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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER
VOL. 185—FOR 1943

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER

A REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS
AT HOME AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1943

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

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PREFATORY NOTE

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

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL'S WAR ADMINISTRATION

(TOOK OFFICE MAY 10, 1940)

WAR CABINET

Prime Minister and Minister of Defence.	Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, C.H.
Lord President of the Council	Rt. Hon. Sir John Anderson (<i>till Sept. 24</i>).
Deputy Prime Minister and Lord President of the Council	Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee (<i>from Sept. 24</i>).
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.	Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden.
Secretary of State for Home Affairs and Home Security	Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Rt. Hon. Sir John Anderson (<i>from Sept. 24</i>).
Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs	Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee (<i>till Sept. 24</i>).
Minister of Production	Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttelton.
Minister of Labour and National Service	Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin.
Minister of Reconstruction	Rt. Hon. Lord Woolton (<i>from Nov. 11</i>).
Minister of State Resident in the Middle East	Rt. Hon. Richard Gardiner Casey (<i>till Dec. 24</i>).

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Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries	Rt. Hon. Robert Spear Hudson.
Secretary of State for Air	Rt. Hon. Sir Archibald Sinclair, Bt.
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs	Rt. Hon. Viscount Cranborne (<i>from Sept. 24</i>).
Minister of Aircraft Production	Rt. Hon. Sir Stafford Cnpps.
Secretary of State for the Colonies	Rt. Hon. Oliver Stanley.
Secretary of State for the Dominions	
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.	Rt. Hon. A. Duff Cooper (<i>till Nov. 11</i>).
Minister of Economic Warfare	Rt. Hon. Alfred Ernest Brown (<i>from Nov. 11</i>).
President of the Board of Education	Rt. Hon. the Earl of Selborne.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Rt. Hon. R. A. Butler.
Minister of Food C o	Rt. Hon. Sir H. Kingsley Wood (<i>till Sept. 21</i>).
Minister of Fuel, Light, and Power	Rt. Hon. Lord Woolton (<i>till Nov. 11</i>).
Minister of Health	the Rt. Hon. J. J. LI ewellin (<i>from Nov. 11</i>).
Secretary of State for India and fo? Burma.	Major the Rt. Hon. Gwilym Lloyd George.
Minister of Information	Rt. Hon. Henry U. Willink (<i>from Nov. 11</i>).
Lord Chancellor	Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery.
Minister of Pensions	Rt. Hon. Brendan Bracken.
Postmaster-General	Rt. Hon. Viscount Simon.
Lord Privy Seal	R t. Hon. Sir Walter James Womersley.
Secretary of State for Scotland	Rt. Hon. William Shepherd Morrison (<i>till</i>
Minister of Supply	Captain the Rt. Hon. H. F. C. Crookshank (<i>from Feb. 7</i>).
President of the Board of Trade	Rt. Hon. Viscount Cranborne (<i>till Sept. 24</i>).
Minister of War Transport	Rt. Hon. Lord Beaverbrook (<i>from Sept. 24</i>).
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	Rt. Hon. Sir James Grigg.
	Rt. Hon. Richard Law (<i>from Sept. 24</i>).
	Rt. Hon. Viscount Swinton.
	Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan.

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Minister of Town and Country Planning	{ Rt. Hon. Ben Smith (from Nov. 11).
Minister of Works and Buildings and First Commissioner of Works	{ Rt. Hon. W. S. Morrison (from Feb. 7).
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Financial Secretary to the Treasury	{ Captain H. F. C. Crookshank (till Feb. 7).
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Financial Secretary to the War Office Major	{ Mr. Duncan Sandys (till Feb. 7).
Financial Secretary to the Admiralty	{ Henderson (from Feb. 7).
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Under-Secretary of State	Rt. Hon. Joseph Westwood.
Lord Advocate	Rt. Hon. J. S. C. Reid, K.C.
Solicitor-General	Sir Thomas David King Murray, K.C.

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1943

PART I ENGLISH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE CASABLANCA CONFERENCE

WHEN the year 1943 opened it found the British Eighth Army, under General Montgomery, at Wadi el Kebir, some two hundred miles east of Tripoli, still in hot pursuit of the German Afrika Korps, under General Rommel. Continuing their victorious progress westwards, the British on January 2 reached the outskirts of the coast town of Buerat. Here they were held up for a couple of weeks by the formidable barrier of the Wa4i Zemzem, but having overcome this obstacle they resumed their advance with great rapidity, reaching the port of Misurata, 112 miles further, on January 19. Still meeting little resistance from the enemy, on the next day they entered Horns, 60 miles further, and also Tarhuna, further inland, which marked the end of the desert. From here the going was rather more difficult, owing to the nature of the terrain and the stiffer resistance of the enemy, but progress was still rapid, and the Eighth Army entered Tripoli, the capital of the province, