaks the tidings to Conachur. Seven years pass by. At a State banquet Conachur is moved to invite the fugitives to return. Fergus mac Roy and his sons find them hiding in the wilds from the King of Scotland, who covets Deirdre for himself, and they reach Ireland and Conachur's hall of the Red Branch. There Lavarcham comes to tell them that Conachur has never forgiven them, and that he means to make Deirdre his own, and will attack before morning. The story ends with the defence of the Red Branch by the sons of Uisneac and of Fergus. The hall is fired; the defenders are taken and put to death; and Deirdre expires on her husband's body. Mr. James Stephens has retold the deathless story in his inimitable fashion. Humour plays about the great legendary figures without detracting from their dignity and beauty, and the scenes of conflict could not well be more stirringly described.

The Three Lovers, by Frank Swinnerton (Methuen). The young, beautiful, and ingenuous Patricia Quin, when we meet her at Monty Rosenberg's carefully thought-out studio-party, is just embarking on social life and a vague literary career, under the guidance of nothing but her own impulses. The three men whose attention she attracts **are** sharply differentiated. Harry Greenlees is her bright, handsome, **but** coarse-fibred coeval; Monty **Rosenberg himself is a sensualist of a more**

refined type, with an unhappy mistress, Mrs. Tallentyre, in the background ; and Edgar Mayne, rather too definitely in the "strong, silent" tradition, conceals great reserves of buoyancy and affection beneath a cold exterior. The intrigue is commonplace enough in itself: Mayne will have to suffer and wait awhile, until Patricia finds out the real nature of his rivals, and brings him his reward. Her youth and eager appetite for life induce her first to elect Greenlees, and exhaust with him the superficial pleasures proper to their age and period; but he is not the delicate Pierrot to her Pierrette, and his essential grossness in time undeceives her. Disappointment almost makes her a victim to the subtle enchantments of Monty Rosenberg, who has waited his time to add this beautiful piece to his collection; but the tragic Mrs. Tallentyre will not be hidden away. Edgar Mayne and his delightful mother and sister offer Patricia her proper setting. Mr. Swinnerton's heroine, if the terra is correct, is a complex character. It is easy to feel some impatience with her self-consciousness, caprice, egoism, and readiness to pass, as it were, from hand to hand. But something fragrant, unspoilt, and shining, clings about her personality throughout, and it was perhaps Mr. Swinnerton's chief aim in writing this novel to achieve this contrast without sacrificing the credibility and appeal of the character.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

IN 1923 it was again evident that the chief advances in biology are being made on the physiological side, and that very important discoveries may soon be expected.

In his address to the Zoology Section of the British Association at Liverpool, Professor Ashworth referred to the rapid extension of physiological methods of inquiry to the "lower organisms," and Professor A. V. Hill, in his inaugural lecture at University College, London, pointed out that the analysis of the whole mechanism of the living organism is becoming more refined and elaborate, while the field of zoology is being enlarged through the adoption of experimental methods. An important new organ, *The British Journal of Experimental Biology* has been started this year, and in December a conference of experimental biologists was held in London. These are certainly signs of the times.

Among the work of the Edinburgh school may be mentioned the experiments of Hogben and Winton, which give evidence that in *Amphibia* the rhythm of colour changes in normal life is correlated with fluctuating amounts of pituitary secretion, and that direct nervous influences do not play a significant part in co-ordinating pigmentary response.

The prophecies concerning the importance of insulin as a treatment for diabetes have been amply confirmed, and much research is in progress. Insulin confers on the diabetic the power of storing glycogen, and while it is administered, it relieves the serious symptoms of the disease; but physiologists have not yet shown that, by relieving strain, it can restore the unhealthy pancreas to a normal condition. Insulin is still being administered hypodermically, and the beneficial effect lasts no more than twelve hours, for only a small dose can be given at a time on account of the effects on the nervous system of too great a reduction of blood-sugar. Attempts are being made to find a method by which insulin can be caused to be absorbed by the stomach; hitherto destruction by the pancreatic juice of the patient has made administration by the mouth useless. The work of some French physiologists suggests that the transitory effect of insulin may be increased and prolonged by the addition to the diet of vitamin B or levulose or both; this would allow of the injections being given at longer intervals. The supply of insulin is now being carried on on a large scale. The University of Toronto took out a patent and offered the rights to the Medical Research Council: a committee was appointed to control its commercial distribution. The Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1923 was awarded to Dr. Banting and Professor MacLeod of Toronto. At the meeting of the British Association

Professor MacLeod gave a lecture on the subject of **insulin**, and spoke not only of its great value in therapeutics, but of the interesting information its use is giving to physiologists studying problems of metabolism other than those relating to diabetes.

^v Additions have been made to our knowledge of the conditions that produce the deficiency disease of rickets. A full report has been published by Dr. Chick of her three years' work in Vienna, where she was sent by the Lister Institute and the Medical Research Council. It becomes more and more certain that the incidence of rickets may be determined by diet, and that vitamin A plays an important part: it may be prevented and cured by cod-liver oil; it may be cured by sunshine or by the rays from the mercury-vapour lamp; a diet that is suitable for babies in summer may be quite inadequate in dark winter weather. Soames and his colleagues have shown that animals will grow satisfactorily in the dark if they are supplied with enough vitamin A. Ultra-violet rays will apparently have as good an effect for a time; but if the diet is entirely without any vitamin A, the animals become weak and stop growing. From which these workers conclude that light only partly replaces vitamins, and merely allows the animal to make the most economical use it can of the vitamins stored in its own body.

There is an impression that cancer is on the increase. American statistics show that in the general registration area of the United States, the cancer death-rate has gone up from 74.4 in 1911 to 83.4 per 100,000 population. It cannot be sufficiently emphasised that cancer is not merely a human problem but one of general biology. Starling, in an address delivered before the Royal College of Physicians of London, referred to the importance of recent work on tissue-culture and its bearing on the cancer problem. "Experiment has shown that normal cells outside the body can be stimulated to vie with cancer cells in their rate of growth, or can be inhibited altogether according to the nature of the chemical substances with which they are supplied." The technique of tissue-culture has developed extraordinarily since 1907. The work of Drew has recently shown that epithelial cells when growing alone remain undifferentiated, but become differentiated when connective tissue is put with them; thus mammary epithelium develops into acinose branching structures, squamous epithelium produces keratin, and so on.

Ashworth has worked out in detail the life-history of *Rhinosporidium seeberi* which forms a rare type of nasal polypus in man. Hitherto, *Rhinosporidium* has been regarded as a sporozoan, but Ashworth's investigation shows it to be a fungus. The method of infection is not yet known.

Much success has attended the administration of the German remedy against sleeping-sickness. This drug, "Bayer 205," seems to have great effect in eradicating the deadly trypanosome, and the results of German investigation have been fully confirmed this year by Weyon and Bahr. It will certainly supersede treatment with arsenical and antimonial remedies.

In studying the prevalence of plague in India, attention **has** been directed to the relative immunity of Madras as compared with Bombay **or** the Punjab. It was formerly believed that the prevalent **rat-flea all**

over India was *Xenopsylla cheopis*. Rothschild pointed out that three species are included under this name, and Hirst has now reported that the distribution of plague in India corresponds with the distribution of *X. cheopis sensu stricto*; he brings experimental proof to show that *X. astia*, the prevalent rat-flea in Madras, carries plague from one animal to another only with great difficulty.

Figures published this year show that, in Singapore, mainly as a result of anti-malarial measures, the annual death-rate for the last ten years has fallen from 44.11 to 33.73 per thousand. Singapore has ceased to be malarial so far as the troops are concerned.

In England, the mosquito nuisance has been taken in hand at some south-coast towns where it is almost intolerable in summer. The Hayling Mosquito Control has issued a report which shows that the insects have been eradicated already to a wonderful extent. A preliminary investigation showed that *Culex pipiens* was not much given to sucking human blood, and that in this district *Ochlerstatus detritus*, which far outnumbered all the other species put together, was responsible for the whole trouble. It was found to breed only in saltish water which has been allowed to stagnate, whence it will spread for a distance of at least four miles. The control is largely a matter of ensuring that no salt water is allowed to be cut off from tidal influence; by the united effort of local authorities this can be done in any of the coastal towns.

Barcroft's experiments on the colour of feathers have confirmed Rayleigh's view that metallic or iridescent colours, such as those of the peacock, are interference colours of thin films and not surface colours from solid pigments as Michelsen believed. In the peacock's feathers there are triple films.

Lehmann has investigated the sense-organs of certain medusae and has come to the conclusion that the tentaculocysts are not statocysts. He finds that medusae react towards gravitation not by a reflex action, but as the result of the variation in the specific weight of the sub-umbrella and manubrium on the inside and of the "gelatin" of the ex-umbrella on the outside. The tentaculocysts show nervous sensibility; they have influence on the frequency and strength of contractions.

Dr. Kammerer, of the University of Vienna, visited England this year, and gave lectures in Cambridge and London on his experimental work with amphibians and tunicates which professes to prove the inheritance of acquired characters. His statements have given rise to a great deal of discussion.

In America, Raymond Pearl and Stockard, experimenting with guinea-pigs and fowls, claim to have proved that individuals treated throughout life with daily doses of alcohol by inhalation, are much longer-lived than the untreated. "By selective in-breeding from *Drosophila*" (the fruit-fly) "stocks it was possible to isolate strains showing large differences both in mean duration and in the form of the mortality distributions, while in inbred lines the genetic differences remained constant for twenty to twenty-five generations. There is some evidence that, in crosses, duration of life may segregate like a Mendelian character. The rate of reproduction of *Drosophila* varies inversely with the density of the population."

At the meeting of the British Association, Tansley dealt with some aspects of the development of pure botany during the last forty years. He pointed out that little progress has been made towards realising the idea of determining the genealogical tree of the plant-kingdom, "and this not so much from the fact that our knowledge is still incomplete as because it becomes evident that the past development of the plant kingdom is represented by a series of separate lines, some stretching into a remote past, others of much more recent origin," and "it would almost seem that *missing links' have never existed." He expressed doubt as to whether many organs formerly regarded as homologous are really homologous in the strict sense, and he maintained that our increasing though still rudimentary knowledge of the factors that determine organic form will lead us to expect a recurrence of the same formative factors, producing similar structures, on different lines of descent, independently of particular life conditions.

Boodle has drawn attention to the little-known nodules containing nitrogen-fixing bacteria which occur on the leaves of the tropical Rubiaciae. The bacteria lie in the seed, between embryo and endosperm, and the seedling becomes infected as it germinates. Natives of India and Ceylon have long used the leaves of these plants as green manure.

Experiments with manganese sulphate on the growth of plants in water-cultures with specially purified nutrient salts, show that a very small quantity of manganese is necessary to produce growth, at any rate in such plants as the radish, cow-pea, and maize. But an excess of manganese is toxic to these plants. Addition of calcium carbonate neutralises the acidity of the soil and promotes growth.

There has been some advance in our knowledge of the chemical composition of plant cuticle, which should have important results in solving some problems of the cotton trade. The cuticle surrounding cotton hairs is found to be surprisingly thick and strong, but Blackman's experiments lead him to think that some parasitic fungi pierce the cuticle of the healthy plant purely by pressure, and micro-organisms seem able to penetrate the uninjured cuticle of cotton-hairs.

A Government Report has been issued on botulism. *Bacillus botulinus* is a widespread and common inhabitant of soil and is often found on fruit and vegetables, etc. If a man swallows it in small quantity it will not harm him, since it does not multiply inside his body. It is poisonous only if it has been grown for some time outside the body and is taken with a sufficiently large dose of the toxins it has elaborated. The spores are very difficult to kill with heat, and really effective sterilisation is necessary; on this account tin is safer than glass as a holder of preserved foods.

Murphy has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of such virus diseases of the potato as leaf-roll and mosaic, whose menace to economic plants is seriously on the increase. He has shown that species of cap^{id} insects are capable of transmitting the infection, and that certain varieties of potato are less liable to it than others. It seems likely that some plants, including especially the solanaceous weeds, act as "carriers" of the diseases, which they may be the means of transmitting to healthy plants while showing no sign of the infection themselves.

The first human fossilised bones **ever found in Egypt have been** discovered this year. They are probably of Pleistocene age and some of them show unusual anatomical features.

Dart has recorded the discovery by Fitzsimons of remains of five human skeletons near Potchefstroom, which seem to be of the same age as the Boskop skull found there in 1913. Dart considers that this ancient long-headed Boskop group must be separated as a distinct species, *Homo capensis*.

The British Museum has received, in a collection of late Pliocene or Pleistocene age from the Albert Nyanza region, a phalangeal bone belonging to a member of the Ancylopoda (Chalicotheridse), aberrant perissodactyls with great cleft claws instead of hoofs. Remains of these animals have previously been found in North America and in India and China.

The Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History has issued a report. Coal deposits are plentiful in China in strata varying in age from Palaeozoic to early Tertiary. The first specimen of *EurypUrus* in China has been found in lower Permian coal-measures. The eggs of a big ostrich are the commonest fossil finds so far; the remains of an elephant have been discovered.

The London School of Tropical Medicine, co-operating with the New Zealand Government, has sent an expedition to Samoa to investigate, from the medical point of view, the depopulation of the Pacific. The mosquito that carries filariasis in that region is to be exterminated from one small island where a majority of the natives are infected with the disease. An investigation of other blood-sucking insects will be made and insects of all kinds collected, for the peculiar fauna still existing in the virgin forests of those regions is fast disappearing.

The Trustees of the British Museum have sent out an expedition to Australia to collect the native plants and animals; every year these become rarer as the result of extension of the settled areas.

1923 was the centenary of the death of Jenner; it also marked the centenary of the birth of Pasteur, which was suitably celebrated at Paris and at Strasbourg.

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

No advances of outstanding importance were made during the year. The development of wireless telephony was most prominently before the public, and, indeed, certain of the results which were obtained far exceeded anything that would have been anticipated, from theoretical considerations, at the beginning of the year. Three stages of progress may be noted. First it was found possible to transmit speech and music from one of the studios of the Broadcasting Company by land line to any other station and thence by wireless, on the wave-length allotted to that station, to the receiving sets of the general public. Next, the Company succeeded in transmitting the performances at the "Old Vic" theatre to their London studio by wireless and thence by wireless and land line to all the other receivers in the British Isles. Finally, towards midnight on the two dates December 28 and 29 a programme of music broadcast on a wave-

length of **100** metres from the East Pittsburg Station, Pennsylvania, was picked up at a special station on Biggin Hill, Kent, relayed by land line to London and thence broadcast all over the country. This achievement was remarkable, partly because of the small power of the Pittsburg station, but chiefly because it had previously been accepted that longwave-lengths are essential for transmission over great distances.

The extraordinary progress in this branch of science which has occurred during the last two years has been due to the use of thermionic vacuum valves, both for transmission and for the amplification of the signals picked up by the receivers aerial. These valves have been greatly improved during the year, notably by modifications which make it possible for the receiver to use dry cells instead of accumulators for the heating current. Further, the construction of very large valves for use at transmitting stations makes it probable that the high tension generators now used for this purpose will soon be obsolete.

Turning next to the progress which has been made in the various branches of Physics, attention must first be given to the relativity theory and to the theories dealing with the structure of the atom. Measurements on the plates exposed in Australia, during the eclipse of the sun in September, 1922, by the Lick Observatory party under Professor Campbell, gave values for the deflection of a light ray which passes near the sun at grazing incidence ranging from $1^{\circ}59$ to $1^{\circ}06$ seconds of arc. The mean value was $1^{\circ}74''$ while that predicted by the Einstein theory is $1.75''$. These results confirm those obtained by Professor Eddington at Sobral in 1920, and are considered by the authorities at the Lick Observatory to show conclusively that the deflection predicted by Einstein actually occurs. The relativity theory also showed that the lines in the spectra of massive bodies such as the sun should be displaced slightly towards the red end of the spectrum, and Professor Charles E. St. John of the Mount Wilson Observatory announced at the autumn meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science that this result had been confirmed.

There has been no noteworthy advance in our knowledge of the nucleus of the atom, but very considerable changes in the theories relating to the arrangement of the electrons surrounding the nucleus. In the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1922 (Part II., p. 66) it was stated that there were three theories bearing on this point, namely, the Bohr theory which then met with its greatest success in explaining the series of lines met with in the spectra of the elements; the Lowis-Langmuir theory which fitted in very well with the phenomena of chemical statics; and a theory promulgated by Sir J. J. Thomson which enabled him to compute many of the physical constants of the elements. The Thomson theory has not been taken up by any other physicist, partly no doubt because of the striking success of Bohr's work. It is not impossible that the calculations which he has made may ultimately be fitted to other theories. Bohr no longer considers that the extra-nuclear electrons circulate round the nucleus in *parallel* orbits but in paths inclined to one another in space. In the opinion of Professor G. N. Lewis this change makes it possible to reconcile the Bohr theory with that associated with his name. Since the Bohr theory now meets with such general acceptance it is desirable to

give here some account of its nature and present position. It must be understood that it still lacks justification in terms of classical dynamics.

Bohr assumes that of the infinite number of orbits which may be imagined to be described round the nucleus of an atom there exists a certain number which are stable and of such a kind that any permanent change of motion within the atom must involve the complete transition of an electron from one such orbit to another. Further, during this process of transfer the atom emits monochromatic radiation of a frequency n given by the relation $hn = E_1 - E_2$, where h is a constant and E_1 and E_2 are the values of the energy of the atom in its initial and final condition. When an atom is in a normal condition (*i.e.*, not emitting radiation) the orbits of some of the electrons are circles, while others follow complicated curves which may be regarded roughly as ellipses whose major axes rotate about the nucleus as pivot. In the case of hydrogen, the first element in a list arranged in order of atomic weight, there is only one electron outside the nucleus and this moves round a circular orbit. Helium, the second element in the list, has two electrons which revolve in circular orbits inclined to one another. These two circles have the same radius, but this radius is less than that of the orbit of the hydrogen atom. Lithium, the third element, has three electrons. Two of these move on circles while the third moves round an oblong loop whose major axis is much greater than the diameter of the circles. Beryllium, the fourth element, has two circular orbits and two oblong loops of equal size inclined to one another. Each element in the list has one electron more than the preceding element, and as the number of electrons increases we obtain more circular orbits and more loops. In each case there will be several electrons circulating round paths inclined to one another, but of the same shape and the same dimensions. Electrons revolving round such similar paths belong to the same energy level in the atom and in the successive energy levels we have something analogous to the rings of the theory formulated by J. J. Thomson in 1904 or the shells of the Lewis-Langmuir theory.

When the atom is excited, *e.g.*, by heat or an electric discharge, one (or more) of the electrons moves from its normal orbit to another orbit of greater dimensions and less energy. It is during this change that energy is emitted. One of the great difficulties of the theory was concerned with this change. Radiation begins directly the electron leaves its orbit and this radiation has a frequency determined by the change of energy $E_1 - E_2$ or, in other words, by the orbit to which the electron passes. How did it know when it started to leave its first orbit which of its many other possible orbits it was going to follow? Bohr has formulated a rule (again without any theoretical basis) which meets this difficulty. It is known as the *Principle of Correspondence* and states that the orbit to which the electron will pass is determined (in a certain prescribed manner) by the exact shape of the orbit round which it is vibrating before the transition occurs.

Bohr's work has developed so far as to enable him to depict the arrangement of the planetary electrons of **all** the known atoms. It explains the curious groupings in the periodic table of the elements, the similarity in the properties of iron, cobalt, **and** nickel and of the elements

of the rare earth group. It has enabled him to account for the various spectra of the simpler elements, for resonance and ionisation potentials, for photoelectricity and fluorescence: it promises help in the theories of photochemistry and catalysis. One of its striking successes occurred in connexion with the hypothetical element celtium which was identified with the missing element number 72 by Dauvilliers and Urbain in May, 1922. Isolated from ytterbium this element belonged to the rare earth group. Bohr's theory, however, showed that element number 72 should show a resemblance to the tetravalent elements zirconium (No. 40) and thorium (No. 90), thus differing considerably from the trivalent rare earth elements. Accordingly Hevesy and Coster in Copenhagen examined a number of zircon minerals by X-ray methods, and found most of them to contain from 1 per cent, to 10 per cent, of a new substance closely resembling zirconium in its chemical properties. Further investigation proved this now substance to be an element having an atomic weight between 178 and 180. It was thus shown to be the missing element 72 and has been named *hafnium* (Hafnia = Copenhagen). With this discovery the vacant places in the list of atoms are at numbers 43, 61, 75, 85, and 87. The results obtained by Urbain and Dauvilliers remain to be explained; traces of hafnium may have been present in the material used by them.

Once a satisfactory model of the atom is obtained, the next step is a consideration of the way in which atoms combine together to form molecules. The theory of the structure of the molecule is intimately connected with the theory of valency which was discussed at a meeting at Cambridge arranged by the Faraday Society in July. According to Professor Lewis it is, in general, sufficient to assume only one type of chemical bond, the co-valent bond formed by one or more pairs of electrons held jointly by two atoms. The precise manner in which this "pairing" or "coupling" of electron circuits is supposed to take place is rather obscure, and it is not generally agreed that this type of bonding will explain the structure of the molecules of substances which ionise when dissolved in water.

In astronomy several papers of general interest have been published. Using a specially designed radiometer Dr. C. G. Abbot has been able to determine the distribution of the heat energy in the radiation from certain stars. Even with stars of the same type there are quite unexpected differences in the parts of the spectrum with which the greatest amount of heat energy is associated, the blue star Rigel shows two such maxima one in the infra-red and the other in the visible spectrum. A paper by Dr. Jeffrys suggested that the four outer planets are cold and solid bodies and not hot and fluid as in the generally accepted view. The arguments by which he supported his hypothesis are not, however, very conclusive. Spectra of the planet Venus obtained at Mount Wilson under specially favourable conditions do not show any traces of lines which could be attributed to an atmosphere above the visual surface of the planet. The constitution of this visual surface is, as yet, uncertain; but it is certain that we have no evidence that the planet possesses an atmosphere comparable in density with that of the earth. The erection of a Solar Observatory in the Australian continent has been under

consideration for some years. A site at Count Strombo, near Canberra, the federal capital, has now been selected and Professor W. G. Duffield, Head of the Physics Department at University College, Reading, has been appointed first Director.

Professor F. A. Lindemann and Mr. C. M. Dobson have investigated the size of meteors and the temperature of the upper atmosphere. They conclude that meteors as bright as the brightest star are no bigger than small bird-shot, and that the temperature at altitudes from 30-50 miles is about equal to that at the surface of the earth and thus much higher than in the region between 7 and 30 miles upwards (-60° F.). This high temperature is probably due to a layer of ozone which absorbs heat rays of long wave-length from the earth as well as the harmful ultra-violet rays from the sun.

During the year Dr. L. A. Bauer has announced the preliminary results of an analysis of the earth's magnetic field at the Carnegie Institute, Washington. It is found that 94 per cent, of this field arises from magnetic and electrical effects inside the earth, 3 per cent, from an electric system in the atmosphere, and the remainder to a system equivalent in its effects to electric currents passing at right angles through the earth's surface. It also appears that the intensity of magnetisation of the earth has decreased at the rate of one part in fifteen hundred every year since 1830. The electrification of the railways in the neighbourhood of the Admiralty Compass Testing Station at Greenwich made it necessary to erect a laboratory for this purpose in another locality. A site on the public common land at Holmbury Hill, Surrey was selected: the proposal to enclose land in this district met with great opposition, and it was ultimately decided to build the laboratory on private land near Abinger Bottom.

The phenomena of lightning discharges were discussed by Dr. Alexander Russell in his presidential address to the Institution of Electrical Engineers on October 18. He accepted the view that the separation of positive and negative electricity which causes the flash is due to the breaking of rain drops in the air. Winter lightning is probably due to a different cause—the collision of soft hail with snowflakes. Ball lightning is regarded as a natural phenomenon with an objective existence, but its nature and origin are still quite unknown. The danger of lightning to high voltage electric power lines caused the General Electric Co. of America to investigate the effect in some detail. Among other things their experiments showed that the average voltage of a flash is of the order of 100 million volts.

In a report to the Washington Academy of Sciences Drs. Williamson and Adams gave an account of their investigations relating to the composition of the interior of the earth. Three sources of information are available: our knowledge of the density of the earth, the composition of meteorites, and the velocity of earthquake waves through the earth. They conclude that there is a central core about 4,200 miles in diameter composed of a heavy metal, probably a mixture of iron and nickel, surrounded by a shell of mixed iron and rock extending to within 900 miles of the surface, above that a layer of rock resembling that at the surface but with more magnesia and less silicate, and finally a surface crust some 35 miles thick composed mainly of granite rocks.

Among the new instruments exhibited in 1923 **was** the Heape and Grylls rapid cinema machine designed to take photographs at rates varying from 500 to 6,000 per second. In principle it is the reverse of the focal plane shutter camera for the slit is fixed and the lens and film move at high speed across it. The film is held by air pressure against the rim of a large flywheel, and the images are projected on to the film by a succession of 40 lenses fixed round a circle near the periphery of a brass disc geared to the flywheel. The time of exposure is about one sixty-five thousandth part of a second, and to obtain a sufficiently bright illumination it is found necessary to burn from 50-70 lb. of flash-light powder in the small part of a second for which the machine is in action in any one experiment.

The meeting of the British Association held at Liverpool from September 12-19 was one of the most successful on record. At least 15,000 people attended the free public lectures and more than 7,000 paid for admission to the Scientific Exhibition held in the Central Technical School. The presidential address, delivered by Sir E. Rutherford, was broadcast all over the British Isles and was heard as far away as Switzerland.

The second triennial Pan-Pacific Science Congress met during September, first in Melbourne and afterwards in Sydney, the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia acting as host. The Congress was attended by about 100 delegates from countries bordering on or interested in the Pacific, France and the South American Republics being the only exceptions.

The fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the French Physical Society was celebrated during the week, December 8-15, by meetings and lectures attended by delegates from all parts of the civilised world.

The discussion on the Electronic Theory of Valency arranged by the Faraday Society at Cambridge on July 13 and 14 has already been mentioned. An equally interesting discussion on the Physical Chemistry of the Photographic Process was arranged by the same Society on May 28. On November 29 the Physical Society joined with the Institution of Electrical Engineers in a discussion on Loud Speakers.

Shortly after the conclusion of the war a number of Industrial Research Associations were formed under the auspices of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. The Department allotted to each Association a sum of money sufficient to pay half the cost of these Associations for the first five years of their existence. Thereafter it was anticipated that the trades concerned would be in a position to bear the whole cost themselves. This period is now beginning to elapse and the future of some of the Associations is very uncertain. The work done by the British Photographic Research Association was investigated by the D.S.I.R., and as a result that Department has decided to continue its grant for a further five years. It is understood that the Scientific Instrument Research Association has also received sufficient support to ensure its continuation.

Among many useful reports and bulletins issued under the auspices of the D.S.I.R. during the year may be mentioned the *Report of the Oxygen Research Committee* which discusses in detail the theory of the vacuum flask, and *Special Report No. 7* of the Building Research **Board** which **deals** with heat transmission through the walls of buildings.

ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

IN the annals of the National Galleries at Trafalgar Square and Millbank the year 1923 will be memorable for an acquisition, a bequest, and a gift. The acquisition was the group of portraits of the Wertheimer family by Mr. Sargent. These became the property of the nation on the death of Mrs. Wertheimer at the end of the preceding year and were received at Trafalgar Square in the spring, when they were shown in a gallery that contained nothing else but a few works by English eighteenth century masters, and attracted numbers of sightseers. Soon after the Sargents had been placed on view the National Gallery became entitled, by the death of Mrs. Ludwig Mond, to a portion of the fine collection of early Italian Old Masters formed many years ago by the late Dr. Ludwig Mond. To this valuable bequest certain conditions are attached, one of which is that the pictures when acquired by the National Gallery are not to be distributed but hung together in rooms reserved for them. The negotiations between the Trustees and the executors were not concluded by the end of the year.

The gift which helped to make 1923 remarkable was a sum of 50,000/., presented by Mr. Samuel Courtauld for the purchase of foreign pictures of certain schools for the gallery now building at Millbank. With the aid of this fund the trustees in whose hands it has been placed bought pictures by Renoir, Manet and others from exhibitions held during the year. Two works by Van Gogh were also acquired, a portrait and a large painting of a rush-bottomed chair.

Newly acquired works shown at the National Gallery included portraits by two famous landscape painters, Corot and Richard Wilson, and by Rubens and Romney. A portrait group of his two daughters by Gainsborough, purchased from Messrs. Knoedler, was also shown. Painted probably at the end of the artist's Ipswich period (about 1758-59) it shows the girls as children; Mary, the elder, with her arm round her sister's neck. Until the spring of 1923 the portrait had been in the possession of the descendants of Gainsborough's sister, Mrs. Gardiner. Many additions were also made to the National Portrait Gallery and the National Gallery of British Art, and at the last named two valuable special exhibitions were held, the first of paintings by the so-called Pre-Raphaelite English painters, including several of those early works by Millais and Holman Hunt of which the public never seems to tire; and the second of book illustration of the Sixties. Special exhibitions were also held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, one of decorative art, and one of pictures and sculpture by past and present students of the Royal

College of Art. At the British Museum water colours by Girtin and Cozens were on view.

Another special exhibition, small but interesting, was held at the Royal Academy, during the last three or four weeks of the summer season. It was composed of pictures, drawings, notebooks, and relics of all kinds, by or connected with the Academy's first President, Sir Joshua Reynolds, the bicentenary of whose birth was further celebrated at Burlington House in July by an evening party at which numerous followers of the Arts enjoyed the hospitality of the Academicians and listened to speeches by Sir Aston Webb, Lord Crawford, Mr. Charles Sims, R.A., and last, but not least, Mr. Sargent. The great painter was obviously unused to addressing a large audience, and much of what he said was lost upon all but the occupants of the nearer seats. His tribute to "the great Master of the Institution that he founded and of which he is the greatest glory" was admirable.

Examples of decorative art of all kinds were shown at the winter exhibition of the Royal Academy held in January and February, which included many contributions, shown separately, from members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. For the summer exhibition, which was of average interest, the Committee of Selection was composed of Sir Aston Webb, P.R.A., Mr. G. Clausen, Mr. Charles Shannon, Sir F. Short, Sir H. Hughes-Stanton, Mr. J. Olsson, Mr. R. Jack, Mr. C. Shannon, Sir J. J. Burnet, Mr. H. Poole, Mr. W. W. Russell, Mr. H. A. Pegram, and Mr. G. G. Scott. The hangers were Mr. G. Clausen, Mr. C. Shannon, Sir H. Hughes-Stanton, Olsson, Jack, and W. W. Russell, for pictures in oil and water colour, and Mr. Pegram and Mr. Poole arranged the sculpture. The architectural drawings were hung by Mr. Scott, and the engravings and drawings in black and white by Sir Frank Short. No very highly priced picture was sold at the Academy during the season. Among the principal works disposed of were "The Watch Tower" (525/.), by Mr. Arnesby Brown; "Romance d'autre fois" (550/.), by Mr. Virgil Constantini; "Tilty Church" (300/.), by Mr. George Clausen; "The Hospice" (250/.), by Mr. Sidney Lee; "Early Morning, Les Baux, Provence" (300/.), by Sir Hubert Hughes-Stanton; "Memories, Hopes, and Fancies" (315/.), by Mr. Gunning King; "A Peaceful Vale" (315/.), by Mr. Fred Milner; "Love and Riches" (262/. 10s.), by Mr. G. A. Pownall; "The Heart of Suffolk" (315/.), by Mr. Bertram Priestman; "A Provençal Town" (250/.), by Mr. H. H. La Thangue; "Pastoral" (500/.), and "Kensington Gardens" (250/.), by Mr. Philip Connard; "The Captive" (210/.), by Mr. P. A. Hay; and "Interior" (250/.), by Mr. A. Van Anrooy. The sculpture sales at the Academy are rarely important because so many of the exhibited works are commissions, but the group "Winged Joy," by Mr. H. A. Pegram, was marked sold for 500/.; and Mr. E. Whitney-Smith's bust "Sybil of the Gold Coast" for 150/. The most highly priced work acquired for the Chantrey collection was the faithful but unflattering portrait of Phil May in a scarlet hunting coat, painted about twenty years ago by the late Sir James Shannon and now bought for 1,050/. The other Chantrey purchase—there were only two in 1923—was a small landscape bought for 150 guineas, "The Road, Winter Morning," by Mr. G. Clausen,

An exhibition of Australian art was held at Burlington House in the autumn, by permission of the Royal Academy, and filled four or five of the galleries. The work, generally speaking, was respectable but not distinguished. The somewhat daring drawings of Mr. Lindsay attracted the most attention from English critics. At the same time, in adjoining galleries, an exhibition of a different kind was arranged at Burlington House. This was composed of a collection, gathered from all parts of the country, of "British Primitives," that is to say, of early paintings borrowed from cathedrals, churches, and other places, that may have been the work of British artists earlier than the fifteenth century. The nationality of such paintings is as a rule uncertain and disputed by experts, but those at Burlington House, whether by British artists or foreigners settled here, were exceedingly interesting, and Lord Lee of Fareham and his committee deserve congratulations for bringing them together.

A feature of the year was the number of exhibitions of French paintings, chiefly of the period between 1850 and 1900 and by men who belonged to the more advanced groups of that time. Manet, Degas, Renoir, and Daumier were conspicuous at these exhibitions, held at Messrs. Agnews and Knoedler's and at the French, Lefevre, and Goupil Galleries. The accomplishment of Degas as a sculptor, little appreciated in England before, was shown in a remarkable collection of models by him exhibited at the Leicester Gallery. Another exhibition at the Leicester Gallery, also attractive in its own way, was composed of cartoons by Mr. Max Beerbohm. Alike in treatment and humour they were fit to rank with his best work, but one or two, especially a picture representing King Edward the Seventh in Heaven, called forth some protests and were withdrawn by the artist. At the Leicester Gallery, too, was held the most discussed of the autumn exhibitions, that of the paintings of Van Gogh, the Dutch artist, who died insane. Other one-man shows were of the work of Mr. Glyn Philpot at the Grosvenor, and of Mr. Augustus John (who sent nothing to the Academy this year) at the Alpine Gallery.

In the summer another famous private English collection was dispersed by the sale of the pictures at Ashridge. One of them, a Vandyck, fetched nearly 30,000/., and another, "The Maas at Dordrecht" by Cuyp, 18,3752. But the season in the sale room was not upon the whole noteworthy, although it would have been if Sir Joseph B. Robinson's pictures had been disposed of, as he had at first intended. But Sir Joseph at the last moment found that he could not face the loss of the best of his treasures, and so bought them all in.

II. DRAMA.

The theatrical year, though it had nothing epoch-making to its credit, may yet perhaps be said to have witnessed a somewhat higher level of general achievement than had been shown during any previous period since the war. Certainly it seemed, a few exceptions notwithstanding, as though managers, having paid dearly for hasty ventures, were less apt

to put on anything that happened to come their way, however poor the quality, on the mere offchance of catching the taste of a not too exacting public. It has to be admitted, however, that the year produced the usual and inevitable crop of plays that were utterly unworthy of support. For such a glaring mistake, for instance (to quote at random a single case), as "Good Gracious, Annabelle," the egregious farce in which, unfortunately, that brilliantly-gifted comedienne, Marie Tempest, chose to make her reappearance in London after a very long absence, there could be but one result. On the other hand, where new plays were concerned, one could but regret the public's indifference to the merits, far outweighing its defects, of a work like A. A. Milne's "Success" (Haymarket, June 21), which fared not very much better than the same clever author's somewhat disappointing and unreal comedy, "The Great Broxopp," which Edmund Gwenn, in the title-part, had struggled hard to make acceptable. Probably the chief trouble with "Success," which showed its author in a rather more serious vein than usual, was the disconcerting mixture of styles involved by the interpolation of an element of fantasy pointing all too clearly to the influence of Barrie. Moreover, the protagonist, a noted politician, played with sincerity and a sense of distinction by Charles Cherry, offered a study in contradictions very difficult for any student of psychology to accept. The good work done in this play by Grace Lane and Halliwell Hobbes deserves a passing word.

It may be convenient here, as bearing upon the year's disappointments, to note one or two more or less abortive attempts, pluckily made by responsible managers, to disprove the old saying that Shakespeare spells ruin. There may have been, and indeed were, faults in Sybil Thorndyke's production at the New of the rarely-acted "Cymbeline," in which she appeared herself as Imogen. Still, one could have wished a much happier result for the enterprise, which cost the actress several thousand pounds. So, too, with Donald Calthrop's adventure at the Kingsway, where his attempts to woo Shakespeare-lovers to "Twelfth Night" and "A Midsummer Night's Dream" did not yield the hoped-for response. Here, again, there were faults, but the presentation of "Twelfth Night," in a simple and charming setting designed by Norman Wilkinson, had some admirable features, notably the Malvolio and Sir Toby of Balliol Holloway and Frank Collier respectively, both of them Shakespearian actors in the very front rank, while Viola Tree was a graceful Olivia. But apparently the only place where Shakespeare has taken deep and permanent root is the Old Vic, where Shakespearian plays, be they tragedies or comedies, are given regularly and appreciated whole-heartedly by a public characterised by sympathy, intelligence, and an eager response.

To turn from Shakespeare to contemporary drama, an interesting feature of the past year was the prominence, richly deserved, into which it brought two or three playwrights of the younger generation with whose names the wider public were previously unacquainted. It is a very long time, for instance, since the London stage, by no means as enterprising in these matters as one or two Repertory Theatres in the provinces, has unearthed anything so unconventional and so finely-imagined as "Outward Bound," a play by a comparatively young

dramatist, Sutton Vane, which, originally produced at the Hampstead Everyman, was afterwards brought to the Garrick (Oct. 16) for a regular run, and thence transferred to the Royalty. Here was a case of a work which broke away completely from all the stock-in-trade commonplaces and devices usually found in the plays that the public are supposed to want, and secured the interest and approbation of a very large section of playgoers by virtue of qualities quite out of the ordinary. The idea of applying to dramatic purposes the conception of Charon and his ghostly passengers crossing the Styx was something of an inspiration, though it would be far from the truth to say that in "Outward Bound" the author has treated his theme with absolute mastery. Incidentally "Outward Bound" served to bring into the light of day a very promising young actor, Frederick Cooper, whose performance as a bemused wastrel was first-class. In a wholly different category must be placed C. K. Munro's "At Mrs. Beam's," another Everyman discovery, which proved so diverting in its freshly observed characterisation and its freedom from the common tricks and expedients of farcical comedy that playgoers of every class gave it the warmest welcome at the Royalty, where it enjoyed along run with Dennis Eadie and Jean Cadell, the latter extraordinarily amusing as a boarding-house busybody, in the leading parts.

To Mr. Leon M. Lion goes the credit of discovering a young woman playwright, Dorothy Brandon, and presenting her to the public through the medium of a piece called "The Outsider" (St. James's, May 31). Miss Brandon's work, which at one time would have been labelled a problem play, dealt with a very painful theme, and while as in the case of "Outward Bound," the handling of that theme was far from perfect, its treatment showed so much of deep sincerity and at the same time so strong a sense of theatrical effectiveness, that one became reconciled to the necessarily depressing atmosphere of the play. In the role of the heroine Isobel Elsom displayed great gifts of emotional expression, Leslie Faber gave a convincing portrayal of a "quack" against whom were marshalled the forces of Harley Street, and Dawson Milward was excellent as his chief antagonist. Apart from one or two plays staged by producing societies, the list of works by unfamiliar authors may be completed by reference to Charles McEvoy's remarkably clever piece "The Likes of Her," which at the St. Martin's, where it was played together with Birrie's "The Will," achieved a success undeniably merited, and the more noteworthy having regard to the fact that the average playgoer cares little or nothing for a theatrical milieu of "low-life." Again, like all good plays, this one gave us good acting, notably from Mary Clare, Hermione Baddeley, a youthful actress of quite exceptional promise, Allan Jeayes, Leslie Banks, and Ben Field. One should mention here, as coming from a writer better known for his work in connexion with revue than in more serious endeavours, a charming little comedy by John Hastings Turner called "The Lilies of the Field," which at the Ambassadors enjoyed a long run. Incidentally, to this play belonged the melancholy distinction of being the last one in which that gifted young actress, Meggie Albanesi, appeared, just before her lamented death in December.

Turning from the younger playwrights to those of long-acknowledged repute, a glance back at the year's theatrical doings reveals something

almost approaching a conspiracy of silence on their part. From Barrie we had nothing new; from Pinero, likewise, nothing. Of Barrie's art, however, we had three old examples in revivals of "What Every Woman Knows," "The Little Minister" and, as already mentioned, "The Will;" while a Pinero revival gave us at His Majesty's, in "The Gay Lord Quox," a play once deemed brilliant and audacious, but now found hopelessly out of date. A curious feature of this ill-advised experiment was the appearance of George Grossmith, temporarily forsaking musical comedy, in the character created by the late Sir John Hare. Other "revivals" included "Magda" wherein, at the Playhouse, Gladys Cooper essayed with a very fair measure of success the part associated with the names of Duse and Mrs. Patrick Campbell, while Franklyn Dyall gave a powerful performance in the role of Magda's father; "The Prisoner of Zenda" at the Haymarket, with Robert Loraine and Fay Compton as Rudolf and Princess Flavia respectively; and at the same theatre "The Importance of Being Earnest," the performance of which lacked the air of distinction demanded by the frank artificialities of Wilde's famous comedy. As to authors of long-established prestige, the only one who contributed anything new to our stage was W. Somerset Maugham, whose mordantly-witty and somewhat daring comedy, "Our Betters," first produced in America, was brilliantly acted at the Globe by Margaret Bannerman, Constance Collier, Marion Terry, Reginald Owen, and Alfred Drayton. Nor, as coming from a veteran dramatist, should there be overlooked Henry Arthur Jones's "The Lie," originally staged some years ago in New York, and helped to considerable success at the New by the strongly-emotional acting of Sybil Thorndyke and Mary Merrall.

For the rest, one or two outstanding events of the theatrical year may be dealt with briefly. Pride of place belongs to John Drinkwater's "Oliver Cromwell" (His Majesty's), in which Henry Ainley assumed the title-part, and "Robert E. Lee" (The Regent), of which the interest was found to be episodical rather than sustained. It must be admitted that neither of these plays achieved anything like the success of the same author's "Abraham Lincoln." The Regent Theatre also supplied the public with a curious experiment in an English version by Nigel Playfair and Clifford Bax of the brothers Capek's symbolical "Insect Play." This production, however, met with considerably less success than Karel Capek's grim and fantastic melodrama, "R.U.R." (St. Martin, April 4), which, like the play previously mentioned, bore a symbolic interpretation. Of an entirely different calibre was the distinguished production at His Majesty's of the late James Elroy Flecker's "Hassan," in which poetry and drama went hand in hand. Other successes of the year were "Hubert Parsons" melodramatic play, "The Dancers," which owed much of its popularity at Wyndham's to the personality of Gerald Du Maurier; "The Green Goddess," a clever and ingeniously wrought melodrama by the distinguished critic, William Archer, which at the St. James's fully justified the high credentials it brought from America; and the Drury Lane spectacular drama, "Good Luck" (Seymour Hicks and Ian Hay).

Especially noteworthy among American importations were Eugene O'Neill's sombre, but intensely human, drama, "Anna Christie," in which Pauline Lord's acting in the title-role was arrestingly vivid;

Arthur Richman's "Ambush," also sombre and sordid in atmosphere; "Merton of the Movies," which, as a skit on film producers and "artists," appealed less to the London public than it had to transatlantic playgoers, and "So This is London," which made legitimate and good-humoured fun out of Anglo-American prejudices. Another amusing light comedy—of native origin—was Frederick Lonsdale's "Aren't we All?" skilfully enacted at the Globe by Marie Lb'hr, Ellis Jeffreys, and others. Yet it failed somehow to appeal to the public. A comparatively short career fell also to Noel Coward's sometimes witty, but rather cheaply cynical, comedy "The Young Idea."

Of the year's musical productions the more notable were "Catherine" (Gaiety, Sept. 22) and "Madame Pompadour" (Daly's, Dec. 20). In both of them history, greatly distorted, was drawn upon to provide the heroine, Jose Collins being the protagonist in the former, the music of which was adapted from some of Tchaikovsky's works, and Evelyn Laye greatly advancing her reputation in the tie-part of the second-named operetta, the score of which was by Leo Fall. Earlier in the year there was a successful revival at Daly's of "The Merry Widow." Among revues, mention should be made of the Hippodrome's highly-successful "Brighter London" and, on a more or less intimate scale, of two Chariot productions—"Rats" at the Vaudeville and "London Calling" at the Duke of York's, to which, perhaps, one should add the merry "Little Revue," with music by Herman Finck, which enjoyed quite a vogue at the Little Theatre.

III. MUSIC.

It is probable that in the memory of living man there has not been so much music heard in our concert rooms in the space of one year as was heard in 1923; and equally probable that there was a vast deal more of quantity than of quality. Certainly the year brought to us nothing of outstanding merit. At Covent Garden the British National Opera Company gave a two months' season in the spring, which they opened with the production of a brand-new native opera, Gustav Hoist's fantastic little work "The Perfect Fool." Further they played Dame Ethel Smyth's new opera "Fete Galante" and Hoist's "Savitri." The latter had been done elsewhere but twice before in far more appropriate and intimate surroundings than could possibly be provided at Covent Garden. But for the rest the changes were rung upon the established repertory, save only that "The Ring" was revived with an entirely new system of *decor* by Oliver Bernard which caused considerable controversy. The participants in the Operas were chiefly those associated with the former Beecham Company and with the British National Opera Company itself. But, as guests, there appeared a few times Melba, Joseph Hislop, a Scotsman of wide operatic experience in Sweden, Italy, and U.S.A., Charles Hackett and Edward Johnson, both Americans of established reputation. Though "Hassan" is drama and not opera the fact that the beautiful incidental music was composed for it by Delius compels record here;

this music was possibly the most distinguished of that produced in the year by a native composer.

Elgar himself was silent as regards new works. His orchestral transcription of Handel's Overture in D-minor made a decided hit, and after much agitation in the Press, his two symphonies, long neglected, were revived. Beatrice Harrison introduced a violoncello concerto by Delius and his beautiful "Song before Sunrise" was played more than once, and Dame Ethel Smyth's "Four Choral Preludes" were introduced at a Promenade Concert. Vaughan Williams's Mass in G, first sung at Westminster Cathedral, was later repeated in Queen's Hall by the Wolverhampton Choral Society, and, it should be recorded, was given with remarkable success in the Thomaskirche-Bach's old Church, in Leipzig. Eugene Goossens's star was very much in the ascendant. His services were in great demand as conductor; in this capacity he accepted a three months' engagement at the recently founded Eastman Conservatorium at Rochester, N.Y., where his success was phenomenal: at the Opera and in the concert-room he conducted frequently. Of his music there were produced a Sinfonietta and a Fantasy Sextet, the latter of which is likely to endure the longer. A striking and brief Symphony by Arnold Bax was introduced by Albert Coates and repeated later by Sir Henry Wood: "The Happy Forest," an orchestral work of distinction and a fine String Quartet, also by Bax, were heard. Among other native works which were introduced or revived were Arthur Bliss's "Colour Symphony," Vaughan Williams's "London Symphony," Elgar's violoncello concerto superbly played by Mme. Suggia, J. B. McEwen's "Solway" Symphony, an extraordinarily ambitious "Requiem" by J. H. Foulds, Hoist's "Ode to Death," Holbrooke's "Dramatic Choral Symphony," and Cyril Rootham's "Brown Earth."

A considerable amount of foreign music by composers of eminence was heard for the first time during the year. Possibly Richard Strauss's "Alpine Symphony" raised the highest hopes, but they remained unfulfilled, for the work seemed to show only too plainly that the well of Strauss's inspiration is no longer so full as before. Henry Eichheim's "Oriental Impressions" were interesting and Schönberg's "Pierrot Lunaire"—vastly discussed—was sung, by Marya Freund, at three concerts in two days. Franz Schreker's "Modernist" Chamber Symphony proved fairly attractive when introduced by Sir Henry Wood. No doubt Dohnányi's "Variations on a Nursery Song," a wholly delightful composition, took pride of place among this new foreign music. Milhaud's Suite Symphonique and a new violoncello Sonata by Ildebrando Pizzetti were likewise heard.

Many distinguished foreign musicians visited England during the year, including the three last named. Paderewski's return filled London music-lovers with joy: he gave two recitals to a capacity audience in Queen's Hall. After many years Felix Weingartner conducted here again and was very warmly welcomed. Nikolai Sokoloff, from Cleveland, Ohio, Kusewitzki, Maurice Ravel, Georges Enesco, also appeared as conductors. The present "leader" of Hungarian Music, Bela Bartok, paid us two visits, and amongst others who appeared were Moriz Rosenthal, Cortot, Ernest Schelling (a delightful pianist), Pouishnoff,

Prokofieff, Eugen D'Albert, Walter Giesecking (who met with a great success at his first visit), Mitja Nikisch, son of Arthur Nikisch, Ysaye, Kreisler, Mischa Elman, Anna Hegner, Casals; Chaliapin, Melba, Elena Gerhardt, Battistini, Frieda Hempel, Selma Kurz, Anna Pavlova, D'Alvarez and Sapellnikpff.

All the old-established societies, choral and instrumental, carried on their labours as often before. But it should be recorded that the Chappell Ballad Concerts have been replaced by concerts of a much higher grade which proved very popular; that Sir Landon Ronald instituted a series of Promenade Concerts in the Albert Hall on Saturday nights ; that Sir Frederick Cowen conducted the Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace; and that tercentenary celebrations of two great English composers, William Byrd and Thomas Weelkes, aroused a surprisingly widespread interest.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1923.

THE year 1923 witnessed a decided improvement on 1922 in economic affairs, especially at home. The decline in sterling commodity prices which began in April, 1920, and continued throughout 1921, was checked in 1922, and was followed by a rise in 1923, amounting to over 6½ per cent. By a curious coincidence overseas trade expanded by over 6 per cent., after allowing for the fact that since April, 1923, the trade of the Free State of Ireland was separated from the internal trade of the United Kingdom and is now reckoned as foreign trade. But it is not correct to draw the inference that the larger volume of trade was due to the rise in sterling prices. The average rise in monthly prices was only 2½ per cent. Further, there was a decrease of unemployment during the year of over 23 per cent., making the total reduction from the highest peak of unemployment touched in the early summer of 1921 45 per cent. The amount of short-time working was very greatly reduced, and at the end of the year the decrease from the highest point was no less than 90 per cent. There are various indications that production has increased, an excellent sign in view of the great burden of debt, which can only be successfully carried provided that the national income in terms of commodities rises steadily. We reproduce below *The Times* index number of commodity prices since January, 1923, based on the prices of 60 commodities with the percentage change month by month, together with the number on April, 1920 (when the highest point was reached), and at the close of 1921 and 1922 :—

	Food.	Materials.	Total Index Number.	Inc. or Dec. Per Cent
April, 1920-	301-2	382-8	352-9	
December, 1921 -	168-1	158-8	162-1	- 5 4-0
December, 1922 -	163-0	156-1	158-6	- 2-2
January, 1923	161-7	158-6	159-7	+ 0-7
February, „	161-8	162-2	162-0	+ 1"4
March, „	159-7	165-8	163-6	+ 1*0
April, „	161-5	166-7	164-8	+ 0-7
May, „	159-9	163-9	162-5	- 1-5
June, „	156-5	160-0	158-8	- 2-3
July, „	157-9	154-3	155-6	- 2-1
August, „	160-8	154-2	156-6	+ 0*6
September, „	166-6	156-3	160-1	+ 2-2
October, „	166-9	157-8	161-1	+ 0-6
November, „	170-2	167-0	168-1	+ 4-3
December, „ -	169-1	169-1	169-1	+ 0-6

The prices of the commodities included in the calculations **are shown in the next table, comparison** being made with the quotations **at the close of the two preceding years :—**

Commodities.		Dec. 31, 1923.	Dec. 30, 1922.	Dec. 31, 1921.
FOOD.				
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av.	1121b.	9s. 3d.	9s. 6c/.	10s. Ad.
No. 2, N. Man.	4961b.	46s. 3d.	51s. 6d.	54s. 6d.
Flour, Ldn., Straights	2801b.	37s. 6c/.	42s. 6d.	47s.
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av.	1121b.	10s. Ad.	9s. 6d.	12s. 9d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av.	1121b.	9s. 2d.	9s. 6d.	10s. Id.
Maize, La Plata, ex ship	4801b.	39s.	36s.	33s.
Rice, No. 2, Burma	• cwt.	16s. 6c/.	15s. 9d.	15s.
Beef, English sides	• 81b.	6s. 2d.	6s.	6s. 6d.
" S. Amer. chilled	• 81b.	3s. 10c/.	As. 9d.	5s. Ad.
Mutton, N.Z. frozen	• 81b.	5s. Ad.	6s. Id.	3s. lid.
Bacon, Irish lean	• cwt.	96s.	130s.	137s.
" Amer. Cumb.	• cwt.	65s.	83s.	88s.
Fish ¹	• stone	5s. 9d.	5s. 9d.	6s.
Eggs, English	• 120	31s.	26s.	36s.
Sugar, Eng. ref., cubes	• cwt.	62s. 9d.	55s. 6d.	51s. 6c/.
" W. Ind. cryst.	• cwt.	65s.	45s. 3d.	39s. 6d.
Tea, Ind. auctn. Avg.	• lb.	1s. bid.	1s. 6½d.	1s. 3Id.
Cocoa, Trinidad, mid.	• cwt.	45s.	61s.	51s. 6d.
Cheese, Eng. Cheddar	• cwt.	120s.	130s.	112s.
Butter, Danish, fine	• cwt.	222s.	214s.	174s.
Lard, Amer. ref., pails	• cwt.	82s. 6c/.	70s. 6d.	63s. 3d.
Potatoes, English, good	• ton	61. 10s.	4/.	91.
MATERIALS.				
Pig iron, Hemt M'bro.	• ton	103s. 6d.	93s.	100s.
" Cleve'd., No. 3	• ton	100s.	91s.	100s.
Iron, marked bars, Staff.	• ton	14/.	13/.	16/.
" Com. bars	• ton	12/.	10/.	13/.
Steel, rails, heavy	• ton	91.	9/.	9/.
" boiler plates	• ton	13/.	12/.	16/.
" galvzd. sheets	• ton	18/.	17/.	17/.
" tinplates	• box	24s.	20s.	20s.
Copper, electrolytic	• ton	661. 15s.	72/.	74/.
" strong sheets	• ton	95/.	96/.	98/.
Tin, stand., cash	• ton	233/.	182/.	170/.
Lead, English	• ton	32/.	271. 10s.	26/.
Spelter, foreign	• ton	32/.	37/.	27/.
Coal, Ige. steam, CM'ff	• ton	29s.	28s.	25s.
" best gas, Durham	• ton	24s. 6d.	24s.	21s.
" best hse., Yorks	• ton	28s.	28s.	37s.
Petlm., Amer. rfd., brl.	• gal.	11d.	1s. 2d.	1s. Ad.
Cotton, Am., fully mid.	• lb.	21-06d.	15½d.	1171c/.
" Egypt, f.g.f. Sak.	• lb.	24-50d.	17½d.	21-50c/.
" yarn, 32's twist	• lb.	27½d.	20¾.	18c/.
" 60's EgP.	• lb.	36d.	27½d.	28c/.
" shirtings, 81' lb.	• piece	16s. 9d.	14s. 9d.	16s.
" prnt., 17x17, 32 ia	• piece	48s.	38s.	36s.
" 125 yards	• lb.	25c/.	23c/.	17c/.
Wool, gsy. merino, 60's	• lb.	18½d.	10c/.	7½d.
" " croasbd., 46s	• lb.	6Ad.	62d.	50d.
" tops, 64's	• lb.	2½d.	14½d.	12d.
" 40's	• lb.	85/.	90/.	120/.
Flax, Idvonian, Z.K.	• ton	34/.	33/.	38/.
Hemp, N. Zeal, h.p. fair	• ton	28/.	35/.	25/.
Jute, first marks, shipmen	• ton	8¾d.	9d.	8¾d.
Hides, Eng. Ox, first	• lb.	10d.	10½d.	9d.
" Cape, dry	• lb.	33/.	30/.	35/.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 x 9	• stand.	2s.	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.
" W'cot oak, 1 in.	• foot	2/.	31. 3s.	3/.
Cement, best Portland	• ton	1s. 2½d.	1s. 2¾d.	11½d.
Rubber, Plant, sheet	• lb.	43/.	39/.	28/.
Linseed Oil	• ton	5/.	5/.	71.
Soda Crystals, bags	• ton			

¹ Plaice, cod, and haddock.

Owing to the revival of trade, and the consequent advance in prices, there were more commercial failures, the nursing of old positions being abandoned. But new bad debts were much less heavy than in 1922. The total number of failures in the United Kingdom was 8,146. For 1922 the total was 7,636 and for 1921, 5,640. That trade was more active is apparent from the usual analysis made by the *Economist* of industrial profits. In the first quarter of 1923, 405 companies reported net profits of 40,276,870?., an increase of 11,786,877?., equal to 41 per cent. ; in the second quarter 425 companies showed profits of 38,945,778l., an increase of 7,070,991l., or 22 per cent.; in the third quarter 209 companies earned profits amounting to 17,317,482?., an increase of 6,848,364l., or 65 per cent.; while in the fourth quarter 312 companies recorded profits of 26,043,934?., an increase of 2,661,158?., or 11 per cent. Thus the total profits of 1,351 companies in 1923 amounted to 122,584,064?., an increase of 28,367,390?., or 30 per cent. Of the total profits of 122,584,064?., the sum of 73,047,252?., was distributed in ordinary dividends, and 24,869,581?., in preference dividends, against 67,946,580?., and 23,893,204?., respectively in 1922 (for 1,351 companies). The total profits were equal to 9·8 per cent, on the total ordinary and preference capital combined, against 7 per cent, in 1922.

Important developments occurred in national finances. The outstanding feature was the establishment of a new sinking fund for the redemption of debt. The old sinking fund consisted of the surplus of revenue over expenditure which was automatically used to redeem debt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Baldwin) introduced the principle of making definite provision in expenditure for debt redemption. He allotted a sum of 40,000,000?., for the purpose in 1923-24, this to be gradually increased in future years to 50,000,000?.. There is a vital difference between the two sinking funds, because the new one calls for the imposition of the necessary taxation to redeem a given amount of debt, while the old sinking fund was an indeterminate sum dependent for the most part upon the chances of the financial year. The Budget year ended March 31, 1923, closed with a surplus of no less than 101,516,000?., as compared with 45,693,000?., in 1921-22, and an estimate of only 706,000?.. The surplus was applied to the redemption of debt, mostly floating debt. Revenue amounted to 914,012,000?., or 3,237,000?., more than the estimate, but a decrease on 1921-22 of 210,868,000?.. Expenditure amounted to 812,496,000?., a decrease on the Budget estimate of 97,573,000?., and a decrease on 1921-22 of 266,691,000?.. It will be remembered that the extraordinary surplus of 230,557,000?., was obtained in 1920-21. Customs in 1922-23 yielded 123,043,000?., a decrease of 7,000,000?.; Excise, 157,275,000?., a decrease of 37,016,000?.; motor vehicle duties produced 12,321,000?., an increase of 1,225,000?.; estate duties, 56,871,000?., an increase of 4,680,000?.; stamps, 22,222,000?., an increase of 2,584,000?.; land tax, house duty, and mineral rights duty, 2,980,000?., an increase of 390,000?.; income-tax and supertax, 379,045,000?., a decrease of 19,842,000?.; Excess Profits Duty, 2,004,000?., a decrease of 28,448,000?.; and Corporation profits tax, 18,977,000?., an increase of 1,461,000?.. The total receipts from taxation amounted to 774,738,000?., a decrease of 82,975,000?.. The receipts from the post office, telegraphs, and telephones were 53,200,000?., a decrease of 3,200,000?.. Crown lands yielded 900,000?., or 80,000?., more;

interest on sundry loans, etc., 10,016,000/., a decrease of 3,791,000/.; ordinary miscellaneous receipts produced, 24,140,000/., a decrease of 2,194,000/.; and special receipts, 51,018,000/., a decrease of 119,788,000/.. As to expenditure, interest on the National Debt absorbed 302,237,000/., against 335,000,000/.; sinking funds absorbed 21,753,000/., making a total of 323,990,000/., against 335,000,000/.. for the service of the National Debt. The total consolidated fund services required 353,496,000/., against 363,438,000/.. The supply services absorbed 459,000,000/., a decrease of 62,631,000/.. Savings on the Army amounted to 16,900,000/., on the Navy, 8,684,000/., on the Air Force, 1,495,000/., and on the civil services, 30,629,000/..

The Budget for 1923-24 showed a big drop in revenue on 1922-23, but little change in expenditure, after allowing for the new sinking fund. Revenue was estimated at 818,500,000/., of which 700,000,000/.. was tax revenue and 118,500,000/.. non-tax revenue. The National Debt services were estimated to require 350,000,000/., 40,000,000/.. being sinking fund. The total expenditure was put at 816,616,000/., of which 15,603,000/.. was in respect of special outlays of a non-recurring description for the liquidation of war commitments. Thus the estimated surplus was 1,884,000/.. A further modest instalment of tax relief was provided. The standard rate of income-tax was reduced by 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*c.* in the pound, but no change was made in super-tax; there was a further lowering of postal charges and telephone rates. Corporation profits tax was reduced from 1*s.* to 6*c.*., and remissions of beer, cider, and table water duties were made.

The National Debt on April 1, 1923, was 7,813,000,000/.. At the end of December, 1923, the floating debt amounted to 860,452,500/., of which 652,280,000/.. was in Treasury Bills, 206,422,500/.. in Ways and Means Advances from Public Departments, and 1,750,000/.. in advances from the Bank of England. On December 31, 1922, the floating debt was 941,051,500/., made up as follows: Treasury Bills, 717,040,000/.; Ways and Means Advances from Public Departments, 205,511,500/.; and from the Bank of England, 16,500,000/..

The report of the London Bankers' Clearing House for 1923 showed a moderate decrease in the turnover of money, due entirely to lessened financial activity. But for the revival of trade, especially in the later part of the year, there would have been a larger decrease in the turnover of money than actually occurred. Important alterations have been made in the compilation of the tables. The abandonment in August, 1922, of Consols settling days was the primary reason for the change. The special column headed "Fourths of the Month" has been eliminated because the "Fourth" is no longer any guide to the trade of the country. For many years the fourth of the month has ceased to be the great maturing date for bills, inland or foreign. Furthermore, in some trades, notably the drapery trade, the bill, owing to increased banking facilities and to alterations in the financial customs of the trade, has been almost entirely superseded by the cheque. By far the greatest proportion—namely, 95 per cent.—of the decrease in the grand total for 1923 occurred in the town clearing. The metropolitan clearing also showed a substantial decrease of 28,096,000/.. The average daily clearing in London was 119,308,100/., against 121,840,800/.. in 1922, 113,780,300/.. in 1921, and 127,512,700/.. in

1920. In view of the fall in commodity prices which has occurred since 1920, the average for 1923 indicates a considerable increase in the volume of trade on 1920. The figures are subjoined :—

	1923.	1922.	Increase or Decrease.
	£	£	£
Town Clearing total	36,627,592,000	37,161,461,000	-533,869,000
Metropolitan Clearing total	32,270,373,000	32,780,635,000	-510,262,000
	1,546,565,000	1,574,661,000	- 28,096,000
Country Cheque Clearing total	2,810,654,000	2,806,165,000	+ 4,489,000

The ten provincial clearings recorded the following totals for 1923 :—

Clearing.	Total.	Increase or Decrease.
	£	Per Cent.
Birmingham -	116,182,000	+ 3-4
Bristol	57,760,000	-15-4
Hull	55,695,000	- -1
Leeds	51,740,000	- 4-7
Leicester -	37,419,000	- 7-5
Liverpool -	450,325,000	+ 4
Manchester	760,560,000	- 1-8
Newcastle-on-Tyne -	103,846,000	+ 9-6
Nottingham	31,440,000	- 6-2
Sheffield -	57,688,000	+ 19-1

In the next table is shown the currency note position at the close of the three years, 1923, 1922, and 1921 :—

	End December, 1923.	End December, 1922.	End December, 1921.
	£	£	£
Total outstanding	291,263,999	301,337,000	323,839,009
Reserve :—			
Gold	27,000,000	27,000,000	28,500,000
Silver	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000
Bank of England notes	22,450,000	21,150,000	19,450,000
Reserve ratio -	16-98 per cent.	15-99 per cent.	14-8 per cent
Fiduciary issue -	241,813,999	251,660,922	275,889,009
Legal maximum issue -	270,183,800	309,988,400	317,555,200

The note circulation of the Bank of England increased ; the figures for the past three years are given below :—

Bank of England.	End December, 1923.	End December, 1922.	End December, 1921.
	£	£	
Coin and bullion	128,019,382	127,443,007	128,234,400
Note circulation -	128,142,780	124,877,670	126,520,300
Public deposits	15,682,705	13,823,799	16,051,800
Other deposits	116,779,958	119,903,482	106,532,600
Government securities	49,604,532	51,967,900	36,962,000
Other securities	81,072,961	78,158,131	83,165,000
Reserve (Notes and Coin) -	19,626,602	21,015,887	20,364,100
Ratio	14-7/8 per cent.	15-7 per cent.	16-6 per cent.

Generally, an ample supply of loanable credits prevailed in the money market in 1923, and conditions in Lombard Street showed little change on those of 1922. Occasionally a slight stringency was experienced, due mainly to the incidence of tax collections and the financing of new capital issues, but the payment of Government dividends usually brought relief, and it was seldom that recourse was had to the Bank. The average rates for money in each of the past seven years are shown in the subjoined table:—

1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.
BANK RATE AVERAGE.						
£ s. d. 5 3 0	£ s. d. 5 0 0	1 £ s. d. 1 5 3	0 1 £ s. d. 0 1 6	1 £ s. d. 1 4 3	1 £ s. d. 1 6 2	8 £ s. d. 8 3 14
DISCOUNT RATE (3 MONTHS' BILLS) AVERAGE.						
4 16 2	3 11 9	3 18 1	0 6 8	0 1 5	4 3 2	12 9 2
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.						
4 0 0	1 3 1	3 1 3	1 3 3	10 1 4	14 3 4	2 4 1
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.						
4 8 3	3 5 6	3 9 7	5 3 7	4 12 8	1 25 11	1 18 4

Bank rate, which had remained at 3 per cent, since July 13, 1922, was raised to 4 per cent, on July 5. The action of the Bank Court was severely criticised in some quarters because of its alleged restrictive effect on the revival of trade activity, but subsequent events have proved that the step taken was timely and wise. The cheapness of money had been responsible for the building up of a large speculative position on the Stock Exchange, especially in the gilt-edged market, and the lowness of money rates here had encouraged lending abroad (especially in New York) on a scale likely to prejudice national interests. The raising of the rate had the desired corrective effect, while the extent of the rise had little effect on the provision of trade credits.

The floating debt amounted on December 31, 1923, to 860,452,500£., as compared with 941,051,500£. at the same date in 1922, showing a decrease of 80,599,000£. The revenue surplus in the first quarter of the calendar year enabled the Treasury to repay a considerable amount of Treasury Bills, and by the end of the financial year (March 31, 1923) the debt had been further reduced to 809,942,500£. With the advent of the new financial year, and the consequent slackening in the flow of the national revenue there was an upward curve until at the end of June the debt had increased to 819,330,500£. Thereafter followed another reduction to 803,546,400£. recorded in September. From this point, however, the debt steadily increased, and on December 31 the total showed an increase of 56,906,000£. over the lowest figure of the year.

Owing to the reduction in the floating debt in the early part of the year, out of the revenue surplus, bank deposits fell further; but in the early summer commodity prices having been stabilised, deflation of the floating debt was checked. The following table shows the course of

banking figures of the ten London clearing banks during the year (in millions of pounds):—

	January.	April.	July.	October.	December.
Deposits	1736	1649	1680	1670	1714
Advances	744	762	764	763	774
Bills discounted -	323	252	279	277	279
Investments	377	346	357	354	357
Acceptances	77	78	74	79	96

Profits were rather smaller as a rule, but dividends were maintained. It will be seen that advances increased in the latter part of the year owing to the revival of trade. Among the bank fusions of the year were the absorption of Cox & Company by Lloyds Bank, of Grindlay's and the Guernsey Banking Company by the National Provincial Bank, of Holt & Company by Glyn, Mills, Currie & Company, of the North of Scotland Banking Company by the Midland Bank, and of Drummond's by the Royal Bank of Scotland. The quality of banking business in 1923 showed a marked improvement on 1922; the number of transactions was greater, and there was more consistency in the results obtained. Fewer bills were protested. A very marked increase occurred during the year in acceptances, which was a reflection of the revival of trade. There was a further increase in the proportion of commercial bills to Treasury Bills, absolutely and relatively.

The amount of new capital issues was smaller than in 1922. Figures for the past three years are as follows:—

	1923.	1922.	1921.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom	133,915,600	443,518,300	276,176,500
British Possessions	92,722,900	74,924,200	90,577,800
	44,754,700	55,233,100	22,223,900
Total -	271,393,200	573,675,600	388,978,200

The decline in issues raised on behalf of the United Kingdom is almost entirely explained by a decrease in Government borrowing. Of the 1922 total of 443,518,300*. no less than 369,628,100/. represented borrowing by the Government (mainly in Treasury Bonds, thereby reducing the floating debt), while in 1923 Government borrowed only 77,536,300*. Issues other than Government destined for use in the United Kingdom amounted to 56,379,300*, against) 73,890,200*. This decline is the natural consequence of trade depression; indeed, but for the operations carried on under the Trade Facilities Act the figure would have been even smaller, for a large amount was borrowed with the help of Government guarantees which could not have been raised at such low rates of interest purely on the credit of the borrowers. Loans to British Possessions were very well maintained, and issues on behalf of foreign countries, though exhibiting some reduction on 1922, showed a substantial advance on 1920 and 1921.

The foreign exchanges moved violently during the year, and most of the principal currencies depreciated in terms of gold. Continued inflation, the result of unbalanced Budgets, was the chief reason of the fall in paper money. At the beginning of the year German exchange stood at 34,125 marks to the pound, and at the end the quotation had risen to 19 billions to the pound. In other words, the mark note, formerly worth 1s., had become virtually worthless. The Government was forced to tackle the question of finding a new currency. The German people themselves to some extent met their difficulties by using foreign notes and foreign cheques, including sterling cheques, as currency. Indeed the use of sterling cheques reached large proportions. At the close the Government introduced a new currency, called the Rentenmark, which was issued by a new bank, called the Rentenbank. Its note issue was limited and was based on mortgages on land and industrial property. A sum of 1,300,000,000 Rentenmarks was issued to the Government to enable it to finance its needs pending the reconstruction of the Budget. The Reichsbank note was not repudiated, and though it was not made interchangeable with Rentenmarks, the Government arranged to sell Rentenmarks for paper marks at the rate of one billion of the latter to one Rentenmark. This had the effect of stabilising the paper mark at the rate of 19 billions to the pound. The Polish exchange rose during the year from 82,500 to 26,500,000 marks, the Hungarian from 10,750 krone to 80,500 krone, but the Austrian was stabilised at about 310,000 to 320,000 crowns almost throughout the year, thanks to the success of the League of Nations' scheme of reform. Continuous borrowing on the part of France had the effect of further depreciating the franc, which on balance showed a depreciation of about one-third. The New York-London exchange, after rising to 4.72½ dollars, fell to 4.25¾ dollars, owing partly to the rise in sterling commodity prices and partly to mischievous talk about inflation. Business was generally more active in foreign exchange, and forward business developed considerably. Traders have shown a keen desire to cover their commitments in foreign currencies so as to avoid the risk of loss, and the banks have encouraged the business. The table on opposite page is taken from *The Times' Annual Financial Review*.

Marked by paucity of business throughout, the year 1923 was notable on the Stock Exchange for only one feature—the end of the long-continued advance in investment securities which had accompanied the depression in trade. Throughout 1922, as well as in the later months of 1921, large sums of money which could not profitably be employed in financing industry had found their way into the Stock Exchange for investment in gilt-edged securities. The result was seen in an 11 per cent. increase in the market value of fixed-interest-bearing stocks in 1922, which followed the enhancement begun in 1921. Conditions at the beginning of 1923 appeared to favour a continued rise in values. The deadlock over reparations, with its collateral effects on the economic structure of Europe, seemed to render any material improvement in trade remote; while on the Stock Exchange itself the confidence engendered by the investment buying usual to that period of the year was increased by the gain to sentiment which followed the funding of the British debt to

Place.	Parity of Exchange.	Dec. 31, 1923.	Dec. 30, 1922.	During 1923.	
				Highest.	Lowest.
New York	34-86 ² / ₃	4-32	4-634	4-724	4-25 ³ / ₄
Montreal	\$4-86 ² / ₃	4-43	4-69J	4-82	4-35 ¹ / ₄
Paris	25f. 22 ¹ / ₂ c.	8465	63-50	86-70	62-35
Brussels -	25f. 22 ¹ / ₂ c.	96-40	69-174	107-374	68-05
Italy -	261r. 22 ¹ / ₂ c	100*	91-25	108 ³ / ₄	89
Berne	25f. 22 ¹ / ₂ c.	24-784	24-514	26-78	24-43
Athens -	25dr. 22 ¹ / ₂ c.	205	400	460	105
Helsingfors -	25m. 22 ¹ / ₂ p.	1754	1854	190	161 ¹ / ₂
Madrid -	25p. 22 ¹ / ₂ c.	33-50	29-50	34-45	29-45
Lisbon b *	53 ¹ / ₄ d.	1**	2g*	211/18d	1 ¹⁵ / ₁₆ d
Amsterdam	12fl. 107c.	11-39J	11-70	11-92	11-38*
Berlin -	20m. 43pf.	19,000mil.	31-125	50,000	32,000
Vienna -	24kr. 02c.	310,000	322,500	350,000	295,000
Budapest	24kr. 02c.	80,500	10,750	120,000	10,000
Prague -	24kr. 02c.	0 11	150	171	1474
Warsaw -	20m. 43pf.	26,500,000	82,500	27,000,000	80,000
Bukarest	251ei. 22 ¹ / ₂ c.	837*	800	1,290	770
Constantinople	110	820	800	880	630
Belgrade	25d. 22 ¹ / ₂ c.	385	430	650	355
Sofia	26d. 22 c.	600	655	900	325
Christiania	18kr. 159	29-624	24-60	31-05	24-35
Stockholm	18kr. 159	16-37*	17-304	17-75	16-25
Copenhagen -	18kr. 159	24-44	22-50	26-75	22-45
Alexandria -	974p.	* 7 «	97 *	97 *	97 *
Bombay -	24<*	1/5 *	1/H	1/5 *	1/3M
Calcutta -	24rf.	1/5 *	1/4	1/5 *	1/3M
Madras -	24rf.	1/5 *	1/44	1/5 *	1/3H
Hongkong	—	2/4 *	2/2**	2/5	2/2*
Yokohama	24*58d	2A _i	2/H4	2/3 *	2/0 *
Shanghai	—	3/4	3/04	3/5J	3/-
Singapore	—	2/4 _w	2/4 *	2/4 *	2/37/8
Manila -	24 066d.	2/3 *	2/H	2/3 ¹ / ₄	2/1 3/8
Rio de Jan., b	27d.	5 13/15d	6 1/16d.	6 5/32.	4 ¹ / ₂ .
Buenos Aires, b	47/d.	3911/32d.	44 ¹ / ₂ d.	44 ⁹ / ₁₆ d.	38 ³ / ₈ .
Valparaiso, 90 days	\$131.	40-10	35-20	41-20	33-20
Montevideo, b	5U.	4Gr.	44 ¹ / ₂ d.	44/d.	37rf.
Lima	Par.	—	10% a	15 ¹ / ₂ a	6l%a
Mexico -	24-5&Z.	264^.	25d.	21 ¹ / ₂ d.	24d.

a Premium.

b Telegraphic transfers.

The following table shows the New York quotations for foreign currencies, i.e., their values in gold dollars :—

New York on	Method of Quoting.	Closing Rate. Dec. 31, 1923.	Closing Rate. Dec. 30, 1922.	Inc. or Dec. Per Cent.
	\$ to	\$	\$	
London -	£1	4-34*	4*311	- 6-3
Paris -	100f.	5-10	7 34	- 30-5
Brussels	100f.	4-51	6-74	- 33-1
Berne -	100f.	17-51	18-95	- 7-5
Rome -	100lr.	4-32	5-10	- 15-3
Madrid -	100p.	12-92	15-75	- 17-4
Amsterdam -	100fl.	37-91	39-60	- 4-3
Copenhagen -	100kr.	17-73	20-65	- 141
Christiania -	100kr.	14-82	18-90	- 21-6
Stockholm -	100kr.	26-42	27-04	- 2-3
* Montreal -	—	2*0/0*	1470*	- 1-8
Yokohama -	100 yen.	46*5	48-9	- 4-9
Calcutta	100R.	31*25	31-45	- 0*6
Buenos Aires	Fs. per \$100	138 00	117-00	- 18-0

America. The rise in prices did in fact continue until about April, but from that time a long chain of circumstances brought about a change in sentiment and caused prices to move in irregular fashion. Thus, while the reparations deadlock had originally been a "bull" point for stock markets, the strain to Anglo-French relations which it entailed was made manifest, and prices became gradually affected by changes in the reparation atmosphere. The rise in Bank rate caused a liquidation of speculative positions in July, and the subsequent recovery which followed the establishment of more healthy conditions was interrupted by unwarranted rumours that the Government intended to resort to a policy of inflation as a means of solving the unemployment problem. An official denial followed the rumour, but before its full effects were felt the uncertainty attendant upon the General Election caused a further weakening. The defeat of the Government was unlooked for on the Stock Exchange, and it was followed by a further break in prices; and the year ended with markets in the weak and stagnant condition inseparable from nervousness and uncertainty.

The net movement in prices on the year, according to the statistics of the *Bankers' Magazine*, showed a fall in the value of 387 representative securities of only 0·4 per cent., which compares with a rise in 1922 of over 13 per cent. British and India Government stocks were virtually unchanged on the year, a fall of but 0·2 per cent, being recorded, while British railway debentures and preference shares showed a rise of rather less than 1 per cent. The oil market was notably weak, ten representative shares falling by 22½ per cent. In the industrial section changes in the different classes of shares were varied, although in the aggregate little movement is to be noted. Fourteen iron, steel, and coal shares fell by 15 per cent., and a group of shipping shares were 14 per cent, lower on the year. Insurance shares were strong, seventeen leading stocks showing an average rise of 12½ per cent., while bank shares gained about 1 per cent. Home railway ordinary stocks were almost unchanged, but twenty foreign railway securities declined by 6½ per cent. Rubber shares fell by about 6½ per cent., but tea shares rose on an average by 33 per cent, and nitrate shares were 10 per cent, higher. South African mining shares were fractionally lower, but copper mining shares declined by 13 per cent., and a group of miscellaneous mining shares lost fully a quarter of their 1922 value. Foreign bonds moved with the exchanges, and the stocks of most of the European countries were cheaper at the end of the year than at the beginning.

The value of British imports and exports in 1923 was 1,983,917,000*, an increase of 157,616,000*. (or 8½ per cent.) over 1922. These figures do not give a true comparison, for since April 1, 1923, the trade of Great Britain with the Irish Free State has been included in the returns of British foreign trade, whereas before that date it was merely part of the internal trade of the United Kingdom. It may be fairly estimated that this change of basis accounted for 50,000,000*. of the increase, so that the net increase in overseas trade was about 100,000,000*, or nearly 6 per cent.

Imports were valued at 1,098,015,585*. (an increase of 94,916,686*, or 9·4 per cent.), and exports, at 767,328,656*, showed an increase of 47,821,246*, or 6·6 per cent.; re-exports were 14,878,024*. (or 14·3 per cent.)

higher at 118,572,694?. The apparent adverse balance was therefore 212,114,000*.— 32,217,000*. more than in 1922, but still 63,068,000*. less than in 1921.

Great Britain imported 38,651,186*. more of food, drink, and tobacco in 1923 than in 1922, the total being 510,532,556*. ; imports of raw materials rose by 26,614,076*. to 324,952,756*. ; while imports of manufactured articles, at 257,109,440*., showed a rise of nearly 12 per cent. (27,359,850*). In exports, there was a rise of 8,044,086*., or 22 per cent., in values of food, drink, and tobacco, while exports of raw materials showed the substantial improvement of 28 per cent., the total rising by 28,843,514*. to 130,808,728*. There was a rise of 11,501,689*. in deliveries abroad of manufactured articles, but, with the 1923 total working out at 580,025,749*., this was the equivalent of only 2 per cent.

The experience of insurance companies in 1923 did not differ greatly from that of 1922. In ordinary life insurance, however, there was an increase in new business, and results in the industrial section also showed progress. No striking development in new forms of assurance can be recorded, though the offer by a leading office of periodical examinations of assured persons claims attention. In fire insurance, the experience of 1923, while not so good as in some years, was on the whole satisfactory. Competition in this class of business is keen, and indications point to a growth in intensity. No outstanding losses were experienced abroad, for the companies having safeguarded themselves from earthquake damage escaped liability in the Japanese calamity. Home fires were heavier, the outstanding feature being the conflagration of a tobacco warehouse in the Port of London, with damage estimated at 1,000,000*. The total cost for 1923 of fire damage in the United Kingdom is estimated (in *The Times' Annual Financial Review*) at 10,788,000*., comparing with 9,327,000*. in 1922. In marine insurance the feature was the continued keen competition, and shippers and shipowners were often able to secure insurance cover below cost price. In August the low rates for hull insurance became so marked that underwriters reached an understanding that no hull insurances should be effected on less favourable terms than hitherto. Outstanding casualties were the wreck of the liner *Marvale*, involving a liability of 212,000*., and the steamer *Armagh*, wrecked in the Mersey with a cargo estimated to be worth 500,000*. In miscellaneous insurance the chief feature was the passing of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, whereby the liability of employers was largely increased. The year was also marked by a notable fusion, the London and Scottish Assurance Corporation being acquired by the Northern Assurance Company. Another event was the compulsory winding up of the City Life Assurance Company, which transacted both ordinary and industrial life assurance.

The tendency of freights was irregular, but on the average rates in 1923 were lower than in 1922. The heaviest fall was in the Australian trade, closely followed by the North Atlantic, while rates to India, South America, and the Mediterranean showed smaller declines. On the other hand, there was a slight improvement in Par-Eastern and Pacific rates* The French occupation of the Ruhr in January and the consequent

severe dislocation of trade on the Continent of Europe had far-reaching effects on freight markets. On the one hand there was an immediate falling-off in Continental buying of grain, while on the other the decline in German coal production which followed was responsible for an abnormal demand for tonnage to carry coal from Wales, the north-east coast, and Scotland to Germany and France, and in a lesser degree to other parts of Europe. With the advent of summer this demand fell off, and conditions for cargo steamers became depressed. In the second half of the year the Japanese earthquake created a demand for tonnage to carry grain, flour, and lumber from the Pacific Coast of North America, and grain from Australia, to Japan. The unprecedented volume of chartering for trans-Pacific trade was, indeed, an outstanding feature of the year. A demand for vessels to load grain from South Russia to Continental and British ports was an interesting autumn development, while at the close of the year there was a substantial volume of time chartering of vessels for general trading for periods of from six to nine months. New tonnage constructed was almost unprecedentedly low, the total launched from yards in Great Britain and Ireland being estimated at 650,000 tons, out of a world total of 1,643,000 tons. These figures, however, are not a true index to shipping activity in the year, for there was a considerable decrease in the number of ships laid up idle.

The coal trade had its best year since the war. No serious labour dispute occurred and, thanks to an active Continental demand, resulting from the stoppage in the Ruhr, production was larger, prices higher, and profits more adequate. Output was 278,500,000 tons against 252,000,000 tons in 1922. With the exception of 1913, when the total was 287,500,000 tons, the production was the largest on record. Exports were the largest in the history of the trade. The total exported as cargo was 79,500,000 tons, an increase of 15,200,000 tons. In 1913, which held the previous highest record, the total was 73,400,000 tons. The cotton industry had a black year. The high price of the raw material and the consequent inability of foreign buyers to purchase cotton goods seriously curtailed production and exports. Normally four-fifths of our cotton production is exported. This country possesses about one-half of the world's cotton spindles. In the woollen industry there was a 70 per cent, increase in imports, chiefly from France, of woollen tissues, owing to the excessive depreciation of the franc, and a decline in imports of raw wool. Although profit margins were narrow the Yorkshire industry had a good year.

The world's production of steel ingots and casting for 1923 was, according to the *Cleveland Iron Trade Review*, 72,573,000 tons, or 97 per cent, of the 1913 figure; the output of pig-iron 64,580,000 tons, or 84 per cent, of the 1913 figure. For 1922 the steel output was 63,098,000 tons and of pig-iron 51,938,000 tons. America's steel production last year was 42 per cent, over the 1913 figure, and the pig-iron production 30 per cent, more. Europe's production of steel was 26,023,000 tons against 25,985,000 tons in 1922 and 42,562,000 tons in 1913. Great Britain's pig-iron production increased in 1923 from 4,902,000 tons to 7,360,000 tons, this figure being 71 per cent, of the 1913 output. German production was 4,000,000 tons in 1923, against 8,000,000 tons in 1922 and 19,000,000 tons

in 1913. Great Britain's steel output in 1923 was 8,480,000 tons, against 5,881,000 tons in 1922 and 7,664,000 tons in 1913; thus the 1923 figure was 10½ per cent, above the 1913 figure. German production was 5,000,000 tons against 9,000,000 tons in 1922 and 18,631,000 tons in 1913. The British railways, which operated as four groups under the Railways Act, 1921, for the first time in 1923 carried more passengers and a larger quantity of goods and merchandise than in any previous year.

LAW.

FOR the first time for several years the work of the Courts during 1923 was normal. The number of cases, which grew abnormally large after the Armistice, was at the beginning of 1923 not much in excess of the number at the commencement of 1913. At the end of the year the volume of litigation in the High Court was practically the same as at the beginning; about 2,100 cases, as compared with about 2,200. There was, however, a continued decline in the business of the Divorce Court, indicating a further improvement in the social conditions arising out of the war. The number of divorce suits, which was about 2,500 in 1921 and about 1,000 in 1922, fell to some 800 in 1923. But an increasing use was made during the year of the new facilities for the trial of matrimonial cases in the Assize Courts.

Chief among the legislative changes of the year, so far as the administration of justice is concerned, is the Matrimonial Causes Act, by which a wife has been empowered to petition for divorce on the ground of adultery alone, the necessity for proving either desertion or cruelty against her erring husband being removed, and thus in large measure establishing in the Divorce Court the equality of the sexes. Another statute closely affecting the work of the legal profession is the new Rent Restrictions Act, by which the provisions of the earlier Acts have been continued or amended. Applications under these much criticised Acts became so numerous in the County Courts that an increase in the number of County Court judges—or a substantial addition to their moderate salaries—was demanded. Many important changes were made by the Workmen's Compensation Act, passed on the eve of the Dissolution. The new Act, in addition to increasing the scale of compensation payable to an injured workman, extended the liability of employers for accidents to their employees which were not covered by the old legislation. Formerly a workman who was injured whilst acting in contravention of the orders and regulations, or without the instructions, of his employers was not entitled to compensation. Under the new Act compensation has become payable in these circumstances, provided the workman, when he meets with an accident, is acting in connexion with the business of his employer. Many other Acts were placed on the Statute Book during the year, but these three call for special mention here, because they closely affect the work of the Courts.

More notable would have been the legislative record if three measures of law reform introduced by the Lord Chancellor had been passed. The object of the Judicature (Consolidation) Bill was to bring within the four corners of a single statute all the provisions of the numerous Acts affect-

ing the procedure of the High Court. How necessary and enormous is this work of consolidation may be judged from the fact that the existing Judicature Acts cover a period of fifty years and that the Bill introduced by Lord Cave contained no fewer than one hundred and ninety-eight sections. By the Administration of Justice Bill it was sought to restore to litigants their pre-war right to trial by jury, and to minimise the waste of judicial time on circuit by empowering the Lord Chief Justice to dispense with the holding of Assizes at towns where there was not a substantial amount of business to be done. The provisions of the Bill relating to the circuit system, which were based on the recommendations of a Committee of which Mr. Justice Swift was the Chairman, excited a good deal of suspicion and opposition in the smaller assize towns, whose ancient privileges were thought to be imperilled. Less opposition was aroused by the Criminal Justice Bill, which provided for the trial at Quarter Sessions of a large number of offences now triable only at Assizes, with the object of reducing those long delays in criminal cases in the provinces which one outspoken judge long ago described as "an outrage and a scandal." Owing to the long and irregular intervals between the Assizes a considerable number of untried prisoners are kept in prison three months and more before they are brought to trial. By another noteworthy provision of this Bill it was proposed to abolish the old legal assumption that a criminal offence committed by a wife in the presence of her husband is committed under his "coercion." With each of these three measures considerable progress was made; probably they would all have been passed during the Autumn session if Parliament had not been dissolved.

Much discussion was excited by the Report of a Committee which, under the chairmanship of Lord Justice Atkin, inquired into the relations of crime and insanity. The Committee recommended that the law should be so altered that "it should be recognised that a person charged criminally with an offence is irresponsible for his act when the act is committed under an impulse which the prisoner was by mental disease in substance deprived of any power to resist." This doctrine of "uncontrollable impulse," though readily accepted by the medical world, was keenly criticised in legal circles. It deserves, therefore, to be recorded that the Committee consisted entirely of lawyers, and that such experienced criminal lawyers as Sir Edward Marshall Hall, K.C., Sir Herbert Stephen, Sir R. D. Muir, and Sir Archibald Bodkin were among its members. Another Committee appointed by the Lord Chancellor towards the close of the year was for a very different purpose. It was appointed to consider "what amendments in the law are required to enable the statutory law affected by the Law of Property Act, 1922, to be satisfactorily considered." The appointed date for the Law of Property Act to come into force is January, 1925. Whether the recommendations of the Committee—of which Mr. Justice Romer was appointed Chairman—will involve the further postponement of the operation of that great measure of land law reform has still to be seen.

A great improvement was made in the procedure of the Divorce Court by the publication of a new set of Rules. So successfully was the task of simplification accomplished that the old Rules, which numbered 222,

were reduced to ninety-eight. In connexion with the procedure of the Divorce Court may be noticed the **strong effort made** by the Law Society to secure for the "Poor Persons" system a larger measure of professional support. It became evident that the existing system, under which solicitors who gave their services gratuitously to "poor persons" were frequently out of pocket, was likely to languish for want of professional aid, and a special meeting of the Law Society was summoned to consider the matter, at which it was resolved, not only that the State should provide a fund out of which all reasonable out-of-pocket expenses might be paid, but also that undefended divorce cases should be made triable in the County Courts. But the year passed without the Law Society's recommendations being carried out.

On the Bench several noteworthy changes were occasioned by death or retirement. Lord Sterndale, whose sudden death deprived the Court of Appeal of a very learned and highly esteemed president, was succeeded in the Mastership of the Rolls by Sir Ernest Pollock, who had ceased to be Attorney-General some twelve months before. Three King's Bench judgements became vacant. One vacancy was created by the death of Mr. Justice Bray, one of the strongest judges in the Courts, though not disinclined to technicality; another was occasioned by the retirement of Lord Coleridge, whose fine judicial temper and stately diction enabled him to preside with conspicuous dignity at important criminal trials. Neither of these vacancies was filled up, the Government omitting to obtain the Parliamentary sanction which is necessary to fill a vacant judgeship in the King's Bench Division while the number of puisne judges in the Division is not below fifteen. The third vacancy was caused by the retirement of Mr. Justice Darling, who throughout the twenty-five years he served as a judge was most widely known as a judicial wit, but whose humour was by no means the only distinctive quality he successfully displayed in the administration of the law. His place was filled by Mr. G. J. Talbot, K.C., a recognised authority on local government law, as well as an ecclesiastical lawyer of high repute. Several other changes in the High Court followed the decision of the Government to fill up the Lordship of Appeal which had been allowed to remain vacant since the promotion of Lord Cave to the Woolsack. Lord Justice Younger was appointed a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, and assumed the title of Lord Blanesburgh on his elevation to the peerage. He was succeeded in the Court of Appeal by Mr. Justice Sargant, to whose place as a Chancery judge Mr. Tomlin, K.C., was appointed with the marked approval of the Bar.

In the lesser spheres of judicial life changes were less numerous than usual. The only vacancy on the County Court Bench was created by the death of Sir George Sherston Baker, whose place on the Lincolnshire circuit was filled by Judge Chapman. The Metropolitan Bench lost a most popular figure in Mr. I. A. Symmons, who was succeeded by Mr. Basil Watson, K.C. Several important legal appointments of an administrative rather than a judicial character fell vacant. Sir Charles Fortescue Brickdale resigned the office of Chief Registrar of the Land Registry, after holding the office for nearly a quarter of a century, and was succeeded by Mr. Stewart Wallace, who had been Assistant Registrar for several years.

In the office of Solicitor to the Treasury, the most responsible and arduous position of its kind, Sir John Mellor, who resigned after fourteen years service, was succeeded by the Hon. Clive Lawrence, whose place as Solicitor to the Ministry of Labour was filled by Mr. Granville Ram. Thus two important posts bearing the name and involving the duties of solicitors were again given to members of the Bar, and the Law Society, ever mindful of the interests of its branch of the legal profession, did not fail to make yet another protest against a practice of which it disapproves.

Foremost among the leading decisions of the year was that of the House of Lords in the *O'Brien* case arising out of the Home Secretary's action in deporting a number of persons from England to Ireland. *O'Brien*, being detained in custody by authority of the Irish Free State, applied to the Divisional Court for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and that Court, consisting of Lord Hewart, Mr. Justice Avory, and Mr. Justice Roche, refused the application. In the Court of Appeal, where sat Lords Justices Bankes, Scrutton, and Atkin, the decision of the Divisional Court was reversed, on the ground that the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act, 1920, under which the Home Secretary had purported to act, had been abrogated by the Irish Free State Constitution Act, passed two years later. Thereupon the Home Secretary appealed to the House of Lords, where Lord Birkenhead, Lord Finlay, Lord Dunedin and Shaw decided (Lord Atkinson dissenting) that when the Court of Appeal has granted a writ of *Habeas Corpus* the House has no jurisdiction to entertain an appeal. No decision equalled the *O'Brien* case in constitutional importance, but several other cases were of wide public interest. In *Sutton v. Attorney-General* the House of Lords, restoring a judgment of Mr. Justice Darling's which had been reversed by the Court of Appeal, decided that a Post Office servant who had been promised "full civil pay" whilst he was on military service was entitled to the increases of pay granted to Post Office employees of the same grade during his absence and not merely to the "full civil pay" which he was receiving at the date of his enlistment. This decision attracted much attention because of the large number of employees it affected both in Government and private service. Another much discussed decision was given by the Divisional Court in *Gibson v. Reach*, where Lord Hewart, Mr. Justice Sankey, and Mr. Justice Salter held that a room hired at an inn at Preston with a view to witnessing a procession was a "place of entertainment" on which the Entertainment Tax was payable. Two other decisions which brought the law close to the pleasures and habits, if not to the "business and bosoms," of the community may be noticed. In *Sandeman v. Gold* it was decided by the Divisional Court that the word "port" was a false trade description when applied to wine not produced in Portugal. The wine in this case was called "Tarragona Port," and the Court held that the word "Port," though qualified by the word Tarragona, which indicated that the wine came from a country other than Portugal, was still improperly used. In *Havana Cigar and Tobacco Factories Limited v. Oddenino* the Court of Appeal, upholding the judgment of Mr. Justice Russell, decided that, the majority of customers having come to regard "Corona" as a word indicative of brand rather than of size and shape, no customer ordering a "Corona" cigar ought to be supplied with a cigar not of

"Corona" brand unless it was clearly ascertained that he was using the name with reference to size and shape.

An interesting question of much importance to motor car owners and to pedestrians was raised in the case of *Pratt v. Patrick*, in which Mr. Justice Acton decided that the owner of a motor car who allows a friend to drive him is as much liable for the negligence of his friend as he would be for that of a servant.

Several decisions of industrial interest were delivered during the year. It was decided by the Court of Appeal in *Nunan v. Southern Railway Company* that, although a workman who was killed whilst travelling on the defendants' line had taken a "workman's ticket" which was issued with the condition that the Company's liability was limited to 100J., yet his widow, suing the Company under Lord Campbell's Act, was entitled to receive the much larger sum which a jury had awarded her. In *Dodd v. Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union* the Court of Appeal decided that a member of a trade union is entitled not only personally to inspect the Union's books but also to employ a chartered accountant to assist him. The House of Lords, reversing a judgment of the Court of Appeal, decided in *Upton v. Great Central Railway Company* that a labourer who slipped on a railway platform whilst hurrying to get into a train sustained an accident which "arose out of" his employment. An important point under the Rent Restrictions Act arose in two cases in which the "statutory tenants" claimed the right to assign their protected tenancy. In both these cases—*Keeves v. Dean* and *Nunn v. Pelligrini*—the Divisional Court held that a "statutory tenancy" was assignable, but the Court of Appeal decided that it was not. Another case which excited much attention was *Price v. Rhondda Urban District Council*, in which the defendant Council, as the education authority of its district, had given notice to determine the engagement of a number of women teachers, not because they were incompetent, nor because the schools were over-staffed, but solely on the ground that they were married. Mr. Justice Eve decided that, since the local authority had acted honestly in adopting this course, the exercise of their right of dismissal was not invalid.

Though the usual number of sordid dramas were unfolded in the criminal courts, only two outstanding trials at the Old Bailey are to be added to the legal record of the year. The Fahmy case, in which a Frenchwoman was accused of murdering her Egyptian husband in a London hotel, deserves to be mentioned chiefly because of the fashionable "audiences" which witnessed the proceedings and because of the unseemly applause with which the verdict of acquittal was received. It was hoped that the strong protest made against the unworthy scenes at the Central Criminal Court during this unpleasant case would induce the City authorities to prevent their recurrence. The other trial was that which resulted in the conviction of Lord Alfred Douglas for a criminal libel on Mr. Winston Churchill, not the least remarkable feature of the proceedings being the Attorney-General's strong protest against the malignant use made by the defendant's counsel of the Bar's freedom of speech.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

BRITISH DEBT TO UNITED STATES.

TERMS OF FUNDING.

PROPOSAL dated June 18, 1923, by his Britannic Majesty's Government (hereinafter called Great Britain) to the Government of the United States of America (hereinafter called the United States) regarding the funding of the debt of Great Britain to the United States.

Whereas Great Britain is indebted to the United States as of December 15, 1922, upon demand obligations in the principal amount of \$4,074,818,358*44, not including obligations in the principal amount of \$61,000,000, representing advances deemed to have been made to cover purchases of silver under the Act of Congress approved April 23, 1918, of which \$30,500,000 has been repaid in April and May, 1923, and the balance is to be repaid in 1924 pursuant to an agreement already made between the parties, and Great Britain is further indebted to the United States as of December 15, 1922, on account of interest accrued from April 15 and May 15, 1919, on said \$4,074,818,358-44, principal amount of demand obligations :

And whereas Great Britain has power under the War Loan Act, 1919 (9 and 10 Geo. 5, cap. 37), to issue securities in exchange for maturing securities issued under the War Loan Acts, 1914 to 1918:

And whereas the demand obligations now held by the United States Treasury were so issued, and will become payable upon the request of the United States Treasury for their payment:

Now therefore Great Britain proposes, in the exercise of the powers above recited and in consideration and in faith of the statements, conditions, premises, and mutual covenants herein contained, to issue to the United States in exchange for the demand obligations now held by the United States Treasury securities which shall be in their terms and conditions in accordance with the following provisions:—

1. AMOUNT OF INDEBTEDNESS.

The total amount of indebtedness to be funded is \$4,600,000,000 which has been computed as follows :—

Principal amount of demand obligations to be funded - - -	\$4,074,818,358-44
Interest accrued thereon from April 15 and May 15, 1919, respectively to December 15, 1922, at the rate of 4¼ per cent, per annum	\$629,886,106*99
Less—Payments made by Great Britain on October 16 and November 15, 1922, on account of interest, with interest thereon at 4J per cent, per annum from said dates respectively to December 15, 1922 - - -	\$100,526,379-69
	\$529,309,727-30
Total principal and interest accrued and unpaid as of December 15, 1922.	\$4,604,128,085-74
Paid in cash by Great Britain, March 15, 1923.	\$4,128,085-74
Total indebtedness to be funded into bonds of Great Britain - - -	\$4,600,000,000-00

2. ISSUE OF LONG-TIME OBLIGATIONS.

The securities, which it is proposed to issue at par as promptly as possible, shall be obligations in the principal amount of \$4,600,000,000, in the form of bonds to be dated December 15, 1922, maturing December 15, 1984, with interest payable semi-annually on June 15 and December 15 in each year at the rate of 3 per cent, per annum from December 15, 1922, to December 15, 1932, and thereafter at the rate of 3½ per cent, per annum until the principal thereof shall have been repaid.

3. METHOD OF PAYMENT.

The bonds shall be payable as to both principal and interest in United States gold coin of the present standard of weight and fineness, or its equivalent in gold bullion, or, at the option of Great Britain, upon not less than thirty days' advance notice in any bonds of the United States, issued or to be issued after April 6, 1917, to be taken at par and accrued interest to the date of payment hereunder: *provided, however*, that Great Britain may at its option, upon not less than ninety days' advance notice, pay up to one half of any interest accruing between December 15, 1922, and December 15, 1927, on any British bonds proposed to be issued hereunder, in bonds of Great Britain, maturing December 15, 1984, dated and bearing interest from the respective dates when the interest to be paid thereby becomes due, and substantially similar in other respects to the original bonds proposed to be issued hereunder.

All payments to be made by Great Britain on account of the principal or interest of any bonds proposed to be issued hereunder, shall be made at the Treasury of the United States in Washington, or, at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and if in cash shall be made at the option of Great Britain in gold coin of the United States or in gold bullion or in immediately available funds, or if in bonds of the United States, shall be in form acceptable to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States Treasury.

Appropriate notation of all payments on account of principal shall be made on the bonds proposed to be issued hereunder which may be held by the United States. Provided, however, that all payments in respect of any market obligations issued under Paragraph 9 of this Proposal shall be made at the office of the fiscal agents of the British Government in the City of New York.

4. EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION.

The principal and interest of all bonds issued or to be issued hereunder, shall be exempt from all British taxation, present or future, so long as they are in the beneficial ownership of the United States, or of a person, firm, association, or corporation neither domiciled nor ordinarily resident in the United Kingdom.

5. FORM OF BONDS.

All bonds proposed to be issued hereunder to the United States shall be payable to the United States of America, or order, shall be issued, so far as possible, in denominations of \$4,600,000 each, and shall be substantially in the form set forth in the exhibit annexed hereto, and marked "Exhibit A." The bonds shall be signed for Great Britain by the Counsellor of His Britannic Majesty's Embassy at Washington.

6. REPAYMENT OF PRINCIPAL.

To provide for the repayment of the total principal of the debt before maturity of the \$4,600,000,000 principal amount of bonds to be issued, it is proposed that the bonds shall contain provisions the effect of which shall be that Great Britain shall make to the United States payments, on account of the original principal amount of the bonds to be issued, in the amounts and on the dates named in the table on p. 92.

Provided, however, that Great Britain may at its option, upon not less than ninety days' advance notice, postpone any payment of principal falling due as hereinabove provided to any subsequent June 15 or December 15, not more than two years distant from its due date, but only on condition that if Great Britain shall at any time exercise this option as to any payment of principal, the payment falling due in the next succeeding year cannot be postponed to any date more than one year distant from the date when it becomes due, unless and until the payment previously postponed shall actually have been made, and the payment falling due in the second succeeding year cannot be postponed at all unless and until the payment of principal due two years previous thereto shall actually have been made.

In the event of Great Britain issuing bonds to the United States in payment of interest accruing between December 15, 1922, and December 15, 1927, as proposed in paragraph 3 above, the bonds so issued shall contain provision for the payment of their principal before maturity through annual instalments on account of principal corresponding substantially to the schedule of payments on account of principal appearing in the Table hereinbelow set forth.

Date. December 15.	Annual instalments to be paid on account of principal. \$	Date. December 15.	Annual instalments to be paid on account of principal.
1923	- 28,000,000	1955	- 64,000,000
1924	- 28,000,000	1956	- 64,000,000
1925	- 24,000,000	1957	- 67,000,000
1926	- 25,000,000	1958	- 70,000,000
1927	- 25,000,000	1959	- 72,000,000
1928	- 27,000,000	1960	- 74,000,000
1929	- 27,000,000	1961	- 78,000,000
1930	- 28,000,000	1962	- 78,000,000
1931	- 28,000,000	1963	- 83,000,000
1932	- 30,000,000	1964	- 85,00,000
1933	- 32,000,000	1965	- 89,000,000
1934	- 32,000,000	1966	- 94,000,000
1935	- 32,000,000	1967	- 96,000,000
1936	- 82,000,000	1968	- 100,000,000
1937	- 37,000,000	1969	- 105,000,000
1938	- 37,000,000	1970	- 110,000,000
1989	- 37,000,000	1971	- 114,000,000
1940	- 42,000,000	1972	- 119,000,000
1941	- 42,000,000	1973	- 123,000,000
1942	- 42,000,000	1974	- 127,000,000
1943	- 42,000,000	1975	- 132,000,000
1944	- 46,000,000	1976	- 136,000,000
1945	- 46,000,000	1977	- 141,000,000
1946	- 46,000,000	1978	- 146,000,000
1947	- 51,000,000	1979	- 151,000,000
1948	- 51,000,000	1980	- 156,000,000
1949	- 51,000,000	1981	- 162,000,000
1950	- 53,000,000	1982	- 167,000,000
1951	- 55,000,000	1983	- 175,000,000
1952	- 57,000,000	1984	- 175,000,000
1958	- 60,000,000		
1954	- 64,000,000		
		Total	- \$4,600,000,000

7. PAYMENTS BEFORE MATURITY.

Great Britain may at its option, on any interest date or dates, upon not less than ninety days' advance notice make advance payments of principal, in addition to the payments required to be made by the provisions of the bonds in accordance with paragraph 6 of this proposal. Any such additional payments shall first be applied to the principal of any bonds which shall have been issued hereunder on account of interest accruing between December 15, 1922, and December 15, 1927, and then to the principal of any other bonds which shall have been issued hereunder. Any payments made to the United States under this provision shall be in amounts of \$1,000,000 or multiples thereof.

8. CALCULATION OF INTEREST.

Notwithstanding anything herein contained, the interest payable from time to time on the bonds proposed to be issued shall be computed on the amount of the principal outstanding on the previous interest date, with adjustments in respect of any payment on account of principal which may have been made since the previous interest date.

9. EXCHANGE FOR MARKETABLE OBLIGATIONS.

Great Britain will issue to the United States at any time or from time to time, at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United

States, in exchange for any or all of the bonds proposed to be issued hereunder, and held by the United States, definitive engraved bonds in form suitable for sale to the public, in such amounts and denominations as the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States may request, in bearer form, with provision for registration as to principal, and/or in fully registered form, and otherwise on the same terms and conditions, as to dates of issue and maturity, rate or rates of interest, exemption from taxation, payment in bonds of the United States issued or to be issued after April 6, 1917, payment before maturity, and the like, as the bonds surrendered on such exchange, except that the bonds shall carry such provision for repayment of principal as shall be agreed upon; provided that if no agreement to the contrary is arrived at, any such bonds shall contain separate provision for payments before maturity, conforming substantially to the table of repayments prescribed by paragraph 6 of this proposal and in form satisfactory to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, such payments to be computed on a basis to accomplish the retirement of any such bonds by December 15, 1984, and to be made through annual drawings for redemption at par and accrued interest. Any payments of principal thus made before maturity on any such bonds shall be deducted from the payments required to be made by Great Britain to the United States in the corresponding years under the terms of the table of repayments set forth in paragraph 6 of this proposal.

Great Britain will deliver definitive engraved bonds to the United States in accordance herewith within six months of receiving notice of any such request from the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and pending the delivery of the definitive engraved bonds will, at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, deliver temporary bonds or interim receipts in a form to be agreed upon within three months of the receipt of such request. The United States before offering any such bonds or interim receipts for sale in Great Britain will first offer them to Great Britain for purchase at par and accrued interest, and Great Britain shall likewise have the option, in lieu of issuing to the United States any such bonds or interim receipts, to make advance redemption at par and accrued interest, of a corresponding amount of bonds issued hereunder and held by the United States.

10. CANCELLATION AND SURRENDER OF DEMAND OBLIGATIONS.

Upon the delivery to the United States of the \$4,600,000,000 principal amount of bonds proposed to be issued hereunder, the United States will cancel and surrender to Great Britain through the British Ambassador at Washington, or his representative, at the Treasury of the United States in Washington, the demand obligations of Great Britain in the principal amount of \$4,074,818,358*44 described in the preamble to this Proposal.

11. NOTICES.

Any notice, request, or consent under the hand of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States shall be deemed and taken as the notice request or consent of the United States, and shall be sufficient if delivered at the British Embassy at Washington or at the office of the Permanent

Secretary of the British Treasury in London ; and any notice, request or election from or by Great Britain shall be sufficient if delivered to the American Embassy in London or to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States at the Treasury of the United States in Washington. The United States in its discretion may waive any notice required hereunder, but any such waiver shall be in writing and shall not extend to or affect any subsequent notice or impair any right of the United States to require notice hereunder.

Signed on behalf of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury this eighteenth day of June, 1923.

A. C. GEDDES,

*His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.*

WASHINGTON.

EXHIBIT "A."

{Form of Bond.}

GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM SIXTY-TWO YEAR 3-3J PER CENT.
GOLD BOND.

Dated 15th December, 1922—Maturing 15th December, 1984.

\$ No.....

The Government of the United Kingdom, hereinafter called Great Britain, for value received, promises to pay to the United States of America, hereinafter called the United States, or order, on the 15th day of December, 1984, the sum of four million, six hundred thousand dollars (\$4,600,000), less any amount which may have been paid upon the principal hereof as endorsed upon the back hereof, and to pay interest upon said principal sum semi-annually on the 15th day of June and December in each year, at the rate of three per cent, per annum from December 15, 1922, to December 15, 1932, and at the rate of three and one-half per cent, per annum thereafter until the principal hereof shall have been paid. All payments on account of principal and/or interest shall be made at the Treasury of the United States in Washington or, at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. This bond is payable as to both principal and interest in gold coin of the United States of America of the present standard of weight and fineness or in its equivalent in gold bullion, or at the option of Great Britain, upon not less than thirty days' notice, indicating the minimum amount which it is contemplated to pay at next due date in gold cash or available funds, in any bonds of the United States issued or to be issued after April 6, 1917, to be taken at par and accrued interest to the date of payment hereunder; *provided, however*, that Great Britain may at its option, upon not less than ninety days' advance notice, pay up to one-half of any interest accruing hereon between December 15, 1922, and December 15, 1927, in bonds of Great Britain dated and bearing interest from the respective dates when the interest to be paid thereby becomes due, and substantially similar in maturity and other respects to this bond.

The principal and interest of this bond shall be exempt from all British taxation, present or future, so long as it is in the beneficial ownership of the United States or of a person, firm, association, or corporation neither domiciled nor ordinarily resident in the United Kingdom.

In order to provide for the amortisation of this bond before maturity, Great Britain will make to the United States payments of principal in the amounts and on the dates shown in the following table:—

Date. December 15.	Annual Instalments to be paid on Account of Principal. \$	1	Date. December 15.	Annual Instalments to be paid on Account of Principal. \$
1923 -	- 23,000		1954 -	- 64,000
1924 -	- 23,000		1955 -	- 64,000
1925 -	- 24,000		1956 -	- 64,000
1926 -	- 25,000		1957 -	- 67,000
1927 -	- 25,000		1958 -	- 70,000
1928 -	- 27,000	i	1959 -	- 72,000
1929 -	- 27,000		1960 -	- 74,000
1980 -	- 28,000		1961 -	- 78,000
1931 -	- 28,000		1962 -	- 78,000
1932 -	- 30,000		1963 -	- 83,000
1983 -	- 32,000		1964 -	- 85,000
1934 -	- 32,000		1965 -	- 89,000
1935 -	- 32,000		1966 -	- 94,000
1986 -	- 32,000		1967 -	- 96,000
1937 -	- 37,000		1968 -	- 100,000
1938 -	- 37,000		1969 -	- 105,000
1939 -	- 37,000		1970 -	- 110,000
1910 -	- 42,000		1971 -	- 114,000
1941 -	- 42,000		1972 -	- 119,000
1942 -	- 42,000		1973 -	- 123,000
1948 -	- 42,000		1974 -	- 127,000
1944 -	- 46,000		1975 -	- 132,000
1945 -	- 46,000		1976 -	- 136,000
1946 -	- 46,000		1977 -	- 141,000
1947 -	- 51,000		1978 -	- 146,000
1948 -	- 51,000		1979 -	- 151,000
1949 -	- 51,000		1980 -	- 156,000
1950 -	- 53,000		1981 -	- 162,000
1951 -	- 55,000		1982 -	- 167,000
1952 -	- 57,000		1983 -	- 175,000
1953 -	- 60,000		1984 -	- 175,000

Provided, however, that Great Britain may, at its option, upon not less than ninety days' advance notice, postpone any payment of principal falling due, as hereinabove provided, to any subsequent June 15 or December 15, not more than two years distant from its due date, but only on condition that if Great Britain shall at any time exercise this option as to any payment of principal, the payment falling due in the next succeeding year cannot be postponed to any date more than one year distant from the date when it becomes due unless and until the payment previously postponed shall actually have been made, and the payment falling due in the second succeeding year cannot be postponed at all unless and until the payment of principal due two years previous thereto shall actually have been made.

This bond may be paid on any interest date before maturity in whole

or in part, in amounts of \$1,000,000 or multiples thereof, at the option of Great Britain, on not less than ninety days' advance notice.

This bond is issued by Great Britain pursuant to the Proposal, dated the 18th day of June, 1923, and to the Acceptance of Proposal, dated the 19th day of June, 1923.

In Witness whereof Great Britain has caused this bond to be executed in its behalf by the Counsellor of His Britannic Majesty's Embassy at Washington, thereunto duly authorised.

For the United Kingdom:

Dated *December 15, 1922.*

(Back.)

The following amounts have been paid upon the principal amount of this bond:—

Date. Amount paid.....

ACCEPTANCE.

The Right Honourable

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., *Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, The British Embassy, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 18th June, 1923, transmitting the proposal dated the 18th day of June, 1923, by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Government of the United States of America regarding the funding of the debt of Great Britain to the United States. This proposal is agreeable to the World War Foreign Debt Commission, and I am writing for the Commission and by its authority to advise you that the proposal is hereby accepted on behalf of the United States of America, pursuant to the authority conferred by the Act of Congress approved February 9, 1922, as amended by the Act of Congress approved February 28, 1923.

In accordance therewith I am writing to ask that bonds as contemplated thereby may be delivered as soon as possible to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in exchange for the demand obligations amounting to \$4,074,818,358*44 now held by him, which are otherwise now payable.

Very truly yours,

A. W. MELLON,

*Secretary of the Treasury and
Chairman of the World War Foreign Debt Commission.*

Approved,

WARREN G. HARDING,

President.

June 19, 1923.

II. PEEMANENT CONSTITUTION OF THE EEPUBLIC OF CHINA.

(The following was promulgated on October 10 1923 the twelfth anniversary of the Chinese Revolution, to replace the Provisional Constitution of Fifty-six articles promulgated at Nanking on March 11, 1912.)

The Constitution Conference of the Republic of China, with the object of establishing the national dignity and maintaining the national

boundaries, and in order to promote the welfare of the people and uphold principles of humanity, has hereby ordained the present Constitution for promulgation to the whole country, to be permanently observed by all.

CHAPTER I.—FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Article 1. The Republic of China shall be a unified Republic for ever.

CHAPTER II.—SOVEREIGNTY.

Article 2. The Sovereignty of the Republic of China is vested in the whole body of the People.

CHAPTER III.—TERRITORY.

Article 3. The Territory of the Republic of China consists of all dominions in the possession of China. The territory and its division of areas shall not be altered except by law.

CHAPTER IV.—CITIZENSHIP.

Article 4. All persons legally belonging by nationality to the Republic of China shall be citizens of the Republic of China.

Article 5. Citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal, without any distinction of race, class, or religion.

Article 6. Citizens of the Republic of China shall not be arrested, imprisoned, tried or punished except in accordance with law.

Any citizen under arrest may in accordance with the law apply to a Court of Justice for a writ of Habeas Corpus.

Article 7. The residences of citizens of the Republic of China shall not be entered or searched except in accordance with the law.

Article 8. The secrecy of letters and correspondence of citizens of the Republic of China shall not be violated except in accordance with the law.

Article 9. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the liberty of electing residence and profession, on which no restriction shall be imposed except in accordance with the law.

Article 10. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the liberty of assembly and forming societies, on which no restriction shall be imposed except in accordance with the law.

Article 11. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the liberty of speech, authorship and publication, on which no restriction shall be imposed except in accordance with the law.

Article 12. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the liberty to honour Confucius and to profess any religion, on which no restriction shall be imposed except in accordance with the law.

Article 13. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have an inviolable right to the possession of property; and any expropriation necessitated by a consideration of the public welfare shall be in accordance with the law.

Article 14. Liberties of the citizens of the Republic of China, other than those provided in this Chapter, not being in contravention of the principle of Constitutional Government, shall be recognised.

Article 15. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the right to institute legal proceedings before a Court of Justice in accordance with the law.

Article 16. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the right to petition Parliament and state grievances in accordance with the law.

Article 17. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the right to vote and to stand for election in accordance with the law.

Article 18. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the right to be employed in public services in accordance with the law.

Article 19. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the obligation to pay taxes in accordance with the law.

Article 20. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the obligation to serve in the army in accordance with the law.

Article 21. Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the obligation to receive elementary education.

CHAPTER V.—NATIONAL POWERS.

Article 22. Of the National Powers of the Republic of China, those pertaining to the Nation shall be exercised in accordance with the provisions of the present Constitution, and those pertaining to the Local Areas shall be exercised in accordance with the present Constitution and with the provisions of the various laws for Provincial Self-Government.

Article 23. The Nation shall enact and execute all legislation for the following:—

1. International Relations.
2. National Defence.
3. Nationality Law.
4. Criminal, Civil, and Commercial Laws.
5. Prison System.
6. Measures and Weights.
7. Currency and National Banks.
8. Customs tariff, salt tax, revenue stamp tax, tobacco and wine taxes, and other taxes on articles of luxury as well as other duties and taxes throughout the country, the rates of which shall be unified.
9. Post, Telegraphs, and Aviation.
10. National Railways and Roads.
11. National Properties.
12. National Debts.
13. Monopoly and Special Licences.
14. Examination, Employment, Investigation, and Protection of the Civil and Military Officers of the Country.
15. All other matters which shall appertain to the Nation in accordance with the present Constitution.

Article 24. In regard to the following matters the Nation shall enact legislation to be executed by the Nation or under its direction by the Local Areas:—

1. Agriculture, Industries, Mining, and Forestry.
2. Educational System.
3. Banking and Stock Exchange Systems.
4. Aviation and Marine Fishery.

5. Conservancy Works and Waterways concerning two or more Provinces.

6. General Eegulations Governing Municipal Systems.

7. Requisitions for Public use.

8. National Census and Statistics.

9. Colonisation and Reclamation.

10. Police System.

11. Public Sanitation.

12. Pensions and the Administration of Unemployment.

13. Preservation of Ancient Books, Ancient Objects, and Ancient Monuments having historical value or cultural importance.

In regard_ to -the-items above mentioned the Provinces may enact-independent laws not in contravention of the legislation of the Nation.

In regard to items 1, 4, 10, 11, 12 and 13 above mentioned the Provinces may, pending legislation by the Nation, exercise the power of enactment.

Article 25. In regard to the following matters the Provinces shall enact legislation to be executed by the Provinces or, at their direction, by the Hsiens.

1. Provincial education, Industries, and Communications.

2. Management and Disposal of Provincial Properties.

3. Provincial Municipal Affairs.

4. Provincial Conservancy and Public Works.

5. Land Tax, Title-deed Duty, and other Provincial Taxes.

6. Provincial Debts.

7. Provincial Banks.

8. Provincial Police and Affairs pertaining to Public Safety.

9. Provincial Social and Public Welfare Work.

10. Local Self-government.

11. Other matters prpnded by the National Laws

When any of the items above mentioned shall concern two or more Provinces it may be undertaken by them jointly, except when otherwise provided by law, and in case the funds shall be insufficient the deficit may be supplemented by the National Treasury after approval by Parliament.

Article 26. Any matter arising not mentioned in Articles 23, 24, and* 25 which relates to the Nation shall appertain to the Nation ; that which relates to the Provinces shall appertain to the Provinces. Controversies arising in this connexion shall be adjusted by the highest Court of Justice.

Article 27. In order to obviate the undermentioned evils, or when deemed necessary for the promotion of public welfare, the Nation may by enactment place restriction on the classification and methods of collecting Provincial taxes :—

1. Taxes detrimental to the National Revenue or Trade.

2. Double Taxes.

3. Excessive Duties imposed on Public Roads or other means of Communication to the detriment of Communications.

4. Unprofitable taxes imposed on imported articles by the Provinces or between different localities for the protection of local products.

6. Transit dues imposed on articles conveyed within the Provinces between different localities.

Article 28. Provincial Laws shall be invalid when they conflict with the National Laws.

Doubts arising out of a conflict between a Provincial Law and the National Law shall be resolved by the highest Court of Justice.

The foregoing provision relating to the resolution of doubts shall also apply when Provincial Self-government Laws conflict with the National Laws.

Article 29. When a deficit occurs in the National Budget or when there is financial stringency, the Provinces shall, with the sanction of Parliament, bear the responsibility in proportion to their annual receipts.

Article 30. In the event of local financial deficiency or extraordinary catastrophe the locality concerned may be subsidised by the National Treasury upon approval of Parliament.

Article 31. Controversies between Provinces shall be adjusted by the Senate.

Article 32. The organisation of the National Army shall be based on a system of compulsory citizen-service. Except for enforcing the provisions of the law governing military service, the Provinces shall have no military duties in time of peace.

Citizens liable to compulsory service shall be mustered for training at different periods in specified recruiting areas; but the stationing of standing armies shall be restricted to areas of national defence.

The military expense of the Nation shall not exceed one quarter of the national annual expenditure; but this provision shall not apply in case of war with any foreign country.

The strength of the National Army shall be determined by Parliament.

Article 33. No Province shall enter into any political alliance agreement.

No Province shall adopt action detrimental to another Province or to the interests of another local area.

Article 34. No Province shall keep a standing army, or establish a military officers' academy or arsenal.

Article 35. Any Province not performing its duty as provided by the law of the Nation or refusing to obey after being reprimanded by the Government, may be forced into submission by the power of the Nation.

The employment of the aforesaid measure shall cease when it is disapproved by Parliament.

Article 36. In the event of one Province invading another with military force, the Government may intervene in accordance with the provision in the preceding Article.

Article 37. In the event of a change in the form of Government or of undermining of the fundamental Constitutional organisation, the Provinces shall adopt concerted action for the maintenance of the order established by the Constitution until the original form is restored.

Article 38. The provisions of this Chapter relating to Provinces shall apply to places where Hsiens have been created, but not Provinces,

CHAPTER VI.—PARLIAMENT.

Article 39. The legislative power of the Republic of China shall be exercised by Parliament.

Article 40. Parliament shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Article 41. The Senate shall be composed of Senators elected by the highest local assemblies prescribed by law, and by other Electoral Bodies.

Article 42. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members elected by the various electoral districts in proportion to their population.

Article 43. The election of members of both Houses shall be prescribed by Law.

Article 44. No person shall be a member of both Houses simultaneously.

Article 45. No member of either House shall hold concurrently any official post, civil or military.

Article 46. Each House shall determine the qualifications of its members.

Article 47. The term of office for a member of the Senate shall be six years. One-third of the members shall be elected every two years.

Article 48. The term of office for a member of the House of Representatives shall be three years.

Article 49. Members of both Houses shall not be relieved of the duties provided in Articles 47 and 48 until the day before the opening of the legal session of a newly elected Parliament.

Article 50. Each House shall appoint its speaker and Vice-Speaker, who shall be elected from among its own members.

Article 51. Parliament shall itself convene, open, and close its sessions, but extraordinary sessions shall be called under any of the following circumstances :—

1. At the joint request of more than one-third of the members of each House.

2. At the summons of the President.

Article 52. The ordinary session of Parliament shall commence on the 1st day of the 8th month in each year.

Article 53. The period of the ordinary session shall be four months which may be extended; but the extended period shall not exceed that of an ordinary session.

Article 54. The opening and closing of sessions shall take place simultaneously in both Houses.

When one House adjourns its sittings, the other House shall do likewise at the same time.

When the House of Representatives is dissolved, the Senate shall be adjourned at the same time.

Article 55. The two Houses shall conduct their proceedings separately. No bill shall be introduced simultaneously in both Houses.

Article 56. Unless there is an attendance of more than one-half of its membership, no business shall be transacted in either House.

Article 57. Deliberations in either House shall be decided by the

votes of more than one-half of the members present, and in the event of a tie the Speaker shall have a casting vote.

Article 58. A decision of Parliament shall be the decision of both Houses.

Article 59. The sessions of both Houses shall be held in public, but upon the request of the Government or by decision of the House concerned secret sessions may be held.

Article 60. When in the opinion of the House of Representatives either the President or the Vice-President has committed treason, he may be impeached by a majority vote of more than two-thirds of an attendance comprising more than two-thirds of the entire membership of the two Houses.

Article 61. When in the opinion of the House of Representatives a Cabinet Minister has violated the law, he may be impeached by a majority vote of more than two-thirds of the members present.

Article 62. The House of Representatives may pass a vote of No. Confidence in Cabinet Ministers.

Article 63. The Senate shall try an impeached President, Vice-President or Cabinet Minister.

In such a trial the verdict of condemnation shall not be pronounced except with the concurrence of more than two-thirds of the members present.

When the President or Vice-President is adjudged guilty, he shall be deprived of his office, but the punishment to be inflicted shall be determined by the highest Court of Justice.

When a Cabinet Minister is adjudged guilty, he shall be deprived of his office and may also be deprived of his public rights. If he is adjudged guilty of a further offence, he shall be tried by a Court of Justice.

Article 64. Each House shall have the right to demand, by addressing a communication to the Government, the institution of an investigation in the case of an official charged with violating the law or failing to perform his duties.

Article 65. Each House shall have the right to suggest proposals to the Government.

Article 66. Each House shall have the right to receive and consider the petitions of citizens.

Article 67. Members of both Houses shall have the right to address interpellations to the Cabinet Ministers or demand their attendance in either House to reply thereto.

Article 68. Members of both Houses shall not be responsible outside of Parliament for opinions expressed and votes cast in Parliament.

Article 69. Members of both Houses shall, during the period of Parliamentary sessions, not be arrested or taken into custody without the permission of their respective Houses except when apprehended *in flagrante delicto*.

When a member of either House has been arrested *in flagrante delicto* the Government shall at once report the matter to the House concerned; but each House shall have the right to demand, on motion carried, the suspension of judicial proceedings during the period of the sessions, and delivery of the arrested member to the custody of the House concerned.

Article 70. The annual allowances and other expenses of members of both Houses shall be fixed by law.

CHAPTER VII.—THE PRESIDENT.

Article 71. The administrative power of the Republic of China shall be exercised by the President with the assistance of the Cabinet Ministers.

Article 72. Any citizen of the Republic of China in full enjoyment of public rights, of the age of forty or more and resident in the country for more than ten years shall be eligible as President.

Article 73. The President shall be elected by a Presidential Electoral College composed of the entire membership of the two Houses of Parliament.

For this election, there shall be an attendance of at least two-thirds of the entire number of electors and the balloting shall be secret. The candidate obtaining three-fourths of the total votes cast shall be elected; but in the event of there being no definite result after the second ballot, the two candidates obtaining the highest number of votes in the second ballot shall be voted for, when the candidate receiving a majority vote shall be elected.

Article 74. The term of office of the President shall be five years, but in the event of being re-elected he may hold office for a second term.

Three months previous to the expiration of the term of office of the President, the members of both Houses shall themselves convene and organise an Electoral College for the election of a President for the following term.

Article 75. When the President assumes office, he shall take oath as follows:—

" I hereby solemnly swear that I will most faithfully observe the Constitution and discharge the duties of the President."

Article 76. In the event of the office of the President becoming vacant, the Vice-President shall succeed until the expiration of the term of office of the President.

In the event of the President being unable for any reason to discharge his duties the Vice-President shall act in his place.

In the event of the Vice-President vacating his post whilst the Presidency is vacant the Cabinet shall officiate for the President, but in such event the members of Parliament shall within three months convene and organise an Electoral College to elect a President for the following term.

Article 77. The President shall be relieved of his duties at the expiration of his term of office. If at the end of the period a new President has not yet been elected, or having been elected is unable to be inaugurated as President, and the Vice-President is also unable to act as President, the Cabinet shall officiate for the President.

Article 78. The election of the Vice-President shall, in accordance with the regulations governing the election of the President, take place simultaneously with the election of the President. In case the Vice-Presidency becomes vacant a new Vice-President shall be elected to fill the vacancy.

Article 79. The President shall promulgate laws, and supervise as well as secure their enforcement.

Article 80. The President may issue mandates for the execution of laws or powers delegated to him by the law.

Article 81. The President shall appoint and dismiss civil and military officials, with the exception of those specially provided by the Constitution or other laws, which shall be duly observed.

Article 82. The President shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the Republic, and shall be in command thereof.

The organisation of the Army and Navy shall be prescribed by law.

Article 83. In foreign intercourse the President shall be the representative of the Republic.

Article 84. The President may, with the concurrence of Parliament, declare war, but in regard to measures of defence against foreign invasion, he may request the approval of Parliament after the declaration of war.

Article 85. The President may conclude treaties; but treaties of peace and those affecting legislation shall not become valid until the consent of Parliament shall have been obtained.

Article 86. The President may proclaim Martial Law according to law; but if in the opinion of Parliament no such necessity exists, he shall forthwith proclaim the withdrawal of Martial Law.

Article 87. The President may, with the concurrence of the highest Court of Justice, grant pardons, commute punishment and restore civil rights; but in the case of an impeachment verdict he shall not, except with the concurrence of the Senate, declare restitution of rights.

Article 88. The President may suspend the session of the House of Representatives, but no session shall be suspended more than twice and no suspension shall exceed ten days.

Article 89. When a vote of No Confidence in the Cabinet Ministers has been passed, the President shall either relieve the Cabinet Ministers of their offices or dissolve the House of Representatives; but the House of Representatives shall only be dissolved with the concurrence of the Senate.

During the tenure of office of the same Cabinet Ministers or during the period of the same session there shall not be a second dissolution.

When the President dissolves the House of Representatives he shall immediately order another election to be held and the convocation of the House at a fixed date, to be effected within five months after the previous session.

Article 90. With the exception of high treason, no criminal charge shall be brought against the President before he vacates his post.

Article 91. The salaries of the President and the Vice-President shall be fixed by law.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE CABINET.

Article 92. The Cabinet shall be composed of the Cabinet Ministers.

Article 93. The Prime Minister and the Ministers of the various Ministries shall be called Cabinet Ministers.

Article 94. The appointment of the Prime Minister shall be made with the approval of the House of Representatives.

In the event of the Prime Minister vacating his post during the adjournment of Parliament, the President may appoint an Acting Prime Minister. The nomination of the next Prime Minister, however, shall within seven days after the opening of the next session of Parliament be submitted to the House of Representatives for approval.

Article 95. The Cabinet Ministers shall assist the President in assuming responsibility towards the House of Representatives.

Without the counter-signature of the Cabinet Ministers, the mandates of the President or despatches in connexion with state affairs, excepting the appointment or dismissal of the Prime Minister, shall not be valid.

Article 96. The Cabinet Ministers may attend the sessions of both Houses and make speeches, but in the case of making explanations when bills are introduced by the Government, delegates may be deputed to act for them.

CHAPTER IX.—COURTS OF JUSTICE.

Article 97. The judicial power of the Republic of China shall be exercised by the Courts of Justice.

Article 98. The organisation of the Courts of Justice and the qualifications of the judicial officials shall be determined by law.

The appointment of the Chief Justice of the highest Court of Justice shall be made with the concurrence of the Senate.

Article 99. The Courts of Justice shall receive and attend to all civil, criminal, administrative and other cases, but cases for which special treatment is reserved by the Constitution and the law shall not be so included.

Article 100. Trials in Courts of Justice shall be conducted in public, but those adjudged to be prejudicial to public peace and order or public morals may be held in camera.

Article 101. The judicial officials shall be independent in the conducting of trials, and no person whatever shall be allowed to interfere.

Article 102. During his tenure of office no judicial official shall, except in accordance with the law, have his emolument decreased, nor be suspended, nor be transferred to another post.

During his tenure of office no judicial official shall be deprived of his post unless he is convicted of crime or of an offence punishable by law. The foregoing provision, however, shall not apply to cases where the system of Courts of Justice is to be reorganised or where the qualifications of judicial officials are to be redetermined.

The punishment of judicial officials shall be determined by law.

CHAPTER X.—THE LAW.

Article 103. Members of both Houses and the Government may introduce bills, but if a bill is rejected by one House, it shall not be re-introduced during the same session.

Article 104. Any bill which has been passed by Parliament shall be promulgated by the President within fifteen days after its transmission to him.

Article 105. In the event of the President disapproving a bill passed by Parliament, he shall within the period prescribed for promulgation state his reasons and request its reconsideration. If both Houses adhere to their former decision, the bill shall be promulgated forthwith.

In the event of a bill not being submitted with a request for reconsideration and the period for promulgation having passed, it shall become law. But this shall not apply when Parliament is adjourned or the House of Representatives dissolved before the period for promulgation comes to an end.

Article 106. No law shall be altered or repealed except in accordance with the law.

Article 107. When a resolution passed by Parliament is submitted for reconsideration, the regulations governing the introduction of bills shall apply.

Article 108. Laws that conflict with the Constitution shall be invalid.

CHAPTER XI.—NATIONAL FINANCE.

Article 109. The introduction of new taxes and alterations in the rate of taxation shall be determined by law.

Article 110. The approval of Parliament shall be obtained for the flotation of national loans and the conclusion of agreements entailing additional burdens on the National Exchequer.

Article 111. All financial bills imposing direct burdens on the people *i* shall be first discussed by the House of Representatives.

Article 112. An estimate of the annual expenditure and receipts of the Nation shall be prepared in the form of a Budget by the Government, to be first submitted to the House of Representatives within fifteen days after the opening of the sessions of Parliament.

In the event of the Senate amending or rejecting the Budget passed by the House of Representatives, it shall request the concurrence of the House of Representatives in its amendment or rejection ; if such concurrence be unobtainable, that which was originally passed by the House of Representatives shall form the Budget.

Article 113. In the case of special undertakings the Government may determine in advance in the Budget the period over which the expenditures are to be spread and provide the successive appropriations for such period.

Article 114. In order to provide for deficiencies or omissions in the Budget, the Government may include contingent items in the Budget.

The sums expended under the above provision shall be submitted at the next session to the House of Representatives for approval.

Article 115. Except with the concurrence of the Government, Parliament shall have no right to strike off or reduce any of the following items of Expenditure:—

1. Those appertaining to the legal obligations of the Nation.
2. Expenditures necessary to carry out treaties.
3. Those which are necessary according to the law.
4. Appropriations to be spread over a period of years.

Article 116. Parliament shall not add to the annual expenditures included in the Budget.

Article 117. Between the commencement of the fiscal year and the passing of the Budget, the monthly expenditure of the Government shall be on the scale of one-twelfth of the amount allowed in the Budget for the previous year.

Article 118. In the event of there being a foreign war or suppression of internal rebellion, or relief for extraordinary catastrophe, when the urgency of the situation makes it impossible to issue writs for the summoning of Parliament, the Government may adopt financial measures adequate for the emergency, but it shall request the approval thereof by the House of Representatives within seven days after the opening of the next session of Parliament.

Article 119. Orders on the Treasury for payment on account of the annual expenditure of the Government shall first be approved by the Board of Audit.

Article 120. The statement of payments and receipts for each year shall first be referred to the Board of Audit for investigation and then be reported by the Government to Parliament.

If the statement or accounts submitted for approval be rejected by the House of Representatives, the Cabinet Ministers shall be held responsible.

Article 121. The organisation of the Board of Audit and the qualification of the auditors shall be determined by law.

During their tenure of office the auditors shall not have their emoluments decreased, nor be suspended, nor transferred to other posts.

The punishment of auditors shall be determined by law.

Article 122. The Chief of the Board of Audit shall be elected by the Senate.

The Chief of the Board of Audit may attend the sittings of both Houses to report on the financial statements and make speeches.

Article 123. The Budget and accounts submitted for approval which have been passed by Parliament shall be promulgated by the President after the receipt thereof.

CHAPTER XII.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM.

Article 124. Local areas are divided into two grades, the Province (Sheng) and the District (Hsien).

Article 125. In accordance with the stipulations of Article 22, Chapter V. of the present Constitution the province may itself enact laws for provincial self-government, but these shall not conflict with the present Constitution or with any National Law.

Article 126. The Provincial Self-government Law shall be drafted by a Provincial Self-government Law Conference composed of delegates elected by the Provincial Assembly, the District Assemblies, and the professional organisations of the entire Province.

In regard to the delegates above mentioned, besides one to be elected by each District Assembly, the number to be elected by the Provincial Assembly shall not exceed one-half of the total elected by the District Assemblies. This shall apply also to the delegates to be elected by the various professional organisations.

The delegates to be elected by the Provincial Assembly and the

District Assemblies shall not be members of these Assemblies. The law for the governance of such election shall be regulated by the Provincial Law.

Article 127. The following provision shall apply to all Provinces :—

1. The Province shall have a Provincial Assembly which shall be a representative organ of a single-chamber system, and the members shall be directly elected.

2. The Province shall have a Provincial Administrative Council (Sheng Wu Yuan) as executive of the Provincial Self-government Administration, to be composed of from five to nine members (Sheng Wu Yuan) directly elected by the people of the Province, and their term of office shall be four years. Before it is possible to carry out the direct election, an Electoral College may be formed for such election according to the provisions of the preceding article ; but persons in military service shall not be elected unless they have been relieved of office for at least one year.

3. The Provincial Administrative Council shall have a Chairman (Yuan Chang) who shall be elected by and from the members of the Council.

4. Citizens of the Republic of China who have been residing in the Province for one year or more shall be equal in the eyes of the law of the Province, and be in full enjoyment of all civil rights.

Article 128. The following provision shall apply to all Districts :—

1. The District shall have a District Assembly in which is vested the legislative power over all self-government affairs' in the District.

2. The District shall have a Magistrate (Hsien Chang) directly elected by the people of the District as executive, with the assistance of the District Council (Hsien Ts'an Shih Hui) of the District Self-governing Administration. This, however, shall not apply pending the completion of the independence of the Judiciary and the lower grade self-government system.

3. In remitting to the Province the amount of Provincial taxes allocated to it, the District shall have right to retain a portion thereof, not exceeding forty per cent, of the entire amount.

4. The Provincial Government shall have no right to dispose of the property and self-government funds of the District.

5. In case of calamities, natural or otherwise, or on account of shortage of self-government funds, the District may apply to the Provincial Administrative Council for, and, with the approval of the Provincial Assembly, may receive, subsidies from the Provincial Treasury.

6. The District shall be under obligation to observe National Laws and Provincial Laws.

Article 129. The division of Provincial and District taxes shall be decided upon by the Provincial Assembly.

Article 130. The Province shall not enforce special laws in one or a few Districts, but those concerning the common welfare of the Province shall not be included in this restriction.

Article 131. The District shall have full executive power in matters of self-government in the District; and the Province shall not interfere except in matters relating to punishments provided by the Provincial Law.

Article 132. National administrative affairs in the Province or District, besides being executed by officials appointed by the National Government, may be executed by the Provincial or District self-government administrative organs by delegation.

Article 133. In the event of the Provincial or District self-governing administrative organs, in the execution of national administrative affairs, violating the law, the National Government may impose punishment in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article 134. The provisions of this Chapter shall apply to places where Districts, but not Provinces, have been created.

Article 135. Inner and Outer Mongolia, Tibet, and Tsinghai may, in conformity with the common wish of the local inhabitants, be divided into two grades, the Province and the District, to which the provisions of this Chapter shall apply, but pending the creation of Province and District their administrative system shall be prescribed by law.

CHAPTER XIII.—AMENDMENTS TO AS WELL AS INTERPRETATION AND VALIDITY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Article 136. Parliament may introduce bills for the amendment of the Constitution.

Unless such bills be approved by upwards of two-thirds of the members of each House present, they shall not be adopted.

Unless it be endorsed by upwards of one-fourth of the total membership of both Houses, no member of either House shall propose an amendment to the Constitution.

Article 137. The amendment of the Constitution shall be undertaken by the Constitution Conference.

Article 138. The form of Government shall not be a subject for amendment.

Article-139. Ambiguities in regard to the meaning of the Constitution shall be interpreted by the Constitution Conference.

Article 140. The Constitution. Conference shall be composed of the entire membership of Parliament.

Unless there be a quorum of upwards of two-thirds of the total membership of Parliament no such aforementioned Conference shall be held; and unless upwards of three-fourths of the members present vote in its favour no amendment shall be passed ; but in the interpretation of any ambiguous point a decision may be reached with the approval of upwards of two-thirds of the members present.

Article 141. Except by amendments made in accordance with the provisions of this Chapter the Constitution shall never lose its validity, whatever changes or development may come to pass.

III. GENERAL TREATY OF PEACE AND AMITY ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE ON CENTRAL AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

(Feb. 2, 1923.)

The Governments of the Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, being desirous of continuing the general friendly relations which have existed between them, and of

creating the most solid basis for peaceful conditions in Central America, have seen fit to conclude a general Treaty of Peace and Amity and for that purpose have named as delegates :—

GUATEMALA : Their Excellencies Senor Don Francisco Sanchez Latour, and Senor Licenciado Don Marcial Prem.

E L SALVADOR: Their Excellencies Senor Doctor Don Francisco Martinez Suarez, and Senor Doctor Don J. Gustavo Guerrero.

HONDURAS : Their Excellencies Senor Doctor Don Alberto Ucles, Senor Doctor Don Salvador Cordova, and Senor Don Raul Toledo Lopez.

NICARAGUA : Their Excellencies Senor General Don Emiliano Chamorro, Senor Don Adolfo Cardenas, and Senor Doctor Don Maximo H. Zepeda.

COSTA EIOA : Their Excellencies Senor Licenciado Don Alfredo Gonzalez Flores, and Senor Licenciado Don J. Rafael Oreamuno.

By virtue of the invitation sent to the Government of the United States of America by the Governments of the five Central American Republics, there were present at the deliberations of the Conference, as delegates of the Government of the United States of America, the Honourable Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State of the United States of America, and the Honourable Sumner Welles, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

After having communicated to one another their respective full powers, which were found to be in due form, the delegates of the five Central American Powers assembled in the Conference on Central American Affairs at Washington have agreed to carry out the said purpose in the following manner:—

I. The Republics of Central America consider as the first of their duties, in their mutual relations, the maintenance of peace; and they bind themselves always to observe the most complete harmony and to decide any differences or difficulties that may arise amongst them in conformity with the Conventions which they have signed on this date for the establishment of an International Central American Tribunal and for the establishment of International Commissions of Inquiry.

I I . Desiring to make secure in the Republics of Central America the benefits which are derived from the maintenance of free institutions and to contribute at the same time toward strengthening their stability and the prestige with which they should be surrounded, they declare that every act, disposition or measure which alters the constitutional organisation in any of them is to be deemed a menace to the peace of said Republics, whether it proceed from any public power or from the private citizens.

Consequently the Governments of the Contracting Parties will not recognise any other Government which may come into power in any of the five Republics through a *coup d'etat* or a revolution against a recognised Government so long as the freely elected representatives of the people thereof have not constitutionally reorganised the country. And even in such a case they obligate themselves not to acknowledge the recognition if any of the persons elected as President, Vice-President or Chief of State Designate should fall under any of the following heads:—

(1) If he should be the leader or one of the leaders of a *coup d'etat* or

revolution, or through blood relationship or marriage be an ascendant or descendant or brother of such leader or leaders.

(2) If he should have been a Secretary of State or should have held some high military command during the accomplishment of the *coup d'etat*, or revolution, or while the election was being carried on, or if he should have held this office or command within the six months preceding the *coup d'Etat*, revolution, or election.

Furthermore, in no case shall recognition be accorded to a Government which arises from election to power of a citizen expressly and unquestionably disqualified by the Constitution of his country as eligible to election as President, Vice-President or Chief of State Designate.

III. The Contracting Parties obligate themselves to appoint to each of the others diplomatic or consular representatives.

IV. In case of civil war no Government of Central America shall intervene in favour of or against the Government of the country where the conflict takes place.

V. The Contracting Parties obligate themselves to maintain in their respective Constitutions the principle of non-re-election to the office of President and Vice-President of the Republic; and those of the Contracting Parties whose Constitutions permit such re-election obligate themselves to introduce a constitutional reform to this effect in their next legislative session after the ratification of the present Treaty.

VI. The nationals of one of the Contracting Parties, residing in the territory of any of the others, shall enjoy the same civil rights as are enjoyed by citizens of the respective country. They shall be considered as citizens in the country of their residence, if they manifest their desire to be such and meet the duly prescribed legal requirements.

Those who are not naturalised shall at all times be exempt from all military service and they shall not be admitted into said military service without the previous consent of their Government, except in case of international war with a country other than one of the Central American Republics. Furthermore, they shall be exempt from every compulsory loan or military requisition, and they shall not be obliged for any reason to pay higher taxes or assessments, ordinary or extraordinary, than those paid by nationals.

VII. Citizens of the Signatory Countries who reside in the territory of the others shall enjoy the right of literary, artistic or industrial property, in the same manner and subject to the same requirements as native born citizens.

VIII. The merchant ships of each of the Signatory Countries shall be regarded, when in the seas, along the coasts or in the ports of each of the others, in like manner as are the ships of such country; they shall enjoy the same exemptions, immunities, and concessions as the latter, and shall not pay other dues nor be subject to further taxes than those established for the vessels of the country in question.

IX. The Governments of the Contracting Republics bind themselves to respect the inviolability of the right of asylum aboard the merchant vessels of any nationality whatsoever anchored in their waters. Only persons accused of common law crimes can be taken from said vessels, by order of a competent judge and after due legal procedure. Fugitives

from justice accused of political crimes or of common law crimes of a political nature can in no case be removed from the vessel.

X. The diplomatic and consular agents of the Contracting Eepublics in foreign countries shall afford to the persons, vessels, and other property of the citizens of any one of them the same protection as to the persons, ships, and other property of their compatriots, without demanding for their services other or higher charges than those usually made with respect to their own nationals.

XI. There shall be a complete and regular exchange of every class of official publication between the Contracting Parties.

XII. Public instruments executed in one of the Contracting Eepublics shall be valid in the others, provided they shall have been properly authenticated and in their execution the laws of the Republic whence they issue shall have been observed.

XIII. The judicial authorities of the Contracting Eepublics shall carry out the judicial commissions and warrants in civil, commercial, or criminal matters with regard to citations, interrogatories, and other acts of judicial procedure and function ; an exception shall be made in the case of judicial commissions and warrants in criminal matters, if the act provoking them does not constitute a crime in the country requested to execute said judicial commissions and warrants.

Other judicial acts in civil or commercial matters, arising out of a personal suit, shall have in the territory of any one of the Contracting Parties equal force with those of the local tribunals and shall be executed in the same manner, provided always that they shall first have been declared executory by the Supreme Tribunal of the Republic wherein they are to be executed, which shall be done if they meet the essential requirements of their respective legislation and they be carried out in accordance with the laws in force in each country for the execution of judgments.

XIV. Each of the Governments of the Republics of Central America, in the desire to maintain a permanent peace, agrees not to intervene, under any circumstances, directly or indirectly, in the internal political affairs of any other Central American Republic; furthermore, not to permit any person, whether a national, Central American, or foreigner, to organise or foment revolutionary activities within its territory against a recognised Government of any other Central American Republic. None of the Contracting Governments will permit the persons under its jurisdiction to organise armed expeditions or to take part in any hostilities which may arise in a neighbouring country, or to furnish money or war supplies to the contending parties; the Contracting Governments bind themselves to adopt and dictate any effective measures, compatible with the political constitution of their countries, that may be necessary to avoid the occurrence of acts of this nature within their territory.

Immediately after this treaty is ratified the Contracting Governments obligate themselves to present to their respective Congresses such projects of law as may be necessary for the due fulfilment of this article.

XV. The Contracting Parties obligate themselves not to conclude with each other, from any motive whatever, secret pacts, conventions or agreements, and in virtue of this obligation every pact, convention or agree-

ment concluded between two or more of the Contracting Parties shall be published in the official gazette of each one of the interested Governments.

XVI. Inasmuch as the provisions of the Treaties signed in the various Central American Conferences by the five Contracting States have been incorporated or duly modified in this treaty, it is declared that all said Treaties shall be without effect and abrogated by the present Treaty, when it shall have been finally approved and ratified.

XVII. The present Treaty shall take effect, with respect to the Parties that have ratified it, from the date of its ratification by at least three of the signatory States.

XVIII. The present Treaty shall remain in force until the first of January, nineteen hundred and thirty-four, regardless of any prior denunciation, or any other cause. From the first of January, nineteen hundred and thirty-four, it shall continue in force until one year after the date on which one of the Parties bound thereby notifies the others of its intention to denounce it. The denunciation of this Treaty by one or two of said Contracting Parties shall leave it in force for those Parties which have ratified it and have not denounced it, provided that these be no less than three in number. Should two or three States bound by this Treaty form a single political entity, the same Treaty shall be in force as between the new entity and the Republics bound thereby which have remained separate, provided these be no less than two in number. Any of the Republics of Central America which should fail to ratify this Treaty shall have the right to adhere to it while it is in force.

XIX. The exchange of ratifications of the present Treaty shall be made through communications addressed by the Governments to the Government of Costa Rica in order that the latter may inform the other Contracting States. If the Government of Costa Rica should ratify the Treaty, notice of said ratification shall also be communicated to the others.

XX. The original of the present Treaty, signed by all the delegates plenipotentiary, shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan-American Union at Washington. A copy duly certified shall be sent by the Secretary-General of the Conference to each one of the Governments of the Contracting Parties.

Signed at the City of Washington, on the seventh day of February, nineteen hundred and twenty-three.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1923.

JANUARY.

1. Sir John Gavey, aged 80, was born at St. Helier, Jersey, and began his career in the Post Office in 1870. During the early part of his service he originated many improvements calculated to increase the speed of automatic telegraphy, opening, in 1881, the first telephone trunk line connecting two British towns, namely, Newport and Cardiff. Subsequently he became responsible for the organisation of the complete telephone trunk system of Great Britain and for the London Post Office telephone exchange system. He was connected with the Institution of Electrical Engineers and served on numerous international committees, including some of the earliest on radio-communication.

2. Arthur Didsy, the son of the Hungarian patriot, Martin Di6sy, was born in London in 1856 and educated in England and Germany. He became a well-known writer on Far Eastern affairs; his book, "The New Far East," reached an eighth edition in 1904. Long an advocate of an Anglo-Japanese Alliance, he founded in 1891 the Japan Society, of which he was the Vice-President. He was also a member of the Council of the China Society.

4. Brigadier-General Sir Hill Godfrey Morgan, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., aged 60, was an officer of exceptional ability, whose services on the Forage Committee of the War Office during the war were of the utmost value. He served in the Army Service Corps with the Dongola Expedition in 1896, and with the Nile Expedition in 1898, in both of which campaigns he was mentioned. He then saw service in the South African War, was appointed Director of Supplies in Natal, and from 1900 to 1902 served as Director of Supplies in South Africa. He was promoted in 1917 Brigadier-General, was created C.M.G. in 1918, and K.B.E. the following year.

5. Dr. James Wentworth Leigh, aged 84, Dean of Hereford for twenty-five years, was the third son of the first Lord Leigh. He was educated at Harrow and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and began his ministry in 1862 as curate of Bromsgrove. He met his wife, the daughter of Pierce Butler of Philadelphia and Fanny Kemble, the actress, while travelling in America on missionary work. Returning to England in 1877, he was appointed successively vicar of Leamington, rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, and in 1894 Dean of Hereford. This post he resigned in 1919. He was also honorary canon of Worcester. His wife died in 1910, and only one daughter survives him.

— Emmanuel Wlrth, the last survivor of the famous Joachim quartet, was an Austrian by birth. His preference was for the violin, but he will be best remembered as the viola player of the quartet. He was a pro-

fessor of music at the Rotterdam Conservatoire and the Berlin Hochschule. An orchestra leader of repute, he was a well-known figure in London concert halls.

7. Dr. Emil Hirsch, who died in Chicago in his 71st year, was Rabbi of the Chicago Sinai Congregation since 1880, and one of the most interesting figures in American Jewry. Born in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, he was educated there and at Pennsylvania, Berlin, and Leipzig Universities. In 1877 he became a Rabbi at Baltimore, in the following year at Louisville, Kentucky. Since 1892 he occupied the chair of rabbinical literature and philosophy in Chicago University. Well known as a public speaker and a prolific writer in Jewish journals, he was a pillar of Reform, and was energetically opposed to the Nationalist movement among Jews. He was editor of the Biblical section of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He left two sons and three daughters.

9. Cyril A. E. Ranger dull, better known as "Guy Thorne," was the author of a number of popular sensational novels, the best known of which, "When It Was Dark," appeared in 1903, and had a sale of over half a million copies. Born in 1876, the son of the rector of Rushall, he started life as a journalist, but abandoned this career very soon for novel-writing. His books, notably the above-mentioned one, were often founded on religious themes, and he also drew on a considerable knowledge of theatrical life, besides writing some thrilling tales, after the war, on submarines and seaplanes.

— Katherine Mansfield, the short story writer, whose promising career was cut short at the age of 33, was the third daughter of Sir Harold Beauchamp, of Wellington, New Zealand, a leading financial authority in his country. She published her first book in 1911, and in 1913 married John Middleton Murry, the well-known essayist and critic. In 1920 she came to the front as a short story writer with "Bliss and Other Stories," followed two years later by an even more successful book on similar lines. Her writing was marked by its sensitive appreciation of the importance of the details of life, and by her artistic mode of expression.

10. Dr. George Armitage-Smith, D.Litt., aged 79, who was principal of Birkbeck College from 1896 to 1918, was known for his writings on social and economic subjects, notably "The Citizen of England," 1895, "The Free Trade Movement," and "Principles and Methods of Taxation."

11. Judge William H. Moore, aged 74, a leading New York financier and a horseman of international repute, was one of the earliest industrial trust organisers. He formed the National Biscuit, Diamond Match, and American Can Companies, as well as a number of steel companies and the Tinplate Trust, which was absorbed by the United States Steel Corporation. He was the leading spirit of the New York Horse Show and was also well known at European shows.

— Constantino I., King of the Hellenes, the eldest son of King George I. of Greece and the Grand Duchess Olga of Russia, was born in Athens in July, 1868. He was brought up as a soldier and succeeded his father in March 18, 1913, his military position having been definitely established in 1910, after much adverse experience in this connexion, as Inspector-General of the Army, the successful re-organisation of which was due to his unceasing efforts. During the war he was prominently in the public eye owing to his constant struggle, against Venizelos and his party, to keep Greece out of the war, and, while remaining neutral, not to provoke the hostility of Germany. The attempts of the Allies to draw Greece in on their side finally terminated in the occupation of portions of Greek territory and, in 1917, in an agreement between the Allies and the Venizelist Government established at Salonika. In June, 1917, the King was forced to leave the country. He appointed his second

son as his successor and retired to Switzerland. In December, 1920, he was permitted, on the death of this son, to resume the throne, but abdicated for the second time in September, 1922, after the overwhelming defeat of the Greek Army in Anatolia. He died at Palermo. Of his two remaining sons his eldest succeeded him in 1922. Of his three daughters, one is the Crown Princess of Rumania. His wife, a sister of the German Emperor, survived him.

13. **Alexandre Ribot**, aged 80, Senator for the Pas-de-Calais and a former Prime Minister of France on more than one occasion, first entered the Chamber as a Republican Deputy, emerging in 1881 as the chief spokesman of the Moderate Radicals. In 1890 he accepted the Portfolio for Foreign Affairs, and in 1892 followed M. Loubet as Prime Minister. His tenure of office, both on this occasion and in 1893, was brief. He returned once more to power in 1895 and joined with Russia and Germany in obtaining the revision of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. In 1909 he became a senator, and in 1913 was an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency. During the war he returned to office as Minister of Finance, then succeeded M. Briand as Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs. His conduct of affairs then, though not distinguished by any noteworthy act of policy, paved the way worthily for the Government of M. Clemenceau. He was a man of lucid intelligence and wide experience, a cultured, deeply serious, liberal thinker, whose voice always commanded intense respect. He was considered by many the greatest parliamentarian in Europe. He was a member of the Academie Francaise, and his writings include a biography of Lord Erskine, published in 1866. He married a Chicago lady and had one son.

— **Dr. Johannes Orth**, a distinguished German pathologist, was born in 1847 at Wallmerod and educated at Heidelberg, Wiirzburg, and Bonn. After qualifying as a doctor of medicine, he became assistant at the Berlin Pathological Institute, to the famous Virchow, whom he was destined to succeed after holding the post of Professor of Pathology at Gottingen until 1902. He was a teacher of great, brilliance and the author of many important memoirs and treatises on applied pathology.

14. **Carl Paul Goerz**, founder of the famous firm of optical instrument makers, was born in Brandenburg in the early fifties of the last century, the son of a prison official. He was not a man of high scientific training, but began life in a small way as a seller of spectacles and magnifying glasses. By employing men of high training he was enabled, in 1881, to found the firm which bore his name. He did great service during the war to the optical departments of the German Army and Navy.

— **Frederic Harrison**, aged 91, one of the great Victorians, was a striking combination of a man of action with a man of letters. Educated at King's College School and at Wadham College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow, his college career is perhaps chiefly notable for the fact that he threw off High Church principles and commenced his adherence to the growing positivist school of thought which so greatly influenced his early life and writings. He was one of the founders of the Positivist Society in 1870. It was not, however, as a missionary of positivism that he influenced the life and thought of his time, but rather as the student turned man of action by the eagerness of his political and social sympathies. He would not, until late years, call himself a man of letters, because his writings were always charged with some direct practical purpose. Religion and philosophy, politics, social and labour questions, history and literature, all these absorbed his unfailing energy and interest. His actual profession, the law, he followed for some fifteen years without zest. He worked as a teacher in the Working Men's College, served on the Trades Union Commission in 1867, was one of the first aldermen on the London County Council, and was lecturer at Cambridge, Chicago, and Oxford in turn. He was a Vice-President of

the **Royal Historical Society** and of the London Library. A very voluminous writer, with a historical and controversial bent, some of his principal works were a monograph on Cromwell (1888), a short life of Ruskin, "Studies in Early Victorian Literature." "Theophano" (1904) was one of his most important works, and dealt with Byzantine history, to which he had given sustained study and thought. In particular he edited in 1892 and contributed copiously to the pages of the positivist "New Calendar of Great Men," of Auguste Comte. In 1876 he was special correspondent to *The Times* in France. He married his cousin, Miss Ethel Harrison, who died in 1916. Three sons, one of whom is Mr. Austin Harrison, for many years editor of the *English Review*, and one daughter, survived him.

15. **Maurice Long**, Governor-General of Indo-China, was born in the Drome Department in 1866. He served as Minister of Food in the Ribot Cabinet of 1917 and had held his final post since 1919. An enthusiastic advocate of the policy that the French colonies should be self-supporting, he contributed greatly to the progress made in Indo-China under his regime.

18. **Kate Santley**, one of the English favourites in opera-bouffe, burlesque, and music-hall pieces last century, was born in Germany about eighty years ago, her real name being Evangeline Gazina. Her parents emigrated to South Carolina when she was a child, but she came to England in 1861 and went on the stage. In addition to remarkable beauty, she had tremendous vitality, a sweet and well-trained voice, and a fascinating personality. She came into great prominence in England in 1872 as the favourite interpreter of the works of Offenbach, Lecocq, and other popular composers of the day. She was in management herself for some years at various London theatres, where she successfully produced comic opera and burlesques. Her last appearance was in "A Night in Town," at the Royalty Theatre in 1894. She married a Colonel Kennedy, who predeceased her.

22. **Dr. Max Simon Nordau**, a sociological writer of international fame, a skilled physician, a journalist of the first rank, dramatist, poet, novelist, linguist, and orator, and one of the most zealous champions of the Jewish people, was born in Budapest in 1849. His father, Gabriel Sudfeld, was a learned Hebraist, his mother a pious Jewess. At the age of 15 Max assumed the name of Nordau. He studied medicine, history, and sociology at Budapest University, and began his literary activity as early as 1863. He soon became a regular contributor to *Pester Lloyd*, the chief Budapest daily. In 1873 he became a doctor of medicine and served in the army as a surgeon. He then spent about six years in Continental travel, contributing the while to various German-speaking papers. In 1880 he removed to Paris, where he became a well-known physician and, chiefly, a notable figure in artistic and intellectual circles. In Paris he wrote his first drama "Die Journalisten," which was followed during the next twenty years by further dramas, of which "Das Recht zu Lieben," which was translated into several other languages, is probably the best known. In 1883 he started his series of sociological works with a book called, in English, "Conventional Lies." This attacked with great force what he considered the social maladies of the age. It was followed in 1885 by "Paradoxen" which dealt with the analysis of conventional truths. Both these books had a world-wide success, but the most famous was the third of the series, "Degeneration," published in 1893. Its attacks on the literary and artistic morbidity of the day aroused stupendous controversy.

Nordau was a staunch supporter of the Zionist movement and a great friend of the famous Zionist, Dr. Herzl. During the war, although he had no sympathy with the Central Powers, he was exiled from Paris and

took refuge in Spain, then in London. After the war he returned to Paris, where he died. He married a daughter of Captain Julius Dons, a State Councillor, of Copenhagen, and had one daughter, an artist.

23. Sir Charles Stewart Loch, born in 1849, was the son of a judge of the High Court of Calcutta. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and in 1875 was appointed Secretary of the Charity Organisation Society, founded in 1869, holding the office until ill-health obliged him to retire in 1913. His aim, of making charity a sustained social purpose, was set out in an article on this subject contributed to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. He became recognised as an authority on questions affecting the poor and sat on various Royal Commissions of this nature. He was for several years Vice-President of the Royal Statistical Society, and was knighted in 1915. He left a son and a daughter.

26. Peter Halm, a well-known engraver, was born in Mainz in 1861, and studied engraving in Munich. He worked for some time in Berlin as a graphic artist and was employed on official reproductions of old masters. His best work, however, was contained in his numerous landscape engravings, especially of his birthplace. He taught in the Munich Academy of Art, where he had been a Professor since 1900.

30. Lord Kinnaird (Sir Arthur Fitzgerald Kinnaird, K.T.), aged 75, was the only son of the tenth peer in the Scottish Peerage. Distinguished alike as an athlete, banker, philanthropist, and Evangelical Churchman, his interest in banking and Church affairs was hereditary, for his father was head of the banking firm of Ransom, Bouverie & Co. and an ardent supporter of Evangelism, and his mother was the daughter of William Hoare, the banker, and was the founder of many Evangelical societies, of which the Zenana Mission is probably the best known. He was educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and became, in due course, a director of Barclay's Bank. For several years he served as President of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. He married Mary Agnew, daughter of the eighth baronet of Lochnew, who predeceased him by only twelve days. His eldest son was killed in action in 1914 and his second son succeeded to the title.

— Miss Catherine Maud Nichols, who was born in 1847, was a painter and author, but made her greatest mark as an etcher. She was the first woman fellow of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers, a member of the International Union of Fine Arts, and a constant exhibitor at the Royal Academy and elsewhere. Among her best-known work is a series of four plates depicting haunts of George Borrow in and near Norwich. A convert to Catholicism, she wrote several books dealing with religious experience, and is also known as the author of some Norfolk sketches.

31. Ernesto Giacomo Parodi, the celebrated Dante scholar and Professor of the Comparative History of Classical and Romance Languages at the University of Florence, was born in 1862 at Genoa. One of the foremost authorities on ancient and modern languages and especially on Italian dialects, Parodi possessed an almost unparalleled familiarity with the works of Dante. From 1906 till the time of his death he edited the *Bulletin* of the Italian Dante Society, and also collaborated in the Critical Edition of the poet's works published by the Society in 1921.

— Ferdinand Montessus de Ballore, who died at Santiago, was the world's most eminent seismologist. A Frenchman by birth, he became interested in earthquake phenomena when in Salvador between 1881 and 1885. In 1907 he went to Chile as director of the Seismological Service. He wrote a number of important books on the subject, including a seismic catalogue, and formulated six laws in regard to the occurrence of earthquakes,

FEBRUARY.

1. Professor Ernst Troeltsch, a famous German scholar in the field of the philosophy of religions and formerly Secretary of State in the Prussian Ministry of Education, was born at Augsburg in 1865. He studied at Gottingen and was afterwards associated with the Theological Faculty at Heidelberg; in 1915 he succeeded to the Chair of Philosophy in the University of Berlin. He was well known as the author of numerous philosophical and historical Treatises, the most celebrated of which is "Die Kultur der Gegenwart."

2. Miss Frances Fairman, who was between 80 and 90 years of age, was a well-known animal painter and animal lover. Born in luxurious surroundings, she inherited a small fortune, but owing to her lack of knowledge of money affairs and her lavish nature, she eventually lost all but a bare hundred a year. The artistic talent which had been evident since early youth now stood her in good stead. She soon became famous as an animal painter, earning the praise even of great artists like Frith. Her work would rank as old-fashioned now, but she was regarded in her time as among the first animal painters of the day. She painted most of Queen Victoria's pet dogs, and King Edward and Queen Alexandra were also among her patrons, the latter becoming a close friend. Although she never became rich again, she subscribed to almost every society whose object was to mitigate animal suffering.

3. William Rolle Malcolm, aged 83, was the senior partner in Coutts's Bank, the business of which was affiliated in 1920 with that of the National Provincial and Union Bank of England. Born in Scotland, he was educated at Eton and at Balliol College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1865. He joined the Civil Service, serving first under the Board of Trade, then in the Colonial Office. He left the Service in 1878 to join Coutts's Bank, and had no small share, during the last forty years, in its successful management. He was, among other things, a director of the Phoenix Assurance Company. He married, in 1874, Georgina Wellesley, sister of the Third Duke of Wellington, who died in 1880 leaving two sons and a daughter. In 1882, he married—a second time—Ruth, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Edward Pleydell Bouverie.

— Alexander Ross, who was in his 78th year, was a well-known railway engineer. In 1890 he became Chief Engineer of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire, subsequently the Great Central Railway, and in 1897 of the Great Northern Railway, holding this post until 1911, when he retired and became a consulting engineer. He was responsible, during his career, for the construction of a number of important works, among which may be mentioned the Leen Valley Extension Railway and a portion of the Piccadilly Tube. In 1915-16 he served as President of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

4. General Count Tamemoto Kuroki, a famous Japanese soldier, was born in 1844 and adopted a military career from the start. After a brilliant record as a commander in the Saigō Rebellion and the China-Japanese War in 1894 he was appointed General and created a Baron. To him was entrusted the execution of the Japanese plan of campaign when the war with Russia broke out in 1904, and he commanded the 1st Army in the field with conspicuous success, having no small share in the Japanese victory at Mukden. When the war was over he was created Count, and appointed a Member of the Supreme Military Council.

5. George Grosvenor Thomas, aged 66, a landscape painter of distinction, was entirely self-taught and only adopted art as a profession about 1892. His Scottish and Italian landscapes are to be found in

various galleries abroad, *e.g.*, at Venice, Budapest, Prague, Weimar, Dresden, and Munich, and in many State galleries in America. He was a recognised authority on stained glass and a connoisseur of early and mediæval art.

5. **Count Erich von Kielmansegg**, a former Prime Minister of Austria, was born in Hanover in 1847. He was for many years Statthalter of Lower Austria. When the Windisch-Graetz Coalition Ministry fell, he was called upon, in 1895, to act as Chief of a Provisional Ministry and as Minister of the Interior. This provisional leadership lasted only three months.

— **Viscount Exmouth** (Sir Henry Edward Pellew, sixth Viscount) was remarkable not only for his long life devoted to social and charitable work, but because, although a peer of the United Kingdom, he was an American citizen and had lived in the United States since 1873. Born in 1828, he was the only son of the Hon. George Pellew, Dean of Norwich, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1853. He helped to found Keble College, Oxford, having been incorporated M.A. of University College, Oxford, in 1870, and sat on the Council of Keble from 1871 to 1873. In 1858 he married an American lady, by whom he had three children, of whom only a son survived him. Four years after her death in 1869 he married her youngest sister and in that year left England for the United States, where he became a naturalised citizen, settling first in New York, finally in Washington. He continued, in this country, the philanthropic work which had kept him busy in England. He assisted Roosevelt, before the latter's presidency, in organising the Bureau of Charities in New York. He succeeded his cousin in the Viscounty in August, 1922, but decided not to assume the title. His son, who succeeded him, was born in 1863, and is also an American citizen; he is Professor of Chemistry in Columbia University.

8. **Sir Joseph Walton, Bart.**, who entered political life after a successful business career and became known as "The Member for China," was born in 1849. The son of a coal-owner, he started business on his own account in the rising town of Middlesbrough and gradually laid the foundations for the development of the important firm of Sir Joseph Walton & Co., merchants and colliery owners. From 1897 to 1918 he represented the Barnsley (Yorkshire) Liberals in Parliament, being returned as a Coalition Liberal for the same borough in 1918. He was keenly interested in foreign affairs and travelled extensively in the Far East and elsewhere. His book on "China and the Present Crisis," published in 1900, attracted much attention. His wife and two daughters survived him, but his only son died unmarried in 1913, so that the baronetcy became extinct.

— **Bernard Bosanquet**, aged 74, was one of the most representative English philosophers of his time and the central figure in English philosophy during the last decade of the last century and the first decade of this one. Descended from an ancient Huguenot family, he was educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford, and was for ten years Fellow and Tutor of University College. The special principle of his philosophy he learnt from F. H. Bradley, his Oxford colleague. His doctrine was that reality is a system, and that the metaphysical basis of anything that exists is to be sought in its relation to a whole. He came to be regarded as the representative of orthodox intellectualism and called himself and Bradley Hegelians of the Left to distinguish them from the other Oxford school represented by Green, Caird, and Wallace. In 1881 he came to live in London and devoted himself to work on the Charity Organisation Society. He became a member of the Aristotelian Society in 1885 and from 1903 held for five years the Chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews. He was an active lecturer in connexion with

the University Extension movement. His philosophical writings were numerous, the most important being an early work "Logic, or Morphology of Knowledge," "A History of Æsthetic," "The Value and Destiny of the Individual," and "The Principle of Individuality and Value." In 1921 he published "Contemporary Philosophy."

10. Professor Wilhelm Konrad von Röntgen, famous as the discoverer of the X-ray, to which his name was given, was born near Dtlsseldorf in 1845. Intended to follow his father's industrial career, he was educated accordingly and was for a time apprenticed in an engineering works in Holland. He began to study science in Zurich, where he took his doctor's degree in 1869. Passing to Wiirzburg and Strasbourg, he became Professor of Mathematics and Physics at Hohenheim, then returned to Strasbourg as Extraordinary Professor of Physics in 1876. After a period of teaching at Giessen he was appointed to the Chair of Physics at Wiirzburg. Here he made, almost simultaneously with Professor Lenard, his world-famous discovery, and for this they were, in 1896, jointly awarded the Rumford Medal of the Royal Society. Röntgen was also made an honorary member of the Royal Institution of Great Britain and received the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1901. In 1899 he had been appointed Professor of Experimental Physics and Director of the Physical Institute at Munich. These posts he resigned in 1919.

12. The Hon. Arthur Elliot, aged 76, a political thinker and writer of considerable repute, was born of an old Scottish family, educated at Edinburgh University and Trinity College, Cambridge, and called to the English Bar. In 1880 he was returned to Parliament as Liberal Member for Roxburghshire, which seat he filled again under the Liberal Government of 1892. From 1898 to 1906 he represented Durham as a Liberal Unionist. As a Liberal who regarded Free Trade as the essence of his political creed, his Parliamentary career came to an end when a breach was created in the Unionist ranks over this question. Books on criminal procedure and on "The State and the Church" were followed in 1911 by a biography of Lord Goschen. From 1895 to 1912 he was editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. His most important work, "The Traditions of British Statesmanship," was written after his retirement in 1912 into private life, and was published in 1918. It was largely historical, but expressed throughout the political principles he had so consistently followed. His wife, a daughter of Sir Charles Lister Ryan, died in 1906. He left one son.

16. The Rev. James Gow, Litt.D., aged 69, was the son of James Gow, an artist, and younger brother of the late Andrew Gow, a painter R.A. Born in 1854, he was educated at King's College School and Trinity College, Cambridge, and was elected a Fellow of his college in 1876, being then a University Extension Lecturer and a student at Lincoln's Inn. He was called to the Bar in 1879, but did not practise for long, and in 1885 he abandoned a legal career for good and became headmaster of Nottingham High School. Here he remained until 1901, during which time the school advanced greatly under his guidance, which consisted to no small degree in directing its activities away from a purely commercial education to one in which classics and science found a more prominent place. Passing to Westminster School in succession to Dr. Rutherford, he took Holy Orders. The record of the school, during the eighteen years in which he presided over its destiny, was one of continual progress. At his instigation the governing body built the fine laboratories. Soon after the war started, his sight began to fail, and in 1919 he retired. He published several books on mathematics and classics. His latest work was a memoir of his friend John Sargeant, the poet. He married Gertrude Everett-Green, who is well known for her work in various social movements, and left several sons, the eldest of whom is a master at Eton.

16. **William Duthie**, who died at Tarves, Aberdeenshire, aged 82, was recognised by all lovers of this fine industry as the greatest breeder of Shorthorn cattle in the world. The Collynie herd was established by his father in 1856, and in 1889 was strengthened by large additions from the famous Cruickshank herd at Sittyton, sold by the owner, Amos Cruickshank, who had become too old to carry on the work. During Mr. Duthie's lifetime the Scottish Shorthorn proved its worth by penetrating into nearly every country in the world; it is prominent in every herd in the United Kingdom.

— Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant was born in 1848, the daughter of Mr. F. W. Dibdin. She took up teaching and nursing, and in 1876 married Mr. Thomas Chant, M.R.C.S. She then devoted herself to the cause of temperance, woman suffrage, and public morals. As a champion of these causes she was at one time a prominent public figure, especially in connexion with her attacks, after 1895, on the principal music-halls as incentives to vice. Her activities met with a good deal of success, though her method sometimes exposed her to ridicule. She was one of the first women of her time to make a mark as a public speaker. Her talents were numerous. She wrote, and also composed a number of songs and hymns.

18. Dr. Alois Rasin, Czechoslovak Minister of Finance, succumbed to injuries inflicted six weeks before by a young Anarchist. A most able statesman, whose name was a household word in Central Europe, he was probably the most outstanding Minister of Finance produced by Europe since the war. By profession he was a lawyer, and he had little experience of public finance until as a man well advanced in years he became the first Czechoslovak Chancellor of the Exchequer. When he became Minister of Finance on the establishment of the Republic in 1918, he created a separate currency for his country, and by his sincerity of purpose, indomitable will-power, and extraordinary mathematical ability succeeded in keeping the Czech exchange at a high level. His ambition, so he is reputed to have said, was to model his country's finances on English methods.

19. Frédéric Masson, the historian of Napoleon and Permanent Secretary of the Académie Française, whose age was 76, was the son of a solicitor who died when Frédéric was a year old. He was destined for the diplomatic service, but his uncompromising spirit rendered him ill-suited for this career, and he finally settled down in the Library of the Foreign Office. From the historical documents available here he drew the material for various studies published in the seventies. It was to the study of the Napoleonic era and of the great man himself that his chief life-work was devoted. A long series of works on the private and public life of Napoleon was commenced in 1878 and continued almost to the end of his life. "Napoléon et sa Famille," in twelve volumes, ran from 1897 to 1912. In the same year he completed his famous "Napoleon on a Sainte Helene." His last work was an edition of the private diaries of the Empress Marie-Louise. In 1904 he was admitted to the ranks of the "Immortals."

20. Dr. John Sutherland Black, aged 76, was the son of the Rev. James Black, the Free Church Minister of Kirkcaldy. He was educated there and at Edinburgh University, where he was gold medallist in Logic and Moral Philosophy, and also studied at Tübingen. He entered the Free Church ministry, where he became one of the leaders of liberal thought, especially in its application to Biblical Criticism. Undertaking work in connexion with the promotion of Protestantism in Spain he became Professor of Theology in the Protestant College at Seville; then, withdrawing from the ministry, he was, in 1881, appointed assistant editor of the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Later, he was joint editor with Professor Cheyne of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. To

both these posts his wide knowledge eminently fitted him. There were very few branches of literature and scholarship in which he had not a sound working knowledge. His writings were not very numerous, but, he assisted in the "Life of Robertson Smith/" one of the famous editors of the *Britannica*, and at the time of his death was engaged on a biography of his friend, Principal Alexander Whyte. He was unmarried.

21. **Khama**, the great chief of the prosperous Bamangwato Tribe of Northern Bechuanaland, died in his own country at an advanced age. He is famous for his conversion to Christianity in 1860, and his honourable adherence to the London Missionary Society, for the magnificent way in which he ruled his tribe, guided them towards his acquired faith, and combated the drink traffic, and last but not least for his unswerving loyalty, through many difficulties, to the British Constitution. There are few travellers and administrators in Africa who have not recorded their admiration for his fine spirit.

— **Sir Frederick Graham, K.C.B.**, aged 74, Assistant Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office from 1897 to 1907, was a Civil servant of marked ability. He entered the Colonial Office in 1870 and served as private secretary to no less than six Under-Secretaries, before attaining his final post. He received the C.B. in 1899 and the K.C.B. on his retirement. He married Marjory, daughter of the Rev. Alexander Niven.

— **Th6ophile** Delcass6, the eminent French statesman, who was largely responsible for the Entente Cordiale with England, was born at Pamiers in 1852. He read for the bar and took his degree in law, then joined the staff of the *R6publique Frangaise* with Gambetta. In 1889 he entered the political arena as a deputy, in 1894 he was given the portfolio for the Colonies under Dupuy. The year 1898 marks the beginning of his first term of seven years as Foreign Minister in four successive Cabinets. From the first his policy was to strengthen the position of France and protect her against German machinations to keep her weak. His wise statesmanship was proved in the Anglo-Egyptian trouble of 1898, when he settled the question of Fashoda by the demarcation of a frontier. After the signing of the Anglo-French Convention of 1899, Delcass6 continued to work for still better relations with Great Britain. He helped to bring about the amicable settlement of the Dogger Bank incident with Russia, and he pursued his policy of ententes with Italy. The crowning of his steadily pursued policy with England was witnessed in 1904 by the signing of the Entente Cordiale. Ultimately, the question of Morocco, and the intrigues of Germany against the Minister whose policy she had every reason to fear, resulted in his resignation the next year. His successor Rouvier, however, returned to his policy, and Delcass6 had the triumph of being appointed Minister of Marine under Monis, retaining the office in Caillaux's Government. He retired in 1913, but from 1913 to 1914 was Ambassador in Russia, and in August of the latter year was again appointed Foreign Minister and negotiated the Pact of London, by which the Allies pledged themselves to sign no separate peace with Germany. He retired finally from office in October, 1915, and despite the frequent pressure of his friends to re-enter political life, refrained from so doing. He was in many respects a great Minister and will be remembered as a far-sighted patriot. The disappointing end of his career, when, contrary to his expectations, Bulgaria entered the war against the Allies, cannot detract from his brilliant record of devoted service to his country.

22. **Sir William Herries**, formerly Minister of Railways and of Native Affairs for New Zealand, and a member of the New Zealand Parliament for twenty-seven years, was one of the ablest members of the Reform Party. Born in London in 1859 and educated at Eton and Cambridge, he emigrated to New Zealand as a young man and took up farming. He sat continuously in the New Zealand Parliament from 1896. He became

Minister for Native Affairs under Mr. Massey's Government formed in 1912, and during his term of office was responsible for much wise legislation affecting the native race.

22. **Henry Robert Champness, M.V.O.**, aged 70, was an eminent naval architect. Little known by the public, he nevertheless took an active part in building up the Fleet. Experience in Chatham Dockyard, as overseer of Admiralty shipbuilding at Barrow, and from 1886, as first-class assistant constructor on the staff of the Admiral-Superintendent at Portsmouth, he was actively concerned in the building of the *Royal Sovereign* and other ships constructed under the Naval Defence Act. From 1895 to 1897 he was Chief Constructor at Malta Dockyard, returning to undertake similar duties at Devonport until 1902. He was a member of the Council of the Institution of Naval Architects. From 1903, for ten years, he held the post of Assistant-Director of Naval Construction to the Admiralty. He had three sons and two daughters.

— **Sir Charles F. Gill**, a well-known advocate, was born in 1851, the son of Charles Gill of Dublin. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1874 and became a Bencher in 1905. He attained a first-rate criminal practice in London and on the South-Eastern Circuit at an early age, and in 1886 became junior counsel to the Post Office, later becoming senior counsel, then eventually senior counsel to the Treasury at the Old Bailey and to the London Bankers' Association. He took silk in 1899. A recital of the cases in which he appeared would almost exhaust the list of the more important criminal trials which took place in London from the end of the eighties until well into the present century. His success was due to his mastery of detail and quiet, convincing manner, rather than to any great powers of eloquence. He left a son and a daughter.

27. **Sir Frederick St. John, K.C.M.G.**, who was in his 92nd year, was a diplomatist of experience who spent fifty years in the service. The son of a diplomatist, and grandson of the fourth Viscount Bolingbroke, he was educated on the Continent. He became successively Secretary of Embassy in Constantinople, Minister-Resident in Central America, Minister to Serbia, and Minister to Switzerland, retiring in 1901, when he received the K.C.M.G. He married Isabella Fitzmaurice, who, with three sons and three daughters, survived him.

MARCH.

1. **Dr. Ruy Barbosa**, a prominent Brazilian politician, and a jurist of international repute, was senator for the State of Bahia, where he was born in 1849. He took an active part in the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic, and as Minister of Finance, in 1889, prepared its constitution.

— **Sir Harold Arthur Stuart, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.**, was known as an able Indian administrator. Born in 1860, he entered the Indian Civil Service in 1879 and became, first private secretary to the Governor of Madras, then Inspector-General of Police in that province. For some five years he did excellent work as Home Secretary to the Government of India, then for a year he officiated as Chief Secretary of Madras, and in 1912 was appointed Member of Government. He returned home in 1916 to work in the Ministry of Food. His many-sided capacity was recognised and made full use of, after the signing of Peace, by Lord Curzon, then Foreign Minister. In 1920 he was appointed British High Commissioner on the Inter-Allied Rhineland Commission, and in 1921 assumed a similar position in Upper Silesia. He married Alice, daughter of the Rev. T. W. Whitehead, of Cambridge, and left one son and one daughter.

3. Lord Weardale (Philip James Stanhope, first Baron Weardale), for many years a prominent Radical member of Parliament, was especially well known for his work on the "Save the Children" Fund, established in this country during the war, and of which he became president. The younger son of the fifth Earl Stanhope, he was born in 1847, entered the Navy and rose to the rank of lieutenant, but left the service while still young and travelled. In 1877 he married Countess Tolstoy, the widow of a relative of Count Leo Tolstoy, and nine years later entered Parliament as Liberal member for Wednesbury. From 1893 to 1900 he sat for Burnley and from 1904 to 1906 for the Harborough Division of Leicestershire. He strongly opposed the South African War. He was raised to the peerage in 1906 and withdrew to some extent from political life. He was a Trustee of the National Portrait Gallery. He left no heir and the title became extinct.

6. Dr. Wilhelm Mayer, German Ambassador in Paris, was born in 1874 in the Palatinate and was educated at various German Universities. He settled in Munich as a lawyer, but in 1903 inherited a considerable property in Lorraine and came to take a leading part in various industrial enterprises, among them being the Potash Syndicate. In 1907 he entered the Reichstag, and when Count Hertling withdrew from the Centre Party he became its second leader. In June, 1919, he was appointed Minister of the Treasury in the Bauer Cabinet, but resigned this post in January, 1920. He was immediately appointed Charge d'Affaires in Paris, and in the summer of that year was nominated German Ambassador in Paris. He died in Munich.

— **Marcus Rubin**, a noted Danish statistician, after organising a municipal statistical office in Copenhagen in 1876, directed it for nearly twenty years, after which he was made Chief of the Royal Statistical Bureau. From there he passed to the direction of the Department of Customs and Taxation, and from 1913 until his death was a director of the Danish National Bank. The chief work of his life was an able and exhaustive economic history of Denmark from 1807 onwards.

— **Sir James Jebusa Shannon, R.A.**, aged 61, was an accomplished portrait painter, whose brush portrayed many well-known Englishmen but still more English ladies of rank and fashion with great skill and taste. Born in the State of New York, he came to England as a lad of 16, worked at the School of Art at South Kensington, and before he was 19 was commissioned to paint one of Queen Victoria's maids of honour. This was his first important picture, and success followed quickly on its exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1881. Among his most noted works were portraits of Lady Granby and Sir Martin Harvey. He did not altogether concentrate on portrait work. A subject picture, "The Flower Girl," was bought by the Chantrey Bequest in 1901. He was elected A.R.A. in 1897, and R.A. in 1909, and was knighted in 1922. He was President of the Society of Portrait Painters and was a member of the Royal Hibernian Academy and the Royal British Colonial Society of Artists.

— **Lord Plymouth**, who was the son of the Hon. Robert Windsor-Clive, M.P., was born in 1857, and at the age of 12 succeeded to the estates of his grandmother as fourteenth Baron Windsor. He was educated at Eton and at St. John's College, Cambridge, and in 1883 married Alberta, daughter of Sir Augustus Berkeley Paget. In 1881 he was for a short time Paymaster-General, and from 1902 to 1905 held the post of First Commissioner of Works. He was created **Earl of Plymouth and Viscount Windsor** in 1905. In Wales, where he owned large estates, he did much valuable work. In 1895 he was **Lord Mayor of Cardiff**.

He will chiefly be remembered for the assistance he gave to art, architecture, town-planning, and other branches of social advancement. To his munificence was due the fact that the Crystal Palace was preserved for the nation. A Tory of the old school, he was for some time Chairman of the Union of Conservative Associations. Of his three sons, only the second survived him.

11. Captain Karl Muller, the German naval officer who became famous owing to his sensational command of the cruiser *Emden* during the war, was 60 years of age. He was born in the Harz district and joined the Navy in 1891. From 1908 to 1913 he served on the Staff of the Admiralty. He had command of the *Emden* at the outbreak of war and carried out extensive commercial destruction in the Indian Ocean, where, according to German estimates, he cost Great Britain about 3,000,000; sterling in September, 1914, alone. He eluded all attempts at capture until early in 1915, when he was brought to bay by the Australian cruiser *Sydney* and was taken prisoner. He was released in January, 1918, when a mutual exchange of German and English prisoners-of-war took place.

13. Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau, aged 77, was a famous French Orientalist. As a protege' of Theophile Gautier he began his study of Oriental languages at an early age and soon acquired a knowledge of Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and especially Hebrew. He devoted his life to the study of Semitic philology, archæology, and epigraphy and conducted active researches in Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt, and elsewhere in the East. He published in 1883 a valuable critical work on archaeological forgeries in Palestine. He was elected a member of the Institut de France at the age of 43, and a special Chair was created for him in 1890 at the Collège de France.

14. Allende Salazar, Prime Minister of Spain for two short periods, was born in 1854 and qualified as an agricultural engineer. An unambitious man, he rose to fame almost involuntarily. The office of Lord Mayor of Madrid preceded his selection in 1901 as Minister of Finance; in 1902 he became Minister of Public Instruction, and in 1904 of Agriculture. From 1907 to 1909 he served as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in 1919-20, for a term of four months, headed a Conservative Cabinet. After the murder of his successor, Senor Dato, in March, 1921, he was again called upon to form a Cabinet but resigned office in August. He was a man who, though on various occasions in office he had shown his ability to act with firmness and energy, always favoured a policy of conciliation.

16. Queen Milena of Montenegro was the daughter of the Montenegrin Voivode Vukotich, and was born in 1847. She was married to Nicholas I., Prince of Montenegro, when thirteen years of age. He assumed the title of King fifty years later, and died in March, 1921. He was succeeded by his nephew, Prince Michael, under the regency of Queen Milena. A famous beauty, she never took a part in politics but confined herself to domestic interests. Of her eight surviving children, the eldest daughter is the wife of the Grand Duke Peter, the second of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaievitch, and the third is Queen of Italy.

— Dr. **James Rhoades**, aged 81, poet and scholar, was educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained the Chancellor's medal for English verse. He was for eight years an Assistant-Master at Haileybury, and for thirteen years a Master at Sherborne. His poems showed chiefly his interest in man's spiritual connexion with the universe and he wrote a number of narrative choruses for pageants. He is probably most widely known as a translator. Virgil's "Georgics," done into verse in 1881, was followed by the "Æneid" and

the "Eclogues." His latest work, "Words by the Wayside," was published in 1915. He was thrice married and had two sons and two daughters.

16. The Marquis of Cholmondeley (George Henry Hugh Cholmondeley), Joint Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain, who was in his 65th year, was the only son of Lord Charles Cholmondeley, eldest son of the third Marquis. He served in the Cheshire Yeomanry and was a Deputy-Lieutenant for Norfolk. In 1879 he married Winifred, daughter of Colonel Sir R. Kingscote, and granddaughter of the first Earl Howe. He succeeded his grandfather in the family titles and estates in 1884. In 1901 he was sworn of the Privy Council. He served as Lord Great Chamberlain in the reign of King Edward. He left two sons and a daughter. His elder son, the Earl of Rocksavage, who succeeded him, was born in 1883.

18. Sir William Thorburn, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., F.R.C.S., Emeritus Professor of Clinical Surgery at Manchester University, was born in 1861, his father being a Professor of Medicine at Owens College. He received his medical training in Manchester and London and was elected F.R.C.S., England, in 1886. He settled in Manchester and was appointed assistant surgeon to the Royal Infirmary where he soon made a reputation for the treatment of injuries of the spine, and was in time accepted as the leading exponent of this branch of surgery. During the war, in which he lost his three sons, he was for a time in command of the Second Western General Hospital, then served as a consulting surgeon at Malta, Gallipoli, and Salonika, then again in France. He had been a member of the Council of the College of Surgeons since 1914. His wife died in 1922, leaving three daughters.

20. Henry Edward Krehbiel, aged 69, the well-known musical critic of the *New York Tribune*, was best known on this side of the Atlantic by his many books on musical subjects, especially by his English edition of Thayer's "Life of Beethoven," which took ten years to complete and was published only a year before his death. He gave up the study of law for journalism early in life, and from 1880 until his death held his post on the *Tribune* with the utmost distinction. His advocacy did much to open the ears of the public to the music of Wagner, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, and Dvorak in particular.

21. Lord Sanderson, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., I.S.O., aged 82, was the son of Richard Sanderson, a London merchant and banker; his mother was the daughter of the first Viscount Canterbury. He was educated at Eton and entered the Foreign Office at the age of 18. Here he soon attracted attention by the possession of most of those qualities which go towards the making of a first-rate Government official. His forty-seven years of eminent service were occupied with many State activities outside his ordinary work. In 1894 he became Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, retiring from the service in 1906. He was an eminently trustworthy and discreet man, of noticeably moderate and reasonable political views, and was one of Lord Salisbury's most trusted officers of State. He was made K.C.M.G. in 1887, K.C.B. in 1893, and G.C.B. in 1900, and received the I.S.O. in 1902. He was raised to the peerage in 1905. He was unmarried and his peerage died with him.

22. Justice Reginald More Bray, aged 80, was the eldest son of Reginald Bray, J.P., of Shere, and owed his name of More to his descent from Sir Thomas More. He was educated at Harrow School and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated as twelfth Wrangler in 1865. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1868 and joined the South-Eastern Circuit. He was made Recorder of Guildford and a Bencher of his Inn in 1891 and became a Queen's Counsel in 1897. In 1904 he was made a Judge of the King's Bench Division. He was generally admitted to be one of the strongest judges on the Common

Law Bench. On purely legal questions, as well as on commercial matters, there was none whose opinion carried more weight. His capabilities as a lawyer led to his being summoned more than once to assist in the Court of Appeal. He left four sons and two daughters.

22. **Benjamin Williams Leader, R. A.**, aged 92, was the oldest member of the Royal Academy and an artist who for quite thirty years was the most popular of its landscape painters. His pictures, though lacking in breadth of vision and technique, appealed to a wide public by reason of his skill in reproducing the effects and scenes which, while they may not appeal to the highly educated in matters of art, were the kind of pictures which ordinary people love. Born in 1831, the son of Mr. E. Leader Williams of Worcester, an engineer of some repute, he was educated in his birthplace and entered the Royal Academy Schools in London at the age of 23. His early subject pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy were immediately successful and were painted under the early pre-Raphaelite influence. In 1862 he went to live near Worcester, and started painting the landscapes which brought him fame. His name was really made in 1881 with "February Fill-Dyke," a Worcestershire landscape which was reproduced by one of the leading French etchers. He was elected A.R.A. in 1883 and R.A. in 1898. Of late years many of his pictures had been of Surrey, where he lived since about 1890. He exhibited in the R.A. as late as 1922. He married Mary Eastlake, also an artist, and left a son and several daughters. He changed his name early in life owing to the number of exhibitors of paintings having the name of Williams.

24. **Joshua James Foster, F.S.A.**, was an authority on miniature painting, and well known through his books "British Miniature Painters and their Works" (1898), "Samuel Cooper and English Miniature Painters of the 17th Century" (1915), "Miniature Painters, British and Foreign" (1903), and others. A Dorsetman by birth, his love of his country was shown in his great work "Wessex Worthies," which appeared in 1921.

26. **Sarah Bernhardt**, the great French tragedy actress, was born on October 23, 1845, at No. 265 Rue Saint Honore, Paris. Her mother was a Dutch Jewess and Sarah was the eleventh of fourteen children. She was baptised, and educated at a Convent school at Versailles, and was, against her inclination, trained for the stage. At the Conservatoire she won some second prizes but never a first prize. If her career was chequered, it was in great part due to the unusual vehemence and eccentricity of her character. Her "Memoires" introduce one to a whirl of passions and adventures, marvellous health and energy alternating with serious illness, and unbroken determination and independence of character with unbelievable caprices. Her art, in its maturity, combined an intensity of passion with the most bewitching sweetness. The application of the simile "la voix d'or" to her incomparable voice was wonderfully apt, for with her voice even more than with her grace of motion and histrionic powers she conquered the hearts of her audiences. Unsuccessful at first, the turning-point in her career came in 1872 when she scored an overwhelming success in Victor Hugo's masterpiece "Ruy Blas," at the Odeon, and was re-engaged for the national theatre, a membership lasting eight years. After her first appearance as Phedre in Racine's tragedy in 1874 she became one of the lions of Paris. Various disputes ended in the final breaking of her connexion with the Come'die Franchise in 1879, and in 1880 began her long series of triumphal world tours, in which she added large sums to her fortune and thousands to her admirers. One of her greatest undertakings, in which adulation reached its limits, was the tour of 1886, which began in London and ran through South America, the United States, and Canada, and lasted thir-

teen months. She resumed her acting in Paris in 1882, first at the Vaudeville, then at the Porte Saint Martin; in 1893 she bought the Theatre de la Renaissance, at which she acted with the great Coquelin and produced Rostand's "La Princesse Lointaine," and in 1899 she moved to a larger theatre in Paris, now the Theatre Sarah Bernhardt. In 1915 it was found necessary to amputate her leg. Although a woman of 70, her mental energy was unabated and she played again, though often obliged to act throughout from a chair, in Paris and London, and actually toured in the United States. When seized with her final illness she was busy with the rehearsals of a new play by Sacha Guitry. Her list of famous roles is a long one, and embodies the whole of the French drama, from Racine to Rostand, with d'Annunzio and Mirabeau. It includes several male parts, such as Hamlet and l'Aiglon, for which she had a penchant. Phedre is probably her masterpiece, but she achieved almost equal success in "La Tosca," "Adrienne Lecouvreur," "Hernani," "Magda," "Fedora," "La Samaritaine," and many others. She was also a proficient sculptress. Her marriage in 1882 with M. Damala, a Greek, and one of the members of her company, was not a success, and they soon parted company. She had a son, Maurice Bernhardt.

27. Sir James Dewar, F.R.S., a chemical experimentalist of much genius, attained international fame for his work on the liquefaction of permanent gases. Nearly forty years ago he obtained oxygen in the liquid state, and it was in solving the more difficult problem of the liquefaction of hydrogen that he discovered the efficiency of vacuum bulbs as a means of preventing heat from attaining the cooled gas, and thus laid the sure foundation for the vacuum flask, now of world-wide use as an article of general utility. Born at Kincardine-on-Forth in 1842, he studied chemistry at Edinburgh University and became chemical demonstrator there. When only 33 he was appointed Jacksonian Professor of Natural Experimental Philosophy at Cambridge, and two years later Fullerian Professor of Chemistry to the Royal Institution, holding these two posts for the rest of his life. It was at the Royal Institution that he carried out his world-famous researches on the liquefaction of gases and the properties of matter at temperatures approaching the absolute zero. In 1884 the liquefaction of oxygen was illustrated for the first time in public, in 1886 he exhibited solid oxygen, and by 1891 was making liquid air in quantities, maintaining it in this state by means of his vacuum flasks. The year 1898 witnessed the liquefaction by him of hydrogen and in the next year he obtained it in the solid state. He did much research work with the aid of these liquid gases as refrigerating agents. He also did valuable work on the absorptive power of charcoal in gases and was joint inventor, with Sir Frederick Abel, of cordite. He was knighted in 1904, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1877, and held three of this Society's medals, besides being the recipient of a number of other scientific honours. He married, but had no children.

28. General Manoury, the commander of the French Sixth Army on the Ourcq at the Battle of the Marne in 1914, was once Governor of Paris and Commandant of the French Staff College, The "Ecole de Guerre." Although in his 67th year when the war broke out, and on the retired list, he was given command of an army in the field and made his name by his attack on Kluck's Army at Ourcq, his operations forming an important link in other manoeuvres which together were known as the Battle of the Marne. He was forced to abandon his career as an Army Commander in the field in March, 1915, when he was struck in the eye by a German bullet. He was appointed Governor of Paris for the second time in November, but ill-health compelled him to retire early in 1916.

31. Professor E. W. D. Holway, who was in his 71st year, was born in Michigan and spent his early life engaged in banking. His botanical researches resulted in a famous collection of rusts made in Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Canada, and Central America. He

became an international authority on the *Uredineae*, or rust fungi, and a number of his specimens were named in his honour. In 1904 he was appointed Assistant Professor of Botany at Minnesota University. A remarkable mountaineer, he led the first expedition into the Cariboo range in 1916. A peak in British Columbia bears his name.

APRIL.

1. **Prince Kitashirakawa**, brother-in-law of the Emperor of Japan, who was killed in a motor accident in France, was born at Tokyo in 1887. He married Princess Fusako, second daughter of the Emperor Mutsuhito, in 1909. He left a son of thirteen and three daughters.

2. **William Hurrell Mallock**, aged 74, a nephew of Froude, the historian, was a satirist, poet, and political philosopher, who, while he won no public honours, produced a number of books, chiefly directed against the Broad Church or Liberal Theology, which achieved considerable publicity. He became known in 1877 with "The New Republic," and "The New Paul and Virginia" was another brilliant satire dealing with the attitude of science to religion. A Conservative, and a confirmed opponent of Socialism, one of his chief political works was "The Limits of Pure Democracy." This versatile writer also produced some memorable novels in which his wit and faculty for epigram were shown to their best advantage.

3. Dr. **John Venn, Sc.D.**, F.R.S., F.S.A., President of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, who was 88 years of age, was educated at Caius and graduated sixth Wrangler in 1857. He took Orders but resigned his clerical status in 1883. First Fellow, then Senior Fellow of his college, he was elected president in 1903. He became the college historian, compiling a biographical history of the college from 1349 to 1897. For many years he lectured on logic and moral philosophy, and in 1866 published "The Logic of Chance," which went into several editions, and had a considerable influence on the outlook of English writers on the theory of statistics during the following half-century. Of late years he and his son had been occupied on a valuable and colossal work, a "Biographical List of all known Students, Graduates, and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to 1900." Unpublished material for several volumes of this work was left by him at his death.

— Dr. Wilhelm Rosenberg, Deputy Director of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, and one of the foremost financial experts of Vienna, was a lawyer by profession and became legal adviser of the Anglo-Austrian Bank shortly before the war, playing a prominent part in its independent constitution after the collapse of Austria. He became financial adviser to the Austrian Government at the end of 1921 and was well-known in this country for the excellent work he did in connexion with the reconstruction of Austria.

5. **Lord Carnarvon** (George Herbert, fifth Earl of Carnarvon), who was born in 1866, was the son of the fourth Earl. He was educated at Eton and Trinity, Cambridge, and succeeded his father in 1890. He will always be remembered in connexion with the discovery of the Tomb of King Tutankhamen at Luxor. He and his fellow-worker, Mr. Howard Carter, had been engaged in excavations in the neighbourhood of Thebes since 1906, and had brought to light several important finds. His valuable book "Five Years' Explorations at Thebes" was published in 1912. He married in 1895 Almina, daughter of Frederick Wombwell, and left one son and one daughter. The son, Lord Porchester, was born in 1898. Lord Carnarvon's tragically sudden death was due to pneumonia and erysipelas, resultant on what was presumably a fly bite received in the Valley of the Kings not many weeks after his famous discovery.

6. Lord Biddulph of Ledbury (Michael Biddulph, first Lord Biddulph) was born in 1834, the son of Robert Biddulph, M.P., his mother being a member of Lord Selborne's family. He became a partner in the well-known banking house of Cocks, Biddulph & Co., which amalgamated in 1919 with the Bank of Liverpool and Martins. In 1865 he was elected Liberal Member for Herefordshire and sat in Parliament for 35 years, becoming a Liberal Unionist in 1886. In 1903 he was raised to the peerage. He was twice married, first to a niece of Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, by whom he had four surviving children, two sons and two daughters, and secondly to Lady Elizabeth Adeane, daughter of the fourth Earl of Hardwicke.

9. Mrs. H. M. Hyndman (Rosalind Caroline Travers) was the wife of the well-known Socialist, who died in November, 1921 [see Obituary, A.R., 1921], and the granddaughter of Dr. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester. She was about forty years of age when she married in 1914, and was already known before her marriage as a poetess of much promise. Her first book, "The Two Arcadias: Plays and Poems," appeared in 1905, and "Thyrsis and Fausta" in 1908. She shared her husband's political ideals and assisted him in his work. Her interest in Finnish affairs was displayed in her third book, "Letters from Finland," which appeared in 1911.

10. Stuyvesant Fish, aged 72, senior member of the Board of the National Park Bank, New York, was one of the best-known financiers in America some twenty years ago. The son of Hamilton Fish, President Grant's Secretary of State, he became in 1888 President of the Illinois Central Railroad. Other posts he occupied were the Vice-Presidency of the Chicago, St. Louis and New Orleans line, the Presidency of the American Railway Association and the Chairmanship of the International Railway Congress in 1906.

— Sir John Gardner DiUman Engleheart, K.C.B., who had attained his hundredth year, was born in the reign of George IV., and educated at Rugby School under Dr. Arnold, then at Christ Church. He held a studentship there till his marriage in 1859; later he became private secretary to the Duke of Newcastle, who was Colonial Secretary, and was ultimately appointed Comptroller of the Household to Prince and Princess Christian. He was created K.C.B. in 1897 and sat on the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster Office from 1901 to 1912.

— Liam Lynch, Chief of Staff of the Republican Army in Ireland, was captured by National troops in an engagement at Knockfallen, and died on the same day from wounds received during the fighting. He was a Cork man, and had been prominently associated with the Sinn Féin movement in the South of Ireland. He voted against the signing of the Truce in the summer of 1921 and threw in his lot with De Valera. Since the death of Erskine Childers he had been the real driving force behind the Republican movement in the country, being practically a military dictator. He was essentially a fighter, and his death deprived the movement of its most determined leader.

15. Edwin Thomas Hall, F.R.I.B.A., who was born in 1851, was an architect who gained special distinction for his many designs of hospitals and sanatoria. Among the important buildings designed by him were Plaistow Hospital, Camberwell Infirmary, Dulwich College Library, the South Wales Sanatorium, the King George Hospital for the wounded in London and the head offices, on Victoria Embankment, of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. He was a Fellow and Past Vice-President of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

17. Laurence Ginneli, who was born in Westmeath, Ireland, in 1854, was the son of an agricultural labourer, and was entirely self-educated. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1893 and entered

Parliament in 1900 as a member of the Irish Nationalist Party under John Redmond, but was expelled from the Party on questions of policy. After the Easter rebellion of 1916 he adopted Sinn Fein principles but continued to represent Westmeath until 1918. In 1921 he went to Buenos Aires to try and induce the Argentine Republic to recognise the Irish Republic. With identical interests in view he was, at the time of his death, working in America as the envoy of the De Valera Party.

20. **Sir Albert John Hobson** was born in 1868, the son of an Alderman and scissors manufacturer in Sheffield. He suffered almost from birth from infantile paralysis and his father gave him no special training for a business career. He educated himself by prodigious reading, however, and had a power of concentration which served him well in after life in the study of political economy and finance and helped to make him so valuable an asset in the commercial life of his town. Among the positions he acquired were those of Director of the Birmingham Small Arms Company, President of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, Lord Mayor of the city and Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Sheffield Corporation. His public work was not confined to Sheffield. He became Vice-president of the Federation of British Industries, and during his year of office, in 1920, as President of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, actually travelled to America, in spite of his physical disabilities, in order to assist in promoting an International Chamber of Commerce. When the Chamber was formed he became Chairman of its British Committee. He was knighted in 1922. His two sons fell in the war.

22. **Lieut-General Sir Henry Hamilton Settle, R.E., K.C.B., D.S.O.**, who died aged 76, first saw active service in the Sudan in 1884. In 1892 he was appointed Inspector-General of Egyptian Police, and acquired a post at the War Office in 1895. When the Boer War began he served as Commander at Orange River Station, then at Cape Town as Inspector-General of Lines of Communication. He did good work in Kitchener's Campaign against De Wet and Herzog, became Lyttelton's Chief of Staff and ultimately took over the administrative command of Cape Colony, returning to England in 1904 and retiring in 1911. His only son was killed in action in 1918.

23. **Sir Charles James Jackson, F.S.A.**, aged 73, was an expert in old plate, on which he wrote two books which are among the principal authorities on the subject. Born in Cardiff, he started life as a builder and contractor, then became an architect, and at the age of 30 was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple. His two great books are "English Goldsmiths and Their Marks," first published in 1905, and "Illustrated History of English Plate." He was knighted in 1919.

— **Professor Eugen Huber**, aged 73, was a most distinguished lawyer, and the compiler of the Swiss civil code. For many years he was attached to the University of Berne, and was regarded as a first-rate authority on administrative and political questions. The success of the present Swiss legal system is due largely to his influence.

24. **The Grand Duchess Louisa of Baden**, aged 85, widow of the late Grand Duke Frederick I. and mother of the Grand Duke Frederick II who abdicated in 1918, was a link with the Germany of the Emperor William I. and Bismarck. She was distrusted by the latter owing to her influence with the Emperor, her father, and later on account of her Catholic leanings. She was greatly interested in philanthropy, especially in connexion with women's welfare, and founded in 1859 the Baden Frauenverein.

26. **Dr. Herman Oelsner, M.A., Ph.D.**, who was born in 1871, was the son of Isidor Oelsner, a well-known London banker of Jewish descent. He was educated at Dulwich, and Caius College, Cambridge,

whence he proceeded to Berlin for a four years' course in Romance Philology. In 1905 he was appointed Taylorian lecturer in Old French and Romance Philology at Oxford, and four years later he became the first holder of the Taylorian Professorship of Romance Languages. In 1913, soon after his marriage, he resigned his position at Oxford and a year later his editorship of the *Modern Language Review*. He was a Dante expert and keenly interested in Spanish literature. Of a shy and retiring disposition, he was regarded as one of the most learned men of his generation.

27. **Sir Shirley Murphy, F.R.C.S., K.B.E.**, aged 74, was Medical Officer of Health for the County of London for twenty-two years, during which time his talents as an epidemiologist were displayed to great public advantage. He was knighted in 1904 and elected F.R.C.S. in 1909, and received medals for his service to public health from both the Royal Society of Medicine and the Royal College of Physicians. He had retired from active work shortly before the war, but for his services in connexion with sanitary administration in London during the war he was created K.B.E. He was a past Vice-President of the Royal Statistical Society. He left a widow and two daughters.

30. **Mark Fisher, R.A.**, aged 81, was born at Boston, U.S.A., of English and Irish parentage. After training in drawing in his own country, he went to Paris to study, then returned to Boston to practise portraiture and figure subjects. Not meeting with much success, he came to England, where he married and settled, becoming a well-known landscape painter. His work was quiet and sincere but always fresh. He was elected an associate of the Royal Academy in 1911 and a full member in 1919. His work is to be seen in numerous galleries, both at home and abroad.

MAY.

1. **W. H. Pennington**, who died at the age of 91, was believed to be the oldest living actor. The son of a London schoolmaster, he first became a soldier, and was wounded in the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava. A typical actor of the old school of vigorous acting, he was popularly known as "Gladstone's pet tragedian." In 1873 he was playing leading parts in Manchester, and a few years later at Drury Lane. In Lady Butler's famous picture of Balaclava he is the central figure.

3. **William Lambert Newman** was born in 1834, his father being a solicitor at Cheltenham. He was educated at Cheltenham College, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he won numerous medals and showed himself one of the best classics of his time. He was elected a Fellow of his college in 1854 and was lecturer at Balliol in Modern and Greek History between 1858-59 and 1861-70. The best of his fine teaching belonged to the years 1868-70, when he held the office of University Reader of Ancient History. Owing to ill-health he left Oxford in 1870, and it was at his birthplace that he carried through the great work for which he will chiefly be remembered, a masterly edition in four volumes, two issued in 1887, the remaining two in 1902, of Aristotle's "Politics." He was a Fellow of the British Academy, and an honorary Litt.D. of Oxford and Cambridge.

— **C. H. Workman**, a famous Savoyard, who died in his 50th year, had from his first appearance in 1894 until 1909 played only under the Savoy management, and had appeared in every Gilbert and Sullivan opera except "Ruddigore." His most celebrated part was probably that of Jack Point in "The Yeomen of the Guard." He himself had a brief period of management at the Savoy in 1909-10. He died at sea while on tour with the Gilbert and Sullivan Opera Company in the Far East.

4. **Sir William Robertson Nicoll**, aged 71, was a great literary and theological journalist, whose intimate knowledge of men of letters and theologians of the nineteenth century was probably unequalled. Born in a remote Aberdeenshire village, the son of the Rev. Harry Nicoll, he was educated at a parish school and at Aberdeen University, and in 1874 he obtained a living as a Free Church minister in a small town in Banffshire. Already proficient in journalism, his reputation grew apace. In 1877 he accepted a call to Kelso and in 1878 married Miss Isa Dunlop of Strathmuir, who died in 1894. In 1884 began his life-long connexion with the London publishing firm of Hodder & Stoughton, for whom he edited the *Expositor*. After a period of ill-health he settled in London and in 1886 started the *British Weekly* as "a journal of social and Christian progress," securing the services on his staff, among others, of J. M. Barrie. In 1891 he founded the *Bookman*, an illustrated monthly, which met with the same success as his first venture. Two years later he established, with the collaboration of Annie S. Swan, the *Woman At Home*. He published several volumes of sermons, meditations and essays. His second wife, Miss Catherine Pollard, together with his son and two daughters, survived him. He was knighted in 1909.

8. **Professor Johannes Diderik van der Waals**, who was born at Leyden in 1837, was responsible for three great scientific discoveries, which may be briefly referred to as the kinetic theory of the fluid state, the law of corresponding states, and the theory of binary mixtures. He did much other work of extreme values not only to Dutch physics but to the general progress of science, and was greatly revered by Sir James Dewar, who predeceased him on March 27 (see above). He was intimately associated with the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam, directing for many years the "Proceedings" which exercised such a stimulating influence on Dutch science.

— **John Seymour Lucas, R.A.**, who was born in 1849, was an accomplished painter of historical scenes, one of the best known being "The Armada in Sight." Descended from a Norfolk family which originally came from Holland, he was the son of a coach-builder on account of whose restricted means the boy had to leave school when fifteen to earn his living. Having tried various trades, he was finally allowed to follow his artistic bent unhindered. In 1886 he was elected A.R.A. and in 1898 K.A. The Royal Exchange contains a fresco by him, "William the Conqueror granting the first Charter to the City of London." He also painted a picture for the House of Commons. His wife, who died in 1922, was also well-known as an artist.

11. **Dr. Charles Niven, F.R.S.**, aged 77, held the Chair of Natural Philosophy in Aberdeen for 42 years. He was born at Peterhead and educated at Aberdeen University, then at Trinity, Cambridge. In 1867 he was Senior Wrangler and was elected a Fellow of the college a year later. He was called almost immediately to the Chair of Mathematics at Queen's College, Cork, and there pursued his researches with such success that he was elected to the Royal Society in 1880, the year in which he assumed his professorial duties at Aberdeen. During the war he assisted the Admiralty by working out the theory of the location of sound in water, employed in connexion with submarines. He had one son and two daughters.

— **Colonel John Henry Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., V.D.**, aged 84, a distinguished member of a family famous in the service of India, and mentioned as such in one of Rudyard Kipling's books, was the second son of Admiral John Rivett-Carnac. Both his paternal grandfather and his uncle were once Governors of Bombay. He was educated abroad for the diplomatic service, then at Haileybury, and was appointed to the Bengal Service in 1858. After filling various influential positions, he was made

Cotton Commissioner of the Central Provinces in 1866. In 1871 he was called to headquarters as Commissioner of Cotton and Commerce. His work as Special Commissioner of Transport, in the Indian famine a few years later, earned him the C.I.E., and he was appointed to the Benares Opium Agency, a position of much responsibility, which he filled with great efficiency. He was the first to suggest and form a Volunteer Reserve in India. His Ghazipur Rifle Volunteers was the result of this movement, which spread to other parts of India. A man of many studious hobbies, he supplied some valuable contributions to prehistoric archaeology and to numismatics. He left a widow, the daughter of General Sir Henry Durand.

14. **Sir Narayen Ganesh Chandavarkar**, President of the Bombay Legislature, left his mark on his country as a jurist, social reformer, politician, journalist, religious thinker and leader of outstanding ability and moderating influence. He was born in the Kanara district in 1855 and was educated at Elphinstone College, Bombay. When about twenty-six he was enrolled as a pleader of the Bombay High Court, and also edited for some time the English columns of the bi-lingual *Indu Prakash*. He was one of several Indians sent to England in 1885 to enlist English sympathies with Indian aspirations. For seventeen years he was General Secretary of the Indian National Social Conference and had a remarkable record as an educationist. He was head of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood and Vice-Chancellor of the University, besides being the leader for many years of a noted theistic society, the Prathana Samaj, founded largely on ancient Hindu thought. His Hindu researches proved of great value when he filled the position of judge in the Bombay High Court from 1900 to 1913.

15. Charles de **Freycinet**, aged 94, a great French statesman, who played a decisive part in French history, began life as a Government mining engineer. The establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 carried him into the whirl of political activity, and he became chief of the military Cabinet under Gambetta. He recorded and defended his administration during this period, when he was occupied in organising defence against the German invasion, in his book "La Guerre en Province Pendant le Siege de Paris." From 1876 to 1890 he sat in the Senate as representative of the Seine Department. In 1877 he was appointed Minister of Public Works. He was four times Prime Minister, from 1879 to 1880, in 1882, in 1886, and from 1890 to 1892. He also occupied the posts of Foreign Affairs in 1885 and of Minister for War from 1888 to 1893, and again for a few months in 1898-99. While in Briand's Cabinet he was a Minister without Portfolio. As a writer on mathematics, railway, and agricultural economics, as well as of pure literature, he was a member of the Academie des Sciences and the Academie Franchise. He wrote an excellent book of memoirs.

18. **Dr. David Duncan, D.Sc., LL.D.**, aged 83, the biographer of Herbert Spencer, was a native of Aberdeen, at the University of which he was educated, as well as at Edinburgh and Berlin. He started on a clerical career, which he abandoned, and was from 1867 to 1869 assistant to Herbert Spencer in connexion with his books on sociology. He continued his connexion with Spencer even when called to the Chair of Logic in Madras University. That his services were invaluable is proved by the fact that under the philosopher's will he was appointed a member of the trust for publishing works by various authors on descriptive sociology. He issued "The Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer" in 1908. In India he had a successful career, becoming Registrar of Madras University, Director of Public Instruction, Member of the Legislative Council, and Vice-Chancellor of the University. He was married and had two sons and a daughter.

22. **Lady Constance Georgtaa Lytton**, aged 54, will be remembered chiefly by reason of the part she took in the militant suffragist movement. The second daughter of the first Earl of Lytton, Viceroy of India, she was born in Vienna, and passed most of her youth abroad. It was not until 1908 that she became an adherent to the principle of woman suffrage. Though delicate in health, her spirit was undaunted by the trials and sufferings she experienced for the cause she had espoused. She was several times imprisoned for acts of violence, the effect on her health being such as to ruin it permanently. Her book, "Prisons and Prisoners," describing her prison experiences, had a wide circulation.

23. **Dr. Henry Bradley**, aged 77, senior editor of the great Oxford English Dictionary, started by Sir James Murray, was born at Manchester and educated at Chesterfield Grammar School. He began life as a private teacher, then became a clerk at Sheffield. In 1884 he came to London and gradually became known as a contributor to literary papers, acting for a time as editor of the *Academy*. A striking article of his on the New English Dictionary procured his introduction on to its staff, and his work on the Dictionary placed him in the front rank of scholars. The number of academic honours conferred on him showed to what extent his merits were recognised. He was lion. M.A. and hon. D.Litt. of Oxford, Ph.D. of Heidelberg, D.Litt. of Durham and of Sheffield, Fellow of the British Academy and of Magdalen College, and three times President of the Philological Society. He published a number of works on the English language. He was said by a friend to be "the greatest native master of English Philology." He had one son and four daughters.

— **Otto Bahr Halvorsen**, Prime Minister of Norway, who was born in 1872, was a barrister by profession. He did not enter the political arena until 1913, but soon attained a prominent position, and became the Conservative leader and President of the Storting. He formed his first Government in June, 1920, was overthrown a year later, and formed a Cabinet again in March, 1922.

29. **John Chiene, M.D., F.R.C.S.**, aged 80, was among the great Edinburgh surgeons headed by Syme and Lister. His name was best known in connexion with Lister's discovery of antiseptic treatment in operations. He became M.D. of Edinburgh in 1865, F.R.C.S. Edin. in 1868, and in 1882 was elected to the Chair of Surgery in the University, holding it until his retirement in 1909. He became famous as a teacher and published several books on surgery. During the South African War he served as consulting surgeon to the forces, was mentioned in despatches, and awarded the C.B. He had two sons, one of whom is a distinguished surgeon in Edinburgh, and one daughter.

— **Viscount Chaplin** was the son of the Rev. H. Chaplin, a large landowner. He was born in 1840 and was educated at Harrow and Oxford, entering Parliament as a Unionist in 1868. He soon came to the front as a representative of agricultural interests, and was appointed President of the newly formed Board of Agriculture under Lord Salisbury, holding this post until 1892. In 1895 he became President of the Local Government Board, when he introduced a number of valuable measures, including the Vaccination Act. He was made leader of the Opposition when the Coalition Government was formed in 1915, but retired in 1916 on his elevation to the peerage. A keen sportsman, he had a very successful career on the turf. In 1876 he married Lady Florence Leveson-Gower, daughter of the third Duke of Sutherland. She predeceased him, leaving one son, the Hon. Eric Chaplin, who was born in 1877, and two daughters.

JUNE.

3. **Canon William Weekes Fowler**, aged 74, vicar of Earley, was known for his scientific works on animal life, the chief of which was a work in five volumes on "The Coleoptera of the British Islands" and various sections, including the volumes on coleoptera, of "The Fauna of British India." He was a former President of the Entomological Society of London and Vice-President of the Linnean Society. He was educated at Rugby and Oxford, and was for over twenty years headmaster of Lincoln School.

4. **The Hon. Simon Wolf**, aged 86, was one of the most prominent men in American Jewry. Born in a small village in Bavaria, he went with his parents to America as a lad of twelve and graduated in law from Cleveland Law School, Ohio. He founded a firm of his own at Washington, D.C., and became an eminent lawyer. He held public position twice, from 1869 to 1878 as Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia, and for nearly a year between 1881 and 1882 as Consul-General and diplomatic agent to Egypt. Throughout his career he never failed to serve his people in innumerable ways, by supporting their faith, and promoting all movements in favour of a united Israel. He was the founder of numerous charitable, educational, and religious institutions, and presided over many others. He wrote "The American Jew as a Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen."

8. **Lord Latymer** was born in 1852, the son of the Rev. James Drummond Money and the fourth daughter of Sir Francis Burdett. His mother was the sister of Lady Burdett-Coutts, whose name Coutts he added to his own in 1880 under the will of Harriet, Duchess of St. Albans, widow of the ninth Duke. He was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1880. A philosophical poet of considerable merit, his first book of poems appeared in 1896. His work showed a cultivated mind and a power of graceful expression. In 1912 his claim to the Barony of Latymer, as a descendant from a daughter of the fourth Lord Latymer, on the death of which latter in 1577 the title fell into abeyance, was decided in his favour. He married in 1875 Edith, daughter of Mr. Charles Churchill. She survived him with one son, who inherited the title, and four daughters.

— **Herbert Jenkins**, publisher and author, was born in 1876 and early became a journalistic writer. He was manager of the publishing firm of John Lane, the Bodley Head, for about eleven years, then set up on his own in London. Highly successful as a publisher, he never forsook his original profession. On the contrary, his output of original work was large. They were chiefly books of light humour, but his first book, published in 1911, a biography of George Borrow, has long been considered a standard work.

9. **Princess Christian** (Her Royal Highness Princess Helena Augusta Victoria), the third daughter and fifth child of Queen Victoria, was born on May 25, 1846. At the age of 20 she was married to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein Sonderburg-Augustenburg, and lived with him in England. They had two sons and two daughters. The eldest son died at Pretoria in 1900 after serving in the South African War, the younger was brought up by his father's brother in Germany, adopted German nationality and succeeded to the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein in 1921. The greatest service of Princess Christian to her country was rendered by her constant and successful efforts, extending over many years, for the improvement of nursing. She promoted the movement for providing workhouse infirmaries and set in motion the machinery which finally provided "Sick Room Helps" for the poor. She did much

active and beneficial work in connexion with hospital organisation and especially child welfare. She was, besides, practically the founder of the School of Art Needlework at South Kensington.

10. Pierre Loti (Captain Julien Viaud), the famous French writer of Eastern romances and impressions, was born at Rochefort in 1850. Religion and the sea were the dominant influences of his childhood, and he joined the Navy after a course at Brest Naval College. In the Navy he remained, every voyage to some fresh scene resulting in new books from his impressionable and idealistic mind. His travels led him constantly East, to Tahiti, Constantinople, China, Turkey, Morocco, and elsewhere. His books are full of the glamour of the South Seas and reflect the shifting panorama of his sailor's life. "Le Mariage de Loti," was his first success in 1880. His reputation was further enhanced by "Le Roman d'un Spahi" in 1881, which embodied his Senegalese experiences. "Pe'cheur d'Islande" (1886), by many reckoned his masterpiece, is a sea tragedy; the produce of his Far Eastern travels were the famous "Madame Chrysanthème" and "Japponeries d'Automne." In 1892 he was elected to the Académie Française. His writing was distinguished by its wonderful sincerity, idealism, and originality of vision.

11. Herbert Trench, poet and dramatist, was born in County Cork in 1865. He was educated at Haileybury and Oxford and was made a Fellow of All Souls. Entering the Board of Education he did seventeen years' service, and on his retirement in 1908 he had already made a considerable reputation as a poet, particularly by "Deirdre Wedded." He will also be remembered for a period of management, from 1908 to 1911, of the Haymarket Theatre, and the artistic successes scored by him there with the production of "The Blue Bird" and "King Lear."

14. Alexander Stambulisky, Agrarian Prime Minister of Bulgaria until shortly before his death, was the most striking personality in Balkan politics. His father was a peasant farmer, but the son showed a craving for education, and at the age of 23 was editor of the chief Agrarian newspaper of the country. In 1908 he entered Parliament and soon became the champion of the powerful Agrarian Party. When the European War broke out, he opposed the King's Germanophile tendencies, for which he was imprisoned. Ferdinand fled, however, and after the Armistice was signed, Stambulisky in 1919 became Minister of Public Works. In October of that year he was made Prime Minister and signed the Treaty of Neuilly on behalf of Bulgaria. In June, 1923, he was staying in his native village of Slavovitz when news came to him that his Government had been overthrown by the military. He was killed while resisting the revolutionary troops. He was an energetic, sincere, and utterly fearless man, but was also intolerant and quite ruthless in dealing with any kind of opposition. Although originally a Republican in views, contact with the Allied statesmen served to convince him of the harm which Bulgaria would suffer through a revolution; in fact he refused to allow Ferdinand's successor, King Boris, to resign his responsibilities.

15. Maurice Henry Hewlett, aged 62, was a man of letters gifted in an unusual degree with poetical imagination. Called to the Bar, for four years he occupied an official position as keeper of the Land Revenue Records and Enrolments. In 1890 his early critical articles began to appear in reviews, and were followed by books on Italian subjects. These marked him out as a writer of ability, but it was not until he was 37 that "The Forest Lovers" brought him widespread fame and enabled him to make imaginative writing the chief of his many activities. His historical range was immense. In the next five years he produced a volume on mediæval Italy; "Richard Yea and Nay," which concerned the life of Richard Cœur de Lion; "New Canterbury Tales;" and "The Queen's Quair," the love story of Mary Queen of Scots. Another quite

distinct group of books, known as the "Rest Harrow" Series, had a more modern flavour. His style was elaborate, his language rich in poetical expression, his imagination fraught with the classical and mediaeval spirit. His work in poetry, two of the most beautiful examples of which are "Artemision" and "The Song of the Plow," reflects his two great interests, the classical legend and the country-side. He was married and had a son and a daughter.

20. **Thomas Seccombe**, critic and biographer, whose age was 57, was the grandson of Sir Thomas Lawrence Seccombe, a notable Indian Civil servant. He distinguished himself at Oxford in historical subjects and became Professor of History in the University of London, then at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. In 1921 he went to Kingston, Ontario, to fill a Chair of English Literature, but was obliged by illness to return to England, where he shortly afterwards died. He published several volumes of literary history, his "Age of Johnson" being a most learned and valuable survey of that period.

21. **Dr. Karl Schmidt**, aged 61, Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at the Basel University, enjoyed an international reputation and was frequently consulted by foreign Governments in technical questions. He was an authority on the mineral resources of Switzerland and was closely connected with the construction of the great Alpine tunnels.

28. **Sir James Reid, Bart., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., M.D.**, aged 73, was Physician in Ordinary to Queen Victoria, King Edward, and King George. The son of a Scottish doctor, he was educated at Aberdeen University and obtained his M.D. in 1875. He first practised in London, but in 1877 joined his father at his native town of Ellon. He was appointed resident medical attendant to Queen Victoria in 1881, and Physician in Ordinary in 1889, and was not merely the Queen's Physician but one of her most trusted and faithful attendants. He married the Hon. Susan Baring, and left two sons and two daughters.

— **Fritz Mauthner**, aged 74, was a well-known German philologist and philosopher. Although he achieved no academic or public honours, his books "The History of God"—a history of Western atheism, "A Criticism of Language," and a dictionary of philosophy published in 1910 won for him an honoured position among the thinkers of his age and country.

JULY.

10. **Albert Chevalier**, the famous impersonator of Cockney characters, was born in 18G1 of a French father and a Welsh mother. His early days included the activities of a clerk and a pupil teacher, as well as of amateur acting. His first professional stage engagement was at the age of 1G under the Bancrofts. This was followed by a long schooling on the regular stage in comedy, and it was not until 1891 that he made his first appearance as a music-hall entertainer at the London Pavilion. His success was immediate and enduring. Feeling, however, that his art could soar higher than coster songs he instituted a form of entertainment peculiarly his own. He composed a number of plays and sketches in which he assumed the leading role, and between seventy and eighty songs. Of the former, perhaps "My Old Dutch" was the most popular. One of his best parts was as Pantaloon in J. M. Barrie's play of that name. He had a great following in New York as well as in London and the provinces.

12. **Sir Edward Davidson, K.C.M.G., C.B., K.C.**, aged 70, was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar in 1879. After experience at the Board of Trade as a legal official he became private secretary to Lord Herschell, then Lord Chancellor, in 1886. In the same year he was appointed Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office, holding the

post for thirty-two years, during which time he advanced steadily in reputation and honours. He became a Q.C. in 1892, was appointed C.B. in 1897, and K.C.M.G. ten years later.

12. **Dr. Alexander Marmorek**, the well-known bacteriologist, was born in 1865 at Mielnica, Galicia. After graduating as Doctor of Medicine at the University of Vienna he went to Paris, where he became a pupil and subsequently assistant at The Pasteur Institute. He made two notable discoveries, namely, an antidote against puerperal fever in 1903 and the toxin of the tubercle bacillus and of the anti-tuberculosis vaccine in 1908. The latter in particular attracted widespread attention in the medical world. Marmorek was an ardent Zionist, founding the Jewish Popular University in Paris and contributing numerous articles on Zionist topics to the Press. During the World War he served as a doctor with the Allied forces in Eastern Europe.

13. **The Right Rev. Charles Henry Turner, D.D., Bishop of Islington**, whose age was 81, was the son of a distinguished mathematical scholar, who devoted himself, with ample means, to public and philanthropic work. Charles was educated at Highgate, then at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was bracketed tenth Wrangler in 1864. He was ordained four years later, and in 1873 became domestic chaplain to the Bishop of London at Fulham. Already here his quiet commanding way marked him out as a man of moment. In 1882 his organising powers were called into full play in the important cure of St. George's-in-the-East, and he also became examining chaplain at Fulham. Ten years later he became rural dean of Stepney and a prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1895 he was made an honorary chaplain to Queen Victoria and chaplain in ordinary three years later. He was consecrated Bishop of Islington in 1898 and obtained a city benefice which he resigned in 1911. He married the daughter of the Dr. McDougall who was once Bishop of Labuan.

14. **Dr. J. E. Watts-Ditchfield, D.D.**, aged 61, was the first Bishop of Chelmsford. Brought up as a Wesleyan, he was ordained into the Church of England at the age of 30 and became curate of St. Peter's, Highgate Hill. His success among working men soon attracted attention and his congregation grew apace. As a strong Evangelical his later success in Bethnal Green was even more marked, and a parochial medical mission started by him became known far and wide. His nomination by Mr. Asquith in 1914 to the See of Chelmsford caused something of a sensation, for he had not enjoyed the usual educational advantages in preparation for Holy Orders of most clericals of the Church of England. He won the respect of the huge artisan population in his diocese, but was not as successful as had been hoped, chiefly owing to the lack of financial backing due, probably, to the war.

15. **Sir Henry Howorth, K.C.I.E.**, whose age was 81, was a man of rare intellectual range who, although interested in politics, art, and very varied branches of archaeology, including numismatics, history, geography and ethnology, was undoubtedly an expert in certain scientific subjects. The son of an English merchant, he was born in Lisbon and educated in his own country. He studied for the law and was called to the Bar, but his chief interests centred round politics and historical and scientific studies. A Unionist, he was three times elected member for South Salford, but did not seek re-election after 1900. In 1892 already he was created K.C.I.E., as a reward for his labours on the history and ethnography of Asia, and in the following year was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Besides a number of valuable scientific papers, the first of which appeared in 1868, he wrote some important works. His "History of the Mongols" appeared in three volumes between 1876 and 1888. His scholarly accounts of the activities of St. Gregory the Great and St. Augustine won recognition, and in 1916 he published "The

Golden Days of the Early English Church." Other scientific books of his are "The Mammoth and the Flood," "The Glacial Nightmare," and "Ice or Water?" He was the member of various scientific societies and a trustee of the British Museum.

15. **Dr. Wilhelm Jerusalem**, aged 69, a professor at Berlin University, was a philosopher and Hebraist of the first order. His first literary production was "The Inscription of Sestos and Polybios," but he eventually devoted himself to philosophy, which he taught for nearly fifty years at Prague, Nikolsburg, and Vienna. He belonged to the same school of thought as William James, the Pragmatist, whose famous work "Pragmatism" Jerusalem translated into German. His studies of Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller, the famous American deaf and blind authors, are well known. His international reputation is based upon his "Lehrbuch der Psychologie" and "Einleitung in die Philosophie."

16. **Louis Couperus**, a well-known Dutch poet and novelist, was born in the Hague in 1863. He left nearly fifty volumes of his works, which included essays on art criticism, impressions of travel, historical studies on Egypt and Rome, an autobiographical study, and last but not least a number of novels and poems of high distinction and lofty inspiration. His works became well known in the English-speaking world through the translations of the late Mr. Teixeira de Mattos.

17. **William Paton Ker**, a scholar, literary critic, and linguist of vast learning, as well as a man of unusual personality and charm, was born in 1855, the son of a Glasgow merchant. He was educated at Glasgow Academy and University, then at Balliol, and was in due course elected a Fellow of All Souls. From 1883 to 1889 he was Professor of English Literature and History at Cardiff University College, and from the latter date to 1922 occupied the Queen's Chair of English Literature at University College, London. In 1920 he was called upon to fill the Chair of Poetry at Oxford which had been vacant since 1916. No man could have been less the conventional type of professor. He was a critic of great virility, a conversationalist with almost inspired powers. His published works, a good many of which were based on his lectures, included "Epic and Romance," "English Mediaeval Literature," "The Dark Ages," studies of Tennyson and Browning, and various others. He died suddenly of heart failure while climbing in the Alps.

— **Hanmer William Webb-Peploe**, Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral and for many years vicar of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, was born in 1837 and educated at Marlborough, Cheltenham, and Cambridge. His first notable appearance, after holding several country livings, was in connexion with the London Mission in 1874, about which time he began to be known as a remarkably gifted preacher. He was one of the pioneers of those small gatherings of Evangelicals which eventually developed into the Keswick Convention. He was an ardent supporter of the National Protestant Church Union and its successors, and a prominent member of various missionary societies. He married, in 1863, Frances, daughter of the late Lord Justice Lush, and left a daughter and two sons.

19. **Louis Calvert**, a well-known actor, especially of Shakespearian parts, was born in 1859, the third of five sons of actor parents. He made his first appearance on the stage when 19, at Durban. Returning to England, via Melbourne, in 1880, it was not until six years later that he appeared in London with Irving. By 1890 he had a company of his own and produced, besides a number of Shakespearian plays, Ibsen and Goethe. He also appeared with Tree and Ellen Terry, and from 1899 onwards became as well known as a producer as an actor. His sense of character acting was remarkable. His best Shakespearian part was as Falstaff in "Henry IV." He also scored remarkable successes in several of Bernard Shaw's plays. He had a high reputation as an actor-manager

in New York, where he died. His book, "Problems of the Actor," published in 1919, embodied very useful technical views on the art of acting.

23. Charles Dupuy, Senator of the Haute Loire and four times Prime Minister of France, was born at Puy in 1851. He started his career as a teacher of philosophy, entering political life as an Opportunist Republican in 1885. During his brief term as President of the Chamber in 1893, he was unsuccessfully attacked by the anarchist Vaillant, and in the following year he was with Carnot when the latter was stabbed at Lyons. The Dreyfus trial began under his ministry in 1898, and was the cause of his resignation in 1899. He was the author of numerous educational works.

27. Cardinal Nicola Marin!, Secretary of the Congregation of the Oriental Rite, was born in Rome in 1843. In 1882, as a Canon of St. John Lateran, he was sent as Papal Ablegate to Spain. In 1889 he was appointed a Canon of St. Peter's and in 1916 created Cardinal Deacon by Pope Benedict XV. Besides holding many other important ecclesiastical positions, His Eminence founded and edited three reviews, *Il Bessarione*, *La Donna Italiana*, and *S. Giovanni Crisostomo*.

28. Dr. Flora Murray, C.B.E., M.D., D.P.H., aged 54, was a doctor whose work during the war, especially as head of the Endell Street Military Hospital, lent special distinction to her career. As soon as the war started she, with Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson, formed the Women's Hospital Corps, the first of the women's voluntary medical units. It started work in Paris, then formed a hospital of 200 beds at Wimereux, and later on the Endell Street Hospital of 550 beds, of which Dr. Murray was placed in charge. She left a record of her war work in the form of a history of the Corps, published in 1920.

— Lionel Q. Robinson entered the Public Service in 1857, and was for many years a member of the Directing Branch of the Exchequer and Audit Department at Somerset House. He was a member of the Reform Club, an experienced journalist, and editor of "The Letters of Dorothea, Princess Lieven, 1812-24." He succeeded Mr. Herman C. Merivale as Editor of THE ANNUAL REGISTER in 1879, and held the appointment for twenty-two years, ending with the volume for 1900. He died at Bournemouth, aged 84.

30. Sir Charles Hawtreys, one of the most popular actors of the period, was born in 1858, the son of the Rev. John Hawtreys of Eton College. Educated at Eton, Rugby, and Oxford, he made his first appearance on the stage in 1881. He soon went into management on his own, first on tour, then in London, where he was destined to continue the success scored with "The Private Secretary," until the day of his death. He brought to the acting of comedy parts, which were his speciality, a skill, technique, and sympathetic personality which could only be the outcome of intense hard work combined with artistic merits of a high order. The art of comedy, as much as himself, was honoured by the knighthood conferred on him in 1922. Among his famous productions were "The Message from Mars," "The Man from Blankley's," "General John Regan," "An Ideal Husband," and a score of others.

AUGUST.

1. Theophil Forchhammer, the well-known organist at the cathedral of Magdeburg, was Swiss by birth and was born in 1847. He was the author of numerous compositions for the organ, and also did much valuable work in connexion with the editing of classical music and the publication of text-books.

2. **Warren Gamaliel Harding**, 29th President of the United States, was born in Ohio in 1865, only six months after the close of the Civil War. His father, a village doctor, was of Scotch descent, and his mother of Dutch origin. After a boyhood spent chiefly on their farm, he embarked, at first in a very humble capacity, on a journalistic career, eventually becoming editor and proprietor of the *Star* newspaper. In 1898 he turned his attention to politics and his reputation as an able legislator soon became established. In 1912 he attended the Republican National Convention at Chicago and in 1914 he represented the Ohio Republicans in the Senate. Harding was an ardent supporter of the movement for the entry of America into the World War. With certain reservations, due to his intense feeling for American nationality, he was in favour of the League of Nations. Elected President in 1920, on the wave of a reaction against the policy of Wilson, he had to cope with almost insuperable difficulties, not the least of which were internal party dissensions. His administration is notable chiefly for the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments and on Far Eastern Affairs in November, 1921. He will be remembered as a loyal Republican and a good man rather than as a great President.

5. **Vatroslav Jagitsch**, Professor of Slavonic Languages successively at Agram, Odessa, Berlin, Petrograd and Vienna, died at the age of 85. He was a most eminent authority on all branches of Slavonic philology, history, and literature, and the author of numerous important works dealing with these subjects. Of particular interest are his versions of Old Russian, Serbo-Croatian, and Slavonic ecclesiastical documents.

10. **Cardinal Augusto Richelmy**, aged 73, Archbishop of Turin since 1897, was a professor at the seminary and Canon of Turin; in 1886 he became Bishop of Ivrea, Piedmont, and was created Cardinal Priest in 1899 by Pope Leo XIII. He wielded considerable political influence on account of his connexion with the Court of Savoy. He was a rigorous anti-Modernist and the founder of the well-known Catholic organ *II Momento*.

13. **Sir Henry Hubert Hayden, C.S.I., C.I.E., F.R.S.**, whose age was 54, was a native of Londonderry. He was educated in Natal and then at Trinity College, Dublin, and joined the Geological Survey of India in 1895. His ability and enthusiasm as a scientist and explorer soon marked him out for promotion. He was attached to the Tirah Expeditionary Force in 1897-98 and to the Tibet Frontier Commission in 1903-4, and had not long before his death carried out valuable exploration work in Tibet. He wrote a number of papers and articles for the Geological Survey and a book, which is being published in France, on his Tibetan journeys. He was elected to the Royal Society in 1915. Hayden was killed, along with his two guides, while climbing in Switzerland, their bodies being found on one of the western slopes of the Finsteraarhorn.

17. **Lord Sterndale** (William Pickford), Master of the Rolls, was born in Manchester in 1849 and educated at Liverpool and Exeter College, Oxford. Called to the Bar in 1874, he joined the Northern Circuit and acquired a good practice at Liverpool. Soon gaining a reputation outside his immediate sphere of action, he came to London in the early nineties, took silk in 1893, and acquired a leading practice, again on the Northern Circuit. His great knowledge of maritime matters led to his frequent engagement in the Admiralty and Commercial Courts, and his services were in general request. He was brought prominently into public notice at the inquiry in Paris in 1905 by an International Commission on the Dogger Bank incident, when the Russian Baltic Fleet fired on some trawlers in the North Sea. He appeared there as leading counsel for the British Government. In 1907 he was made a judge of the High Court of Justice. Until his elevation to the Court of Appeal he constantly **presided** over the Commercial Court, for which his knowledge

and training so well fitted him. In 1918 he was appointed President of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division, but a year later went back to the Court of Appeal as Master of the Rolls. Besides having a scholarly knowledge of maritime and international law, he showed himself a man and judge of sound sense and judgment. He left two daughters.

19. **Vilfredo Pareto**, the celebrated Italian economist, was born in Paris in 1848. After completing his studies at Turin he proceeded to Florence and thence to Lausanne, where he was appointed Professor of Political Economy at the University. He was the author of several sociological works, including the "*Traite* de Sociologie*," "*Systemes socialistes*," and "*Transformation de la Democratie*," besides being an authority on classical languages and mathematics. He was made a deputy by Mussolini in March of this year, for the purpose of representing Italy on the League of Nations.

22. **Sir William Ralph Meredith**, Chief Justice of Ontario, was born in that province in 1840 and educated at the district grammar school in his township, then at Toronto University. When only 21 he was called to the Bar, and rose so rapidly in his profession that he was made Q.C. fourteen years later. Equally successful in political life, he was elected to the Ontario Legislative in 1872 and in 1878 became leader of the Opposition. He was prominently associated with the struggles of his province for the grant of manhood suffrage, with many industrial reform measures and with an active campaign against the influence of the Church in the educational system of Ontario. He was appointed Chief Justice in 1894, having by then retired from politics, and was knighted two years later. He sat on a number of commissions and was honoured in 1900 by election as Chancellor of Toronto University.

23. **Major Ernest F. Bashford, M.D., O.B.E.**, Director of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund from 1903 to 1914, a researcher to whom we owe much in connexion with this disease, was born in 1873, and studied at the universities of Edinburgh, Berlin, and Frankfurt, gaining a number of academic distinctions. He worked a good deal on the Continent, studying for a time under the famous Professor Ehrlich at Frankfurt, and in 1901 became assistant to the director of the Pharmacological Institute in Berlin, moving to an assistantship in Edinburgh the next year. He may be said to have founded the modern experimental investigation of cancer in this country. He was honorary president of the first International Cancer Congress at Heidelberg in 1906, and Superintendent of Research in the laboratories of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund for twelve years before assuming its directorship. He served during the war and was, at the time of his death, which occurred in Germany, Adviser in Pathology to the Army on the Rhine.

24. **Tomosaburo Kato**, Prime Minister of Japan, was born in 1859 and educated for the Navy. On the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War he was appointed Chief of Staff to Admiral Kamimura, and during the decisive battle of the Japan Sea he acted in the same capacity for Togo. On the entry of Japan into the World War he was appointed Commander of the First Fleet, and in 1915 he also accepted the position of Minister of the Navy. In 1921 he represented Japan at the Washington Conference. In June, 1922, on the fall of the Takahashi Cabinet, Kato undertook the formation of a Government, which was run on bureaucratic lines.

— **Milan Ogrizovtsh**, the most notable poet of Croatia, and not yet fifty years old, was equally at home in poetry and the drama. His first works date from the year 1899 and show strong evidence of Ibsen's influence. He wrote poems, short stories, and mystical and patriotic dramas.

24. **Kate Douglas Wiggin**, the American writer and philanthropist, whose maiden name was Smith, was the daughter of a Philadelphia lawyer and was born in 1857. In 1876 she went to Los Angeles to study Kindergarten methods and organised on the Pacific Coast the first free Kindergartens for the poor. Successful from the first, her little school in San Francisco served as the model for about sixty other similar ones. Her first husband, Samuel Wiggin, a lawyer, whom she married in 1880, died in 1889, and she gave up teaching and devoted herself to writing. Her books, the great charm of which lay in their simplicity and humour, dealt with life in New England, and with travel. Her "Penelope" books, the experiences of an American girl travelling through England, Scotland, and Ireland, were great favourites in England as well as in America twenty years ago. So was "Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm," which was produced in London as a play in 1912. She married again in 1895, but retained the name of her first husband in her literary work.

26. Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, the widow of Professor W. E. Ayrton, a well-known scientist in the field of electrical research, was herself a scientist of no mean order. Though she co-operated in much of her husband's work, her own investigations in connexion with the physics of the electric arc, and her book on this subject in 1902 led to the recognition of her independent merit. She was elected the only woman member of the Institution of Electrical Engineers and was awarded the Hughes Medal of the Royal Society in 1906. An invention by her of a hand fan for dissipating poison gas was made use of in the war.

27. Miss Letty Lind, the well-known musical comedy actress and dancer, was born in 1862, her family name being Rudge. She was one of several sisters who won fame on the lyric stage by their good looks and ability. She herself went on the stage when barely more than a baby and worked hard for over twenty years in London and the provinces before she appeared at the Gaiety in 1887 under George Edwardes's management in the burlesques which brought her triumphs. From 1892 to 1902 she continued to be successful in musical comedy, some of her best known parts being in "The Artist's Model" and "The Geisha." Though her singing voice was small she made up for anything she lacked in this way by her charming presence and personality and her mastery of the art of movement and dancing in the period of which she was a star.

30. **Earl Parquhar** (Sir Horace Brand Farquhar, 1st Baron, Viscount, and Earl Farquhar of St. Marylebone), was born in 1844, the fifth of the six sons of Sir Minto Townsend-Farquhar, Bart. His grandfather was the first Governor of Mauritius. A strong Conservative, he was first returned to Parliament in 1895 for Marylebone, but was raised to the peerage in 1898, having received a baronetcy in 1892. He was an acknowledged leader of the Municipal Reform Party in London, and his most important political position was as Treasurer of the Unionist Party funds. On the accession of King Edward he was made Master of the Household and in 1907 was sworn of the Privy Council. From 1915 until the autumn of 1922, with an interval of three years after 1916, he performed most ably the duties of Lord Steward of the Household. He was raised to the rank of Viscount in 1917 and to an earldom after his resignation of office in 1922 when the Coalition Government resigned. Besides holding fourteen foreign honours he was G.C.B. and G.C.V.O. His wife, a daughter of Colonel Packe of Twyford Hall, predeceased him in 1922 and he left no heir.

31. Prince Masayoshi Matsukata, one of the makers of modern Japan, was a victim of the Tokyo earthquake. He was born in 1840, and his political career began in the Department of Finance in which he served with great distinction at intervals from 1881 to 1900. During this period three great achievements stand to his credit; the resumption

of specie payments in 1885 ; the financing of the ChinoJapanese War in 1894-95 ; and the adoption of gold monometallism in 1897. He twice filled the post of Prime Minister and succeeded Prince Oyama as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1903 he became President of the Red Cross Society of Japan, and he also participated actively in many other works of public charity.

SEPTEMBER.

6* Sir William Purdie Treloar, founder of the Lord Mayor Treloar Cripples' Hospital and College at Alton and Hayling Island, was born in Cornwall in 1843. He was educated at King's College School, and went straight into his father's carpet-manufacturing business in Ludgate Hill. His civic career began in 1880, when he was elected to the Court of Common Council for the Ward of Farringdon Without; in 1892 he was unanimously elected Alderman, and in 1899-1900 he served as Sheriff in the Mayoralty of Sir Alfred Newton. During Sir William's own mayoralty in 1906-7 he started his great campaign on behalf of crippled children which was brought to such a successful conclusion. His period of office was also notable for the opening of the new Central Criminal Court. Sir William held several other public appointments and was also greatly interested in literature. In 1865 he married Miss Annie Blake, but there were no children of the union.

9. Hermes da Fonseca, President of the Brazilian Republic from 1910 to 1914, and for many years Commander-in-Chief of the Army, was born in 1855. He was responsible, as Minister of War, for the reorganisation of the Brazilian Army on European lines. In 1922 he instigated arising at Rio de Janeiro, on account of a political disappointment, but the enterprise proved a failure and ended in his arrest, which was, however, only temporary.

— Miss Frances Trevenen Bunsen Whateiy Arnold, youngest and last surviving child of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, was in her 90th year. Her home at Fox How, Ambleside, originally built by her father as a "retreat" for his retirement, was the resort of poets—Wordsworth, Tennyson, Clough, Alfred Austin and Dr. Bridges—and of numerous other literary celebrities. Miss Arnold acted as a link with the past to many friends and relatives of the younger generation. All her life she was deeply interested in religious questions and politics. In the latter connexion she formed several interesting friendships, including those with Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson.

14. Wilhelm Pfannkuch, a disciple of Lassalle and one of the pioneers of German Socialism, was born in 1841. He assisted in the formation of one of the first German trade unions at Cassel in 1868, and was one of the founders of the General Federation of German Trade Unions in 1892. He twice represented a Berlin constituency in the Reichstag and was once returned as member for Magdeburg. In 1919 he acted as doyen of the National Assembly at Weimar. He held the office of Secretary of the German Social Democratic Party.

16. Sir Walter Davidson, aged 64, Governor of New South Wales, was an exceptionally able public servant. An Ulsterman by birth, he was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and entered the Ceylon Civil Service in 1889. After occupying a number of important positions in Ceylon, including that of the mayoralty of Colombo, he was appointed, in 1901, assistant secretary to Lord Milner, then Administrator of the Transvaal. In the following year he became Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal and was created C.M.G., and in 1904 was appointed Governor of the Seychelles, then newly separated from Mauritius. In 1913 came further promotion to the Governorship of Newfoundland. When he was called, in 1918, to the Governorship of New South Wales, there were

remarkable demonstrations in the island he was leaving, bearing testimony to the regard and esteem in which he was held. He published in 1909 a volume of the archives of the Seychelles before 1810. He was twice married, and had one son by his first and two daughters by his second wife.

21. **Francis J. H. Jenkinson**, whose age was 70, had been Cambridge University Librarian since 1889. He was a profound classical scholar, a great bibliographer and antiquary, an expert entomologist and an enthusiastic musician. His father was vicar of St. Mary's, Reading, and he was descended from a younger brother of the first Earl of Liverpool of the 1796 creation. He was educated at Marlborough, then went to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was elected a Fellow, remaining at Cambridge for the rest of his life. He was made Curator in Zoology at his college, and in 1882 Curator of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, becoming its President in 1893. It was about 1882 that he turned his attention to bibliography, and in 1901 he served as President of the London Bibliographical Society. Jenkinson edited and published various works left by the famous Henry Bradshaw, who filled the Cambridge Librarianship before him. His own literary work is chiefly remembered by his edition of the "*Hisperica Famina*," published in 1908.

— **Maxwell Gray**, whose real name was Mary Gleed Tuttiett, was 76 years old. Her first novel, "*The Silence of Dean Maitland*," published in 1886, was an impressive piece of work which met with due recognition both from the critics and the public. It was followed, though probably never equalled, by a number of other novels, poems, and essays.

22. **The Marquess of Ripon, a.C.V.O.** (Sir Frederick Oliver Robinson, Marquess of Ripon, Earl de Grey, Earl of Ripon, Viscount Goderich, and Baron Grantham), was born in 1852, the only son of Lord Ripon, once Viceroy of India. He held the Liberal seat for Ripon from 1874 to 1880, and succeeded to his father's estates in 1909. He was not a very ardent politician, notwithstanding the traditions of his family, but was chiefly known, together with his beautiful wife, the sister of the thirteenth Earl of Pembroke and widow of the fourth Earl of Lonsdale, in the social world. He was recognised in his day as undoubtedly the finest game shot in the country, perhaps in the world. His shooting records form an amazing chronicle of skill. He was an intimate friend of King Edward, and it was at Sandringham that he accounted for twenty-eight pheasants in sixty seconds. He had been Treasurer to Queen Alexandra since 1901. His wife predeceased him in 1917. They had no children.

23. **Viscount Morley of Blackburn, O.M.**, aged 84, the veteran Liberal statesman and writer, whose death broke one of the last and strongest links with the Gladstonian era in politics, started life as plain John Morley, the son of a Blackburn surgeon. He was educated at Cheltenham and at Lincoln College, Oxford, then found journalistic work in London. His literary ability was soon evident and after experience on various first class journals he became, in 1867, when not yet 30, editor of the *Fortnightly Review*. This post he held for fifteen years, gathering round him the strongest Liberal politicians and authors and publishing many of his own fine studies of history and biography and of controversial questions of the day, which were marked by their vividness, insight, and style. He held the editorship of the *Morning Star* for a short time in 1869 and that of the *Pall Mall Gazette* for three years from 1880, under Liberal ownership. He then edited *Macmillan's Magazine* for a couple of years. In 1882 his active political career began, for in this year he was returned as Liberal member for Newcastle. He soon became Gladstone's chief lieutenant, and on the latter's recall to power in the autumn of 1885, Morley was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and identified himself throughout his life with Gladstone's **Home Rule** policy. When Gladstone finally resigned in **1894, Morley retained his**

position, and although he lost his Newcastle seat in 1895, a seat was found for him the next year in the Montrose Burghs. On his former chief's death in 1898, Gladstone's family immediately entrusted to Moriey the writing of his biography. This well-known work appeared in three volumes in 1903 and made its mark at once. Two years later he was installed at the India Office by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as Secretary of State. In 1908, having entered his 70th year, he was raised to the peerage. He remained at the India Office for another two years, during which time he effected various important constitutional reforms and carried the Indian Councils Act in 1909. In the long dispute carried on in connexion with the Parliament Act of 1911, he led the Government case and succeeded in overcoming the opposition to this measure in the House of Lords. The passing of the Home Rule Bill was a vindication of his life-long Irish policy. Before this the Great War broke out, and Moriey, who had been President of the Council since 1910, and who was now 76 years of age, felt he could no longer face the strain of constant spokesmanship for the Cabinet and retired into private, but by no means idle, life, for in 1917 he published two volumes of "Recollections" written with all his former skill. Other works of his are an admirable "Life of Cobden" (1881), studies of Voltaire and Diderot, and two volumes in the series called "Twelve English Statesmen," which he edited. In his will he enjoined upon his executors to withhold all papers from any person desiring to write a memoir of his life, and not to encourage any such design which he described as "wholly superfluous." He left a widow but no issue or heir to the viscounty.

23. Ferdinand Avenarius, aged 67, was a well-known German publisher and editor. An enthusiast on the subject of art and poetry in particular, his art review *Kunstwart*, founded in 1887, is a household word in Germany. So are his poetry anthologies, "German Household Lyrics," the "Book of Ballads," and "The Book of Joy," which have assisted a wide public to become acquainted with hitherto neglected national verses. He also brought out an annual report on literature and various art and music supplements, and was the founder of the Diirer League.

26. Colonel the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., aged 43, traveller, diplomatist, soldier, and politician, crowded into his comparatively short life an unusually adventurous career. He was the second son of the fourth Earl of Carnarvon by his second marriage, and was a half-brother of Lord Carnarvon of Tutankhamen fame, who predeceased him by but a few months. He was educated at Eton and Balliol and entered the diplomatic service. In 1902, when only 22, he was appointed honorary attache at Tokyo, and in 1904 was transferred to Constantinople. His connexion with the Embassy lasted until the outbreak of war in 1914. During these years he travelled incessantly in the Near East, chiefly in Macedonia and Albania, making friends with many leading personalities, especially among the Albanians. He took part in the Turco-Albanian fighting in 1911, and in 1914, although not really fit for active service, managed to obtain a commission in the Irish Guards. His experiences are described in his book, published anonymously, and entitled "Mons, Anzac and Kut: By an M.P." He had sat as Conservative member for the Yeovil Division since November, 1911. He was present at the first landing of the Dardanelles, then saw service in Mesopotamia, and helped to negotiate the armistice with the Turks. His knowledge of Eastern languages, acquired during his years of travel, was invaluable. His gifts as a poet were only too sparsely displayed, but his volume, "Eastern Songs," published in 1911, is deserving of greater popularity than it has yet acquired. He married, in 1910, the Hon. Mary Vesci, only child of the fourth Viscount de Vesci, and left a son and three daughters.

27. **Sir John HalHday Croom, M.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.P.**, aged 76, was a notable teacher of medicine. Born in Dumfriesshire in 1847, he was educated at Edinburgh High School and University, and turned his attention first to surgery, then to medicine. Admitted to the Fellowship of the Boyal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh in 1873, he did not become a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians until nine years later. He occupied the Chair of Midwifery in Edinburgh University from 1905 to 1921. He wrote several books, and excelled rather as a teacher and exponent of science than as an original scientist.

29. **Sir Henry Babington Smith, C.B.E., C.H., K.C.B., C.S.I.**, was the son of an eminent mathematician and lawyer. Born in 1863, he was educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was Chancellor's Medallist and was elected a Fellow. In 1887 he entered the Education Department as an Examiner, then became Chief Private Secretary to Lord Kandolph Churchill when the latter became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1891. This was followed by service as Private Secretary to the Viceroy of India, during which period, in 1898, he married Lady Elizabeth Bruce, by whom he had four sons and five daughters. He then became President of the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt, was Secretary of the Post Office for half a dozen years, and in 1909 became President of the National Bank of Turkey, which he was largely instrumental in starting. When Lord Beading went to America in 1918 as High Commissioner, Smith went with him as Assistant Commissioner. His financial ability led to his appointment, after the war, as Chairman of the Indian Finance and Currency Committee of 1919. This was followed, in 1921, by the Chairmanship of the Railway Amalgamation Tribunal, which he filled very successfully. In all the countries to which he was sent in important capacities he represented his own country with much credit and distinction.

OCTOBER.

1. **Herbert McLeod, F.R.S.**, a distinguished chemist, physicist, and scientific bibliographer, was born in 1841. In 1871 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry at Cooper's Hill, a position he retained for thirty years. In addition to his own valuable educational and research work, Professor McLeod performed a great service to science in connexion with The Royal Society's International Catalogue of Scientific Literature, directing the staff of compilers and editing the work of classification.

4. Dr. Estanislao Severo Zeballos, a lawyer of international repute, who as statesman, barrister, and journalist played a notable part in the public life of Argentina, was born at Rosario in 1854. He was educated at Buenos Aires and became a great force in journalism, founding and editing a number of scientific, historical, and legal reviews. He was for twenty years Substitute Professor of International Law in Buenos Aires University, and was nominated to the Hague Arbitration Court in 1910. He was three times Minister for Foreign Affairs, was Ambassador at Washington for two years (1893-95), and had been President of the Chamber. He was also noted as an educationist and geographer and founded the Argentine Geographical Institute. The long list of his published works includes three historical novels.

6. **Oscar Browning, O.B.E.**, was born in London in 1837, the son of William Shipton Browning and Mariana Bridge. He was educated at Eton and took his degree as fourth Classic at King's College, Cambridge, which elected him to a fellowship. In 1860 he went to Eton as a master, but here, although his methods were stimulating and original, his influence was considered detrimental to normal discipline, and a dispute arising out of some technical breach of regulations resulted in his dismissal in 1875. He returned to his college, where he was appointed

College Lecturer in History, and later on University Header. One of the pioneers of the study of history at the University, he worked up at Cambridge a historical school of great distinction. He also founded a political society of note and acted for eighteen years as Principal of the Cambridge training college for teachers, which he helped to establish. He left Cambridge in 1909 and in about 1915 removed permanently to Rome, where he did a good deal of writing. He published a volume of reminiscences in 1910 and another about six months before his death. He was made an O.B.E. in the Birthday Honours this year. A man with a touch of genius, possessing great industry and activity and a highly stimulating personality, he was unfortunate in that his arbitrary methods often provoked opposition and that his writing, which was fairly prolific, was lacking in solidity. He was unmarried.

6. **Damad Ferid Pasha**, brother-in-law of the last four Sultans of Turkey and several times Grand Vizier, came of a Slavonic family and was born in 1858. At the age of twenty he became attaché to the Ottoman Embassy in Paris, and in 1855 was for a short time Secretary of Embassy in London. He became Grand Vizier in February, 1919. As first Ottoman Delegate and Plenipotentiary at Versailles his failure to induce the Allies to permit Turkey to start afresh without loss of territory was complete. This failure sealed his political fate and he resigned his position at home. In July, 1921, he reconstructed his Cabinet but did not remain in power for long.

8. **Colonel Algernon Q. A. Durand, C.B., C.I.E.**, aged 69, was the youngest of three distinguished sons of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, an eminent figure in India in the early Victorian era. He entered the Army in 1872 and served with distinction through the second Afghan War. In 1899 he was appointed the first British Agent at Gilgit. The story of his difficult but successful work here is told in his "The Making of a Frontier" (1889), which records the five years' struggle in converting three hundred miles of wild borderland from a constant state of war and anarchy into one of peace and good government. Subsequently he was Military Secretary in India to Lord Elgin. He received the C.B. in 1892 and the C.I.E. in 1897. He married in 1895 Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. T. C. Bruce, cousin of the Viceroy, who survived him with two sons.

— **General Sir Herbert Vaughan Cox, Q.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.S.I.**, aged 63, was an Indian Army leader. He was educated at Charterhouse and arrived in India in time to see the finish of the second Afghan War. He was mentioned in despatches in the Burmese War of 1885 and had a distinguished share in the Boxer Expedition. He returned to India after this to command for five years the 69th Punjabis and was selected by Lord Kitchener to fill the post of Deputy Quartermaster-General. When the war broke out he was in command of the 2nd Infantry Brigade. He commanded the Gurkha Brigade in Egypt, in Arabia, and in Gallipoli and was awarded the K.C.M.G. and the Serbian Order of the White Eagle, second class, with swords. He was then transferred to the Anzacs and commanded the 4th Australian Division in Egypt and in France in 1916-17. In the latter year he became Secretary of the Military Department of the India Office, which post he resigned in 1921 and was awarded the G.C.B.

10. **Dr. John Allen Harker, F.R.S., O.B.E.**, aged 53, was the son of the Rev. John Harker, and was educated at Stockport Grammar School and Manchester and Tübingen Universities, where he acquired the degrees of M.Sc. and D.Sc. respectively. In 1891 he was Dalton Scholar in Chemistry at Owen's College. He became chief assistant, then head of the Thermometry Department of the National Physical Laboratory at Teddington. During the war he did valuable work for the

Government in connexion with the modern processes for the fixation of nitrogen and served on many official scientific committees. He was a member of the Physical Society of London and the Faraday Society, as well as of the Committee of the British Association on gas engines. He was the delegate of the British Government at the International Petroleum Congress at Vienna in 1912. He had two sons and three daughters.

10. **Paul Robert** was a well-known Swiss painter and illustrator. Born near Biel in 1851, he received his artistic education first from his father, then in Munich, Italy and Paris. From 1886 to 1892 he spent in executing paintings for the staircase in the Neuchatel Museum. The mosaic in the main hall of the Historical Museum at Berne as well as the paintings on the stairway of the Lausanne Law Courts are his work. His illustrations were popular abroad, notably in Berlin and Paris.

— Marshal Andres Caceres, aged 87, was the chief of the Peruvian Constitutional Party and was President of Peru from 1886 to 1890 and again from 1894 to 1895, when he was obliged to seek refuge on a French warship in face of a successful insurrection.

11. **Wilhelm Karczag**, who died in Vienna at the age of 66, was the founder of the well-known Austrian dramatic publishing company bearing his name. A Hungarian by birth, he started life as a journalist, married a famous opera singer called Kopacsy, and took over the management of a Vienna theatre. After experimenting with it as a variety theatre and *cafe chantant*, he finally specialised in light opera and soon made his opera house the favourite of Vienna. He founded an operatic agency by which he assured and supplied the services of some of the best singers of the day. He was particularly successful in popularising the works of composers such as Lehar, the author of "The Merry Widow," Kalman, Fail and others.

12. **The Hon. Nathaniel Charles Rothschild**, whose age was 46, was the second son of the first Lord Rothschild and brother and heir-presumptive of the present peer. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he read natural science. Although actively engaged in business, he took a great interest in natural history and was a competent ornithologist and entomologist. His name was chiefly known by reason of his unique collection of Siphonaptera, or Fleas, which, though regarded at first as a strange hobby, proved of unexpected value when it became known that the plague was carried from rats to human beings by rat fleas, of which he possessed a specimen. He was married to a Hungarian lady who, with a son and three daughters, survived him.

— Diego M. Chamorro, President of Nicaragua, and the son of Dr. Pedro J. Chamorro, himself President of Nicaragua about forty years ago, was born in the city of Granada in 1861. When only 21 he was made Mayor of his native city and so marked was his administrative ability that in 1911 he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and two years later Minister of Public Instruction. In 1918 he became Minister plenipotentiary of Nicaragua in the United States, but two years subsequently, having been nominated for the Presidency by the Conservative Party, he returned to his own country, where he was elected to the Chief Executive. He became President on January 1, 1921. He was known throughout his administration as an ardent promoter of public instruction.

13. **Emile Bergerat**, aged 78, was chiefly known to the present generation as a controversial writer of great pungency. For twenty years his articles appeared in *Figaro* under the *tion-de-plume* of "Caliban." He started in life at the age of 19 as a poet and playwright with the acceptance of "Une Amie," a oao-act comedy in verse, by the Comedie

Franchise. He wrote many other plays, only one of which, "Plus que Reine," achieved any notable success, and it was not until the occasion of a public controversy with Theophile Gautier, one of whose works Bergerat was dramatising in verse, that the latter discovered his own talents as a controversialist, and gave himself to this profession with zeal.

14. **Dr. A. A. Rambaut, F.R.S., D.Sc.**, aged 64, the Radcliffe Observer at Oxford since 1897, was born at Waterford and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he won the first science scholarship, and took his degree as senior moderator and gold medallist in mathematics and mathematical physics in 1881. For a time he was senior science master at his old school, the Royal School, Armagh, but in 1882 he began the astronomical work to which the remainder of his life was devoted. For ten years he was assistant astronomer at the Trinity College Observatory at Dunsink, and in 1892 became Andrews Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin and Royal Astronomer of Ireland. His contributions to astronomical literature were considerable and included various catalogues of stars, including the "Radcliffe Catalogue of 1772 stars" published in 1906 and the main result of his life-work, a volume on the parallaxes of 2400 stars, only published a month before his death. The latter work was rendered possible by the erection by the Radcliffe Trustees in 1902 of special photographic apparatus which was in constant use by Rambaut for twenty years.

20. **The Rev. William Gerrish**, who was in his 80th year, was the remarkable headmaster of a remarkable school. After serving as assistant master of Worcester Cathedral School for eight years, he was, in 1877, appointed headmaster of Wainfleet, the historical school founded and built in 1459 at Wainfleet, in Lincolnshire, by William of Wainfleet, the Founder of Magdalen College, Oxford. His tenure of forty-six years here was remarkably successful, especially for his skilful administration of the school after he had introduced the almost unprecedented system of co-education of boys and girls.

— **Brigadier-General G. E. Pereira, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.**, aged 59, did excellent service in both the South African and the European War, but he will be chiefly remembered as a famous traveller. He was the son of Edward Pereira and the Hon. Margaret Stonor, thus being a nephew of Archbishop Stonor. He was educated at Edgbaston and joined the Grenadier Guards, serving at home until 1899, when he went to China on special service. After taking part in the South African War he was attached to the Japanese Army in Manchuria. From 1905 to 1910 he was military attaché to the British Legation at Peking and in the next two years travelled extensively in Chinese Turkestan and Western China. As commander during the European War, first of the Pioneer Battalion, the 4th Royal Welsh Fusiliers, then of the 47th Infantry Brigade, he gave proof of great courage and energy and a genius for leadership remarkable in a man of his age. The story of his great trek across Asia on foot from Peking to Lhasa was told in *The Times* of December 4, 1922. This expedition, upon which he started in January, 1921, was undertaken for the joint purposes of exploring and shooting. When he arrived at Calcutta he had covered over 7,000 miles, of which he had walked nearly half. He was on a tour in Tibet when he died. He spoke Chinese with great fluency, and never had an interpreter.

23. **Sir David Duncan**, aged 75, was a well-known journalist and newspaper proprietor in South Wales. The second son of David Duncan, founder in 1857 of the *Cardiff Times*, from which subsequently sprang the *South Wales News* and *South Wales Echo*, he was the sole survivor of the original partnership which included his elder and a younger brother. The Southern Federation of Newspaper Owners owed its formation largely to his initiative and he served as its chairman from 1909 to 1920.

He was an ex-Chairman of the Press Committee and was a member of the Admiralty, War Office and Press Committee during the war. He was also a magistrate for Glamorgan and Cardiff. He was knighted in 1919. His first wife died in 1893, his second wife and a daughter by the first marriage survived him.

25. **Philippe Millet**, who had long been regarded as one of the leading political journalists in France, was 43 years of age, and was the son of a former French Ambassador and Resident-General of Tunisia. He became known in this country during the two years, 1909-11, passed in London as correspondent of the *Temps*. He then returned to Paris and became a recognised authority on colonial affairs. In 1917 he was placed in charge of the British propaganda section of the French Press. In 1920 he became director of the foreign department of the *Petit Parisien*, being appointed political editor of *l'Europe Nouvelle* in the same year. His writing was distinguished by its scrupulous sense of fairness and he was held by his colleagues to be the best writer expounding the complicated problems of to-day, but his reputation went far beyond France. His articles in *Paris-Midi*, under the pen-name of "Un Diplomate," were in lighter vein, and while revealing a great fund of humour, were no less effective than his serious efforts. He was a prolific worker and found time to write several volumes on English life and his associations with the British Army, which he joined as *liaison* officer during the war. He held the *Croix de Guerre* and the English Military Cross and was an Officer of the Legion of Honour.

25. Henry A. **Ivatt**, aged 72, a designer of railway engines, was an apprentice to the London and North-Western Railway, and worked as a fireman for a year. In 1896 he became locomotive engineer of the Great Northern Railway at Doncaster, and in 1898 built the first locomotive of the "Atlantic" type. This was then considered the finest for heavy long-distance express work in England and was so successful that ten more were built. He then introduced an improved pattern of the eight-wheeled bogie passenger locomotive and in 1902 designed a four-cylinder engine for express passenger trains. He retired in 1911.

26. Dr. **Charles Proteus Steinmetz**, a distinguished electrical engineer and mathematician, was born at Breslau in 1865, pursued his scientific studies at Breslau, Berlin and Zurich Universities, and went to America, where he became, in 1893, consulting engineer of the General Electric Company. He had also occupied, since 1902, the Chair of Electrophysics in Union University, New York. He was a past president of the American Institution of Electrical Engineers. His researches in electrical phenomena were embodied in a series of valuable books published between 1897 and 1917.

27. Dr. **Hans Conrad Schellenberg**, who was born in 1872, was responsible for much excellent work in general botany and agriculture, and more especially in connexion with phytopathology. In 1903 he assumed professorial duties at the Zurich Technical College and published, in 1911, the results of his protracted and far-reaching studies on the Uredineae or rust fungi of Switzerland. Considerable practical importance attaches to his investigations on the fungus diseases of conifers, fruit trees, and other economic plants.

30. **Andrew Bonar Law**, Prime Minister of England from October, 1922, to May, 1923, may not rank as one of the greatest, but was certainly one of the best-loved figures in British Parliamentary history. He held the affections of his colleagues and of members of Parliament as very few leaders have, and his great qualities were far more clearly perceived and appreciated by them than by the world in general. He will be remembered not so much for his brief career as Prime Minister as for the part he played as a member of the Cabinet during and after the war.

He was born in 1858 in New Brunswick, Canada, of a Presbyterian

Minister and a Glasgow mother, and on reaching the school age was sent to the Glasgow High School. His schooldays over, he was placed in business with a Glasgow firm of iron merchants, where he developed into a successful man of business. In 1900, having made all the money he desired, he decided to gratify his political ambitions, and entered Parliament as Conservative member for the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow. Few men have made their mark more quickly, and in 1902 he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade. He lost his seat at the General Election of 1906, but soon returned to Parliament as member for Dulwich, and showed himself an able advocate of the policies of Tariff Reform and Colonial Preference. In 1910 the Liberals were again victorious, and when in 1911 Mr. Balfour resigned his leadership of the Conservative Party, he was succeeded by Bonar Law, then member for Bootle. This leadership he held for over nine years, the first three and a half of which were spent in Opposition. He was giving strong support to Ulster when the Irish question was overshadowed by the outbreak of the Great War. In 1915 he filled the post of Colonial Secretary in the first Coalition Government under Mr. Asquith. In December, 1916, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and a member of Mr. Lloyd George's War Cabinet of five. In the first capacity, the courage with which he increased taxation must be counted one of the reasons why this country was so much sooner able after the War to balance its Budget than countries which had relied altogether on loans. Although appointed one of the Peace Plenipotentiaries, Parliamentary duties prevented him from playing a prominent part at the Paris Conference. Throughout the difficulties of the following years he played a part second to that of the Prime Minister, but in March, 1921, was taken ill and resigned. Although obviously in poor health he returned to the House in 1922 and on October 23 of that year became Prime Minister, only to resign, on account of ill-health, on May 20 following. His wife, Annie Pitcairn Robley, of Glasgow, predeceased him in 1909, leaving several children. Two of the sons were killed in the war.

— Nicola Qennadieff, a well-known Bulgarian barrister and a former Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was assassinated in the streets of Sofia, was born at Monastir in 1868. There appears to have been some doubt as to his descent; his political opponents insisted that he was of Kutzo-Vlach stock, but his widow stated that his parents and grandparents were Bulgarians and that his grandfather on his father's side was the Bulgarian Archbishop Gennadius. He first became prominent in politics on entering the Cabinet as Minister for Trade and Agriculture in November, 1906. When his chief, Petkoff, was assassinated, he was elected leader of the National Liberal Party. Later his Party was known as the Stambulovist Party, and it was as its leader that he joined Radoslavoff's Cabinet in July, 1913, during the second Balkan War. In 1916 he was tried by Court-martial for urging that Bulgaria should enter the Great War on the side of the Allies, was condemned and kept in prison for two years, then pardoned. He had been out of active politics since then but recently formed a separate Liberal Agrarian group, which published its own newspaper.

31. Jacques Seligmann was a famous Paris art dealer whose death removed a very remarkable personality from the art auction rooms of Paris, London and New York. Born in Germany, he went to Paris soon after the Franco-German War and began dealing in *objets d'art* in a small way. It is said that he started in business with a capital of £20. He soon won the confidence of collectors by his extraordinary *flair* for the right thing. His knowledge of the art of the Renaissance period was exceptionally extensive. He was for many years in partnership with his two brothers, but some few years ago they separated, and he transferred his huge business to the famous Hotel Sagan, part of which he gave up

during the War for use as a hospital. The late J. Pierpont Morgan and other famous collectors were among his most important clients.

31. **Dr. John Edward Stead, F.R.S.**, aged 72, had long held an acknowledged place as a leading British authority on the manufacture and metallurgy of steel. He was a brother of the late W. T. Stead, the well-known journalist of *Review of Reviews* fame. He became partner in the Middlesbrough firm of Pattinson & Stead and in 1880 was appointed borough and agricultural analyst for Middlesbrough. He was the joint author, with F. Osmond, of a volume on the Microscopic Analysis of Steel. He served as president of the Cleveland Institution of Engineers in 1895 and of the Iron and Steel Institute in 1920-21. The latter body awarded him the Bessemer Medal in 1901. His wife predeceased him, and one of his two sons was killed in the War.

NOVEMBER.

1. **Professor James Sully, LL.D.**, aged 81, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at University College, London, occupied a very important place in the development of the modern science of psychology. The son of a merchant and colliery owner, he was born at Bridgewater in 1842, of Baptist parents, and was educated to become a Baptist minister at Taunton Independent College and Regent's Park Baptist College, where he took the London M.A. with a gold medal. He completed his education in Germany, where he came under the influence of Ewald and Lotzo. He became a classical tutor at Baptist College, but resigned to assist Lord Morley, then the editor of the *Fortnightly Review* (o/. OBITUARY, p. 147), and for a time combined philosophical and journalistic writing. He held the Chair of Philosophy at University College, London, from 1892 to 1903, then travelled in Italy and published in 1912 his "Italian Travel Sketches." His last years were occupied in writing his reminiscences. His psychological books were all on the study of the mind, the most important being "Pessimism" (1877), which gained him general recognition as an original thinker, "The Human Mind" (1892), and "An Essay on Laughter" (1902). He devoted much study to the psychology of childhood. When he retired from his professorship he was the recognised leader of the school of psychology which included J. S. Mill and Herbert Spencer. He left a widow and a son and daughter.

2. **Sir Albert Bosanquet, K.C.**, one of the most distinguished civic judges of modern times, came of an ancient French Huguenot family which settled in England in the seventeenth century, and produced many distinguished members. His father, Samuel Bosanquet, was known as a writer on social and religious subjects, and Dr. Bernard Bosanquet (see OBITUARY, p. 120) was a kinsman. He was born in 1837, the fourth son, and educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1863, joined the Oxford Circuit and acquired a substantial practice. In 1879 he was appointed Recorder of Worcester, being transferred to Wolverhampton in 1891. He was made K.C. in 1882. He held the position of Common Sergeant of the City of London from 1900 to 1917, when he retired, although he occasionally sat, after his retirement, as an additional judge at the Central Criminal Court. He had an eminently judicial temperament, and if his style of oratory was dry, his judgments were carefully weighed and were seldom disputed. He was chiefly regarded as an authority on local government questions, taxation, rating and commercial matters. He had a capacity for marshalling facts and presenting them in the most favourable light which was scarcely surpassed by any of his contemporaries. He was knighted in 1907. He was twice married and left three sons and three daughters,

4. **Edward Reginald Frampton**, a decorative painter, was the son of Edward Frampton, an artist in stained glass. His work dealt chiefly with religious subjects, and he executed mural paintings in tempera in a number of churches. His first exhibit at the Royal Academy, in 1895, was a relief, but he forsook this branch of art. His pictures found favour in Paris as well as in London and the provinces.

6. **Canon T. O. Johnston**, aged 71, exercised a considerable influence in the Church of England, in part by his books, in part by his seminary work. He was the youngest son of a clergyman and was born and educated at Barnstaple, then went to Keble College, Oxford, of which he afterwards became a member of the Council. He became Principal of St. Stephen's House, Oxford, in 1881, and from 1885 to 1895 was chaplain and tutor at Merton College, being also vicar of All Saints, Oxford. In the latter year he was appointed Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College and Vicar of Cuddesdon. Here he remained for eighteen years and in 1923 was made Canon and Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral. As a writer he will be chiefly remembered for his work in completing the monumental life of Pusey, of which Liddon at his death had left three volumes virtually completed. These he issued, and was also part compiler of the fourth volume, published in 1897. He brought out in 1904 a life of Liddon himself, a highly successful tribute, and was the author of various other works. He left a widow, two sons and a daughter.

7. **Samuel Waddington**, who was close on 79, was a Yorkshireman, the youngest of a family of five. He went to School at York, then to St. John's, Huntingdon, and passed in 1862 to Brasenose College, Oxford, coming first under the influence of Pusey, then of Dean Stanley and Jowett. He attained no special distinction at College and in 1868 accepted a clerkship in the Board of Trade and spent the next thirty-nine years in the Marine Department. During the decade after his entry the Board of Trade became the centre of a remarkable poetic activity fostered chiefly by Austin Dobson, Edmund Gosse, Cosmo Monkhouse and Waddington himself. In 1881 he published, on the instigation of Dobson, an anthology of "English Sonnets by Living Writers," following it up the next year by one of "English Sonnets of Poets of the Past," and in 1886 by "Sonnets of Europe." His own collected sonnets and other poems he published in 1902 and his dissertation on the subject of immortality, "Some Views Respecting a Future Life," appeared in 1917. He was probably most in sympathy, as a poet, with Wordsworth, Arthur Hugh Clough (on whom he issued a monograph), and Matthew Arnold. His verse was gentle and reflective, and fraught with intense religious feeling, for he had, at one time, intended to be ordained, and although he never took this step, his deep religious feeling remained with him. He retired from the Civil Service in 1906 and published in 1909 "Chapters of My Life." He was unmarried.

8. **William Harrison Cripps**, F.R.C.S., a distinguished surgeon, was born in 1850 and was the second of three talented sons of Henry W. Cripps, Q.C. His elder brother was a well-known member of the Parliamentary Bar, his younger brother is Lord Parmoor. Of his mother's family, Sir William Lawrence, who died in 1867, was President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England and was considered the finest surgeon of his generation. Educated at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Cripps passed there through successive stages, ending as surgeon and consulting surgeon. He carried on a large private practice in London, specialising in the surgery of the rectum, on which he wrote a monograph and gained the Jacksonian Prize of the Royal College of Surgeons of England in 1876. He sat on the Council of the College from 1909 to 1920 and was its Vice-President in 1918 and 1919. Besides his professional efficiency he was a great sportsman and dispensed much hospitality on

his estates in Scotland. By his first wife, Blanche Potter, who died in 1905, he had four sons and two daughters. His second wife was Giulia Ravogli, a Roman lady and a well-known opera singer.

11. **Eberhard Gothein**, who was born in Silesia in 1853 and educated at Breslau and Strasburg, was appointed Professor of Political Science at Karlsruhe in 1885, and later occupied the same position at Bonn and Heidelberg. He was interested in the history of civilisation, specialising in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and he wrote several important treatises on the subject, including "Political and religious national movements of the pre-Reformation period" (1878), "Ignatius Loyola and the counter-Reformation" (1895), and "State and Society in the counter-Reformation period" (1908). Shortly before the Revolution he became a member of the Baden Diet, representing the Democratic Party.

13. **Walter Dendy Sadler**, aged 69, a popular painter of the "old-fashioned" picture which "tells a tale," was the fifth son of a solicitor, and was born at Dorking. Attempts to settle him in business were fruitless and he was finally sent to Heatherley's famous studio in Newman Street, studying art afterwards at Diisseldorf. His first Academy picture appeared in 1873, and he had been a constant exhibitor there ever since. His works have been widely reproduced. The titles of some of them, for instance "Darby and Joan," "The Widow's Birthday," "Sweethearts," "The Christening," are almost sufficient description of the type of work he produced.

— **Thomas Prldgin Teale, F.R.S., F.R.C.S. Eng.**, a great surgeon and sanitarian, was the eldest son of the Leeds surgeon who established a method of amputation still associated with his name. He was born in 1831, went to school at Leeds Grammar School and Winchester College, then went on to Brasenose College, Oxford, subsequently studying medicine at King's College, London. He worked for a time as clinical assistant at the Moorfields Ophthalmic Hospital, gaining experience which enabled him to invent later an instrument valuable in connexion with the operation for soft cataract, though he never specialised in ophthalmics. He graduated M.B. at Oxford in 1856 and settled in Leeds, where he was appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy and Lecturer in the Medical School, becoming lecturer on surgery about ten years later. In 1864 he succeeded his father as surgeon to the Leeds Infirmary, resigning this post and becoming consulting surgeon in 1884. He was elected to the Royal Society fellowship in 1888 and received in 1904 an honorary D.Sc. from Leeds University. Although primarily a teacher and surgeon, Teale was well-known to the general public for his work in domestic sanitation, especially for the improvement of house fires and the "Teale grate." He instituted several valuable new surgical methods of treatment, among others that for removing enlarged glands in children's necks. Among his printed works, his book on sanitation, "Dangers to Health," had a large circulation and was translated into German, French and Spanish. He was twice married and had four sons and four daughters.

14. **Ernest Augustus, Ex-Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg**, and formerly Duke of Cumberland, was born in Hanover in 1845, the son of King George of Hanover. When the Duke was 21 his father was deposed by Bismarck for having supported the defeated Austria against Prussia in the Seven Weeks' War of 1866. The family lived in exile in Vienna and Paris alternately, and the Duke travelled a good deal. It was on a stay at Sandringham that he met his future wife, Princess Thyra of Denmark, sister of Queen Alexandra. In 1878 his father died and the Duke, who had meanwhile succeeded to the Dukedom of Cumberland and Teviotdale in the peerage of Great Britain, and the Earldom of Armagh in that of Ireland, married Princess Thyra in December of the same year. Preferring to consider himself an exiled German sovereign rather than a British peer, he settled at Gmunden, in

Upper Austria. Nevertheless, Queen Victoria, who had given him the Garter just after his father's death, made him a Major-General in the British Army in 1886, promoting him Lieutenant-General in 1892 and General in 1898. He succeeded to the throne of the Duchy of Brunswick in 1884, but again Bismarck took action, and he was excluded from the Duchy and continued to reside in Austria. He remained at enmity with the Hohenzollerns until 1913, when a reconciliation was effected and his only surviving son married the Kaiser's daughter. To him the Duke then transferred his rights over Brunswick, and the young man was allowed to succeed. During the war the Ex-Duke was deprived of his British and Irish peerages. Besides the son he left three daughters.

19. Dr. Walte Hockin Stirling, aged 94, was the son of a Captain in the Royal Navy. He graduated from Exeter College, Oxford, in 1851 and was ordained in the following year. His long missionary service started about four years later when he began his five years' service as Secretary of the South American Missionary Society, later going out to Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia as superintendent of the Society's mission. From 1869 to 1901 he filled the arduous post, which demanded incessant travelling, since his jurisdiction covered practically the whole of South America, of First Bishop of the Falkland Islands. Returning to England, he became Assistant Bishop to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Canon of Wells. From the former office he retired in 1911, and resigned his canonry, to which the precentorship had been added, in 1920.

20. Dr. John Clifford, B.Sc, LL.D., M.A., a famous Nonconformist leader, was born at Sawley in Derbyshire in 1836, of working people. His father was a Methodist, his mother came of a long line of Baptists. His boyhood was spent in extreme hardship, for when only 10 he was taken from the village school and sent to work in a factory. Anxious to be a preacher, he entered the Midland Baptist College at Leicester in 1856, and in 1858 became the pastor of the Baptist Church at Praed Street, Paddington, which moved to Westbourne Park in 1877. Here he remained for the rest of his career, maintaining his ministry for over fifty years, and preaching to great congregations. He wrote and published a number of books and pamphlets. He will be remembered, however, not so much as a preacher and religious author than as a publicist and political speaker. "My politics are part of my religion," he is reported to have said. He was an ardent advocate of temperance, peace, arbitration, and better housing of the poor. As an educationist he was the foremost opponent of denominationalism in public elementary schools. He led an attack against the Education Act of 1902, partly from the platform, partly by the formation of the Passive Resistance League. He was President of the National Free Church Council and twice President of the Baptist Union. Perhaps his most brilliant triumph was in 1911 when, at the age of 75, he presided over the proceedings of the Baptist World Congress in Philadelphia. He lost his wife in 1919.

— Dr. Rudolf Haven stein, aged 66, President of the German Reichsbank since 1908, began his career as a local judge and passed from the service of the Prussian Ministry of Justice into that of the Prussian Ministry of Finance in 1890. Ten years later he became President of the Prussian State Bank, relinquishing this post to administer the Reichsbank. Before the war he proved himself an able financial administrator by completely re-establishing the status of the Reichsbank as against the power of the private banks. He became very popular in 1914 for the manner in which he enabled the Reichsbank to fulfil its obligations. When economic and financial conditions in Germany became increasingly chaotic, and his methods, especially his persistent policy of inflation, proved wholly detrimental to the country, he became

probably the most discussed and criticised personality outside high political circles. His life was threatened on more than one occasion, and demands for his resignation were continuous. He refused, however, to give up the post which entitled him to a life-long term of service, just as he refused to alter his financial methods.

22. **Sir James Thursfield**, a great naval expert and a famous writer on politics, especially on sea-power, in *The Times* and elsewhere, for many years, was born in 1840. He was educated at Merchant Taylor's School and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, being elected to a Fellowship at Jesus College in 1864. In due course he became tutor, and Public Examiner in the Classical Schools. Disappointment at not being elected to the vacant Principalship of the College in 1877 caused him to leave Oxford. This date marked decisively the dividing line in his career. He went to London and joined *The Times* as a leader writer. His knowledge of public affairs, well-trained mind and reliable judgment soon marked him out as a valuable critic. By about 1886 he had begun to specialise in the line which chiefly contributed to his fame, and made him not only an authority on naval history, but a power in naval policy. There can be little doubt but that the articles he contributed to *The Times* between 1902 and 1914 afforded support of decisive value to successive First Lords of the Admiralty in their policy of naval development. Many of his historical studies appeared in "The Navy and the Nation" (1897) and "Nelson and Other Studies" (1909). These volumes, together with a book on "Naval Warfare," written in 1913 for the Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature, represent well his work of pre-war days. A notable example of his later industry is to be found in the four Naval volumes of *The Times* "Documentary History of the War." He was, throughout his life a consistent Liberal. A knighthood was conferred on him in 1920. He married Emily Herbert, and had a son, who was at the time of his father's death a Captain in the Navy, and a daughter.

— **Sir Henry Turner Irving, G.C.M.G.**, aged 90, came of a Scottish family. He entered the Colonial Office as a clerk in 1854, and in 1862 was appointed private secretary to the Permanent Under-Secretary. Three years later he was selected to accompany Sir John Grant, appointed Governor of Jamaica, as Colonial Secretary. An admirable official, specially versed in West Indian politics, he played a leading part in establishing the new constitution which abolished the Legislative Council and practically made Jamaica a Crown Colony. In 1869 he was sent as Colonial Secretary to Ceylon and in 1873 obtained his first appointment as Governor in the Leeward Islands. A year later he was promoted to Trinidad, where he remained till 1880. His last appointment, the Governorship of British Guiana, he received in 1882. Retiring from the Civil Service in 1888, he spent the rest of his life in England. He married in 1884 Emma, daughter of Sir David Barclay, Bart., and widow of Sir Henry Johnson, Bart. She died in 1903. They had no children.

— **Commander William Caius Crutchley, R.D., R.N.R., F.R.G.S.**, aged 75, was one of the leading mercantile officers of his day, and a man of considerable talents. He began his life afloat in 1863 in sailing ships. Passing to steamships, he rose to be master with the Union Line. After thirty-one years of active service, seventeen of which were spent in command of first-class mail steamers, he retired in 1894 to become secretary to the Navy League, holding this post until 1910 and displaying remarkable organising powers. He was also a journalist and made contributions to meteorology and nautical science, as well as lecturing at the Royal United Service Institution. He published his autobiography, entitled "My Life at Sea," in 1912. He was twice married and had two sons and one daughter.

27. **Rose, Viscountess Morley**, the widow of Viscount Morley, O.M., who died on September 23 [see OBITUARY], was 83 years of age.

Unknown to the general public, she was a charming personality, content to find her happiness in the home life of her husband, to whom she was thus a great help in his career. References to her are found in Morley's last book, "Recollections," and in Mrs. Asquith's "Autobiography."

27. **Archdeacon John Alexander Mackay**, a pioneer missionary of Saskatchewan who worked for 60 years in the wilderness, was born in the Hudson's Bay territories in 1838, the son of an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was ordained in 1862, and worked especially among the Cree Indians in the North-West of Canada. For the Bible Society he revised the whole Bible in the Cree tongue and other Cree publications. He himself wrote a book of psalms and hymns in Cree.

28. **Penlegh Boyd**, who was killed in a motor-car accident in his native land at the early age of 33, was an Australian artist of considerable achievement and great promise. Born in Wiltshire, during a visit of his parents to England, he gave evidence of his artistic ability at an early age, and even before the war his work was well known to the Australian public. His landscapes were unaffected and simple and quite plainly inspired by the poetry of the bush. His landscape "Wattle Blossoms" was shown at this year's exhibition of Australian art at the Royal Academy. He served in France during the war.

30. **Earl Loreburn, G.C.M.G.** (Robert Threshie Reid), a great Liberal Lord Chancellor, was born at Corfu in 1846, the second son of Sir James John Reid of Dumfries, sometime Chief Justice of the Ionian Islands. His early days were thus spent among speakers of modern Greek, and he was then educated at Cheltenham College, and at Balliol, of which he was a scholar. He prepared for the Bar and was called by the Inner Temple in 1871, joined the Oxford Circuit and soon acquired a good practice. At the general election of 1880 he was returned as the second Liberal member for Hereford, in 1885 was defeated for Dumbartonshire, but in the following year obtained a seat for the Dumfries District, for which he sat until he became Lord Chancellor. In 1882 he took silk. The next promotion was to the post of Solicitor-General, then to that of Attorney-General, which he held from October, 1894, to June, 1895. When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman formed his Government in 1905, Reid, by then Sir Robert Reid, was elevated to the position of Lord Chancellor. His title of Lord Loreburn of Dumfries is a corruption of "lower burn," a war-cry in a faction fight of the old burgh which he had represented in Parliament. Unfortunately, ill-health brought about his resignation in 1912 from a position which he filled with remarkable competency. To him is due the credit for the passing, within this period, in the face of considerable opposition, of the Bill which established the Court of Criminal Appeal. The qualities which especially contributed to his greatness were his straightforward character, his intellectual honesty in argument, the noticeable single-mindedness of his resolve to administer the purest justice, and his wonderful patience in listening to appeals. He was created G.C.M.G. in 1899, for services rendered as arbitrator in the boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana, and was advanced to an earldom in 1911. He was the author of a work on "Capture at Sea," published in 1913, and of "How the War Came" (1919). His first wife, Emily Fleming, whom he married in 1871, died in 1904. In 1907 he married Violet, daughter of Mr. W. F. Hicks Beach, and a niece of Earl St. Aldwyn, the eminent Conservative statesman. He had no children and his peerages became extinct.

— **James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, F.B.A., Litt.D.**, eminent as a Spanish scholar, who was 66 years of age, was born at Glasgow and educated at St. Charles's College, Kensington. In 1892, he published his "Life of Cervantes," followed by a history of Spanish literature. In 1902 he was invited to Oxford as Taylorian Lecturer in Spanish, and in 1907 he visited America, where he lectured on behalf of the Hispanic Society at

the principal universities. He was subsequently (1909) elected Gilmour Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature at the University of Liverpool. From 1916 to 1920 he held the post of Cervantes Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature in the University of London. He compiled an anthology known as "The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse" and edited numerous Spanish classics, besides writing a primer of Spanish literature. He was the recipient of various honours from learned societies, including the Royal Spanish Academy of History, the Lisbon Academy of Science, the Royal Historical Society, and the Hispanic Society of America. He married Julia, daughter of the Rev. W. H. Sanders.

30. **John Maclean**, the well-known Scottish Communist leader, was a graduate of Glasgow University. In the early days of the war he came into conflict with the authorities on account of his revolutionary views. He was convicted of sedition in 1915, but afterwards published the *Vanguard*, which was suppressed. In 1918 he was appointed Bolshevik Consul at Glasgow. Twice more during his life he was sentenced for sedition, but in neither instance did he serve more than a short period of his term of imprisonment. He was a prospective candidate for the Gorbals Division of Glasgow at the General Election which took place a week after his death, which occurred in his 45th year.

DECEMBER.

4. **Maurice Barres**, a great French novelist and political writer, was born in 1862 in the Vosges and was educated at Nancy. He came to Paris in 1882 and soon gained distinction as a writer in the reviews. Five years later he had won his way into the front rank of writers with his book "Sous l'Oeil des Barbares," which was followed quickly by "L'Homme Libre," and other works. In 1889 he entered the political arena as Deputy for Nancy, becoming a representative for Paris in 1906. In the same year he was elected a member of the Académie Française, but his Parliamentary duties never distracted him from his literary pursuits, many important volumes continuing to flow from his pen. An aristocrat, an artist, and an individualist, his earlier works satisfied his craving towards self-expression. Later in life, especially during the European War, when he contributed daily to the *Echo de Paris* a series of articles afterwards published in book form ("Chroniques de la Grande Guerre"), his intense nationalism turned his writing naturally into wider channels, and he became the accepted chronicler of the emotions of his nation. His last published work was "Souvenirs d'un Officier de la Grande Armée," which are the memoirs of his grandfather.

5. **Sir William Mackenzie**, the founder and builder of the Canadian Northern Railway, now incorporated with the Canadian National Railways, was born in 1849, at a small village near Toronto, of Scottish parents. He qualified as a school teacher, but found himself unsuited to this calling and entered the lumber industry. Becoming a railway contractor, he secured a number of good contracts and was building part of the Canadian Pacific Railway across the Rockies when he met Sir Donald Mann, with whom he entered into partnership. For the first twenty years of this century the names of these two men were household words all over Canada. They built railways in and between cities, founded electric companies, developed coalfields and mines. Sir William's great work for the development of Canada included the starting of the Toronto and Winnipeg Tramways, the Dominion collieries with great coalfields in Vancouver Island, and the Inverness Railway and Coal Company at Cape Breton Island.

— **Herbert Standing**, aged 77, was a well-known actor on the Victorian stage for thirty-four years before going to America in 1901 to

maintain there his reputation for versatility. He came of Quaker stock and first appeared on the London stage in 1867 with Ellen Terry. His firm yet malleable personality was adaptable to a wide range of characters, and he was a leading man in the companies of Phelps, Irving, Toole, Wyndham and the Bancrofts for many years, impersonating successfully parts in performances as wide apart as Shakespeare and Drury Lane drama. He died at Los Angeles, where of late years he had devoted himself to cinema acting.

7. Sir Edward Moore, Bart., Lord Mayor of London from November, 1922-23, was born in 1851, and followed his father's profession of a chartered accountant in the City. In 1912 he was elected Alderman of Bishopsgate Ward, and in 1914 a Sheriff of the City. During his Mayoralty he collected over a quarter of a million for the relief of sufferers in the Japanese earthquake through his Mansion House Fund. He left three sons and a daughter. [*Vide Chronicle*, May 23.]

— Sir Frederick Treves, Bart., C.B., G.C.V.O., aged 70, will be remembered as the great surgeon who successfully performed an operation on King Edward in 1902, just before his Coronation. Born at Dorchester, he was educated first at the unconventionally conducted school of the Rev. W. Barnes, known as the Dorset poet, in his native town, then at Merchant Taylors', from which he passed into the London Hospital, taking his M.R.C.S. in 1875. He bought a partnership in a country practice in Derbyshire and married, in 1877, Anne Mason, of Dorchester. Although at that time he contemplated no more ambitious career than that of a general practitioner, he was urged by a fellow doctor at the London Hospital to take up a hospital career. This he did, climbed rapidly the staff ladder of his old hospital, and became distinguished as a surgical anatomist, operator, and teacher. In 1881 he was appointed Wilson Professor of Pathology at the Royal College of Surgeons, and in 1886 Hunterian Professor of Anatomy there. He had already, in 1883, published a text-book on Surgical Anatomy which became a standard work for students both here and in America. He was especially skilled in abdominal surgery. In 1898, although only 45, he was obliged to abandon hospital work, so large was his private practice. In the South African War he served as consulting surgeon to the Forces. In 1900 he became Surgeon Extraordinary to Queen Victoria, and in the following year Serjeant Surgeon to King Edward. He held the same position to King George, and was Surgeon in Ordinary to Queen Alexandra. He retired from practice in 1908, but returned to professional life during the war as President of the Headquarters Medical Board at the War Office. A many-sided man, he wrote, besides various professional works, a number of delightful travel books, beginning with "The Other Side of the Lantern," in 1905, and "Highways and Byways in Dorset," in 1906. Only one of his two daughters survived him.

9. Professor T. G. Bonney, F.R.S., D.S.C., aged 90, an eminent geologist, was born at Rugeley in Staffordshire, the eldest son of the Master of the Grammar School there. He was educated at Uppingham and Cambridge, and was 12th Wrangler in 1856. He started as a teacher of mathematics at Westminster, but on his election to a fellowship of St. John's, Cambridge, he returned there in 1861 and took up geological work, becoming college lecturer in geology in 1869. In 1877 he became Professor of Geology at University College, London, and in 1881 was appointed Secretary to the British Association, of which he was president in 1910. He resigned his London Chair in 1901 and was created Emeritus Professor. He was, at various times, President of the Mineralogical Society, the Alpine Club, and the Geological Section of the British Association. Of his very varied and valuable researches in the sphere of geology, mention may be made of his work on the serpentine of the Lizard, the growth of coral reefs, the crystalline schists and gneisses of the Alps, and "Volcanoes, their Structure and Significance,"

10. **Lord Shaughnessy** (Thomas George Shaughnessy), K.C.V.O., a great Canadian railway administrator and President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for nineteen years, was born at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1853. Of Irish parentage, and an American by birth, he was a Canadian by adoption. When only 15 he entered the purchasing department of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway, becoming general purchasing agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company about thirteen years later. His organising ability quickly procured him further promotion, until in 1899 he had attained the presidency of the company. He directed the enterprise from a struggling institution to the strongest in the Dominion, and perhaps the strongest of its kind in the world. He not only extended the actual railway system, but built hotels, irrigated three million acres of land in Alberta, and created a great fleet of passenger and freight steamers. He was knighted in 1901, awarded the K.C. V.O. in 1907, and created a peer in 1916. He married a Milwaukee lady, and had two sons, of whom the second was killed in action in 1916.

11. **Charles Oliver Murray**, R.E., aged 81, was a well-known artist and etcher, and a brother of the late Sir James Murray, editor of the "New English Dictionary." He was one of the original members of the Royal Society of Painter Etchers, and a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy. He was probably best known for his copper-plate interpretations of the works of Lord Leighton, Sir John Millais and Sir Laurence Alma Tadema, but also enjoyed a considerable vogue at one time as a book illustrator.

13. **Charles Duguid**, aged 59, was one of the pioneers of popular financial journalism. From a position on the staff of the *Economist* he passed to that of City editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Westminster Gazette*, and the *Morning Post*. His connexion with Lord Northcliffe's newspapers started in 1906 and continued until 1920. He wrote a number of popular text-books on finance.

15. **Sidney H. Stephenson**, M.B., F.R.C.S. Edin., was born at Nottingham in 1862. He was a student at London, Middlesex, and St. Mary's Hospitals and became an inspector of the Local Government Board for ophthalmic purposes. He devoted especial attention to diseases of the eyes in children, and wrote the standard monograph in English on ophthalmia neonatorum, a disease which is responsible for much blindness. He was also the founder of an ophthalmic journal which was incorporated in the *British Journal of Ophthalmology* in 1916, which he continued to edit until his death.

16. **Lord Willoughby de Broke** (Richard Greville Verney, 19th Baron Willoughby de Broke of the creation of 1491), was born in 1869 and educated at Eton and New College, Oxford. In 1895 he became Conservative member for the Rugby Division of Warwickshire, retaining his seat till 1900. In 1902 he succeeded his father in the peerage. A very effective force among the "Diehards," he will probably be better remembered as a fox-hunter and an author of two works on the sport to which he was devoted. He had been Master of the Warwickshire Hunt since 1900. "Hunting the Fox" appeared in 1920. "The Sport of Our Ancestors" (1921) was a delightful anthology of prose and poetry running from 1750 till the end of the nineteenth century. He married Marie Hanbury of Strathgarve, Ross-shire, in 1895. His only son, who succeeded to the title, was born in 1896.

17. **Sir John William Taverner**, K.C.M.G., was born in Melbourne in 1856, entered the Victorian Legislative Assembly in 1889, and joined the Government in 1894 as Minister of Agriculture, Commissioner of Public Works, and Vice-President of the Board of Lands and Works, holding office until the fall of Sir George Turner's Ministry in 1899. In

1902 he again held office and in 1904 was appointed Agent-General in London for Victoria. This position he held until 1913, an exceptionally long period. He was the pioneer of the movement for using the Aldwyoh site as a centre on which to group the London offices of the Dominions, and his was the first office to be built there. He was an advocate of emigration on broad lines as an Imperial policy.

18. Professor Frank Clowes, D.Sc, F.I.C., F.C.S., aged 75, an eminent chemist and gas expert, was educated at the City of London School, the Royal College of Mines, the Royal College of Science in Dublin, and Wurzburg University. He took the Degree of D.Sc. at London University and was a member of the Senate from 1901-3. In 1881 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry at University College, Nottingham, and held this Chair until 1897, when he was made Emeritus Professor. From then until 1913 he was Chemical Adviser to the London County Council and Director of the Council's staff and laboratories, and had since been adviser in gas supply to the Corporation of London. He was an active member of various scientific societies, and the author of numerous works on analytical chemistry. Some of his text-books have become standard works.

19. Dr. Joseph Henry Jowett, a famous Nonconformist preacher, whose influence extended far beyond the limits of the Free Churches, was born at Halifax in 1864 of humble parentage. At the age of 18 he decided on a clerical career and entered the Nonconformist College at Aviedale, Bradford, from which he went with a scholarship to Edinburgh University. There he acquired, from various teachers, the enthusiasm for preaching, love of literature and philosophic standpoint which distinguished his work throughout life. He held his first charge at St. James's Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne, from 1889 to 1895. Although he was then only 31, his reputation had grown so rapidly that he was invited to fill the ministry at the famous Carr's Lane Chapel, Birmingham. The fifteen years spent here saw a remarkable increase in his powers and popularity, and his name became known all over the country and in America. In 1911 he accepted the repeated call of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, where he had preached on a visit in 1909, to become its pastor. In this ministry he remained till 1918, doing much, especially during the war, to promote common understanding between the two English-speaking peoples. At the end of the war, notwithstanding considerable indignation in America, he returned to England, in reply to an urgent invitation endorsed by practically all the Free Churches and religious institutions, to become minister of Westminster Chapel. In about 1920 his health began to fail, and though he continued to do excellent platform work both in England and abroad, he was compelled to resign his pastorate. Among the honours he acquired may be mentioned the chairmanship of the Congregational Union, the presidency of the Free Church Council, and the Order of the Companion of Honour. He published a number of homiletic and devotional books characterised by the same literary grace and charm which were a feature of his sermons. He left a widow and daughter.

20. Sir Michelangelo Refalo, aged 47, was born at Malta, the son of a notary. He graduated at Malta University, was called to the Maltese Bar in 1899, and became Professor of Commercial Law in the University. By 1915 he was Crown Advocate, by 1916 a member of the Control Board, and in 1919 was appointed Chief Justice. He was knighted in 1921.

25. Thomas Finlayson Henderson, an able Scottish scholar, was born in 1844 and educated at St. Andrews University, from which, in 1914, he received an honorary LL.D. Originally intended for the Church, he preferred literary work, and was first on the Staff of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," then of the "Dictionary of National Biography." He was recognised as an authority on Burns, and was joint editor, with W. E.

Henley, of "Centenary Burns." He wrote a standard "History of Scottish Vernacular Literature."

25. **Dr. Lauriston Elgie Shaw, M.D., F.R.X.P.**, aged 64, was best known for the part he played in medical politics, especially in connexion with the National Health Insurance Act. He was trained in medicine at Guy's Hospital, and graduated M.D. at the University of London in 1883. He joined the staff of his old hospital, serving on it until 1919, by which time he was full physician and lecturer on medicine. He took an active part in framing the provisions of the National Health Insurance Acts, and became Treasurer of the London Panel Committee. He had served since 1915 as Manager of the Metropolitan Asylums Board and was also chairman of the Pinewood Sanatorium Sub-Committee.

— **Sir Napier Burnett, K.B.E., M.D.**, aged 51, took his M.B. and C.M. degree at Glasgow in 1894 and his M.D. in 1908, also becoming F.R.C.S. and F.R.C.P. Edin. For some time he practised at Newcastle, where he was assistant surgeon at the Hospital for Women and President of the Newcastle Clinical Society. His contributions to professional literature were chiefly concerned with obstetrics and diseases of women, but of most importance was his practical work in the field of hospital administration and public health. He did excellent work in building up for the Red Cross a great advisory organisation for the provincial hospitals. He became Chief Executive Officer to the Joint Council of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John, and also acted as adviser to their Joint War Committee. He was one of the chief promoters of the British Empire Cancer Campaign.

27. **Alexandre Gustave Eiffel**, aged 91, designer of the famous Tower in Paris which bears his name, first gained renown as a builder of metal bridges. Born at Dijon and educated as an engineer, his career opened at a time when metallic construction was beginning its modern development. His most important work of this kind was the railway bridge over the Garonne at Bordeaux, built in 1868. Other works of his include the Douro Bridge at Oporto, the railway station at Budapest, the movable dome of the Nice Observatory and the frame of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbour. He also designed the sluices in the first Panama Canal undertaking, and was condemned to prison when this failed, but was later exonerated from blame. The Eiffel Tower, which is now used as a wireless station, was never intended to be merely part of a popular exhibition. It was used by him in his studies of aerodynamics as a result of which he published in 1907 a book on the resistance of air. The development of aviation probably owes far more to him than is generally recognised. He conducted valuable wind tunnel experiments, and in particular the theory of plane surfaces and of propellers is indebted to his researches. From 1900 until the war began he was occupied with meteorological research, and for some years published an annual "Atlas Meteorologique." He was the founder, at the age of 33, of the Levallois-Perret Ironworks.

30. **General Buat**, Chief of Staff of the French Army since 1920, was born in 1868 and became Chief of Staff to the Army of Alsace in 1914. In December, 1916, he was given command of the Second Army Corps and subsequently commanded the 33rd Infantry Division. As head of the General Reserve of heavy artillery he was largely responsible for the massing of the thirty-one regiments of tractors and heavy artillery at Verdun and La Malmaison.

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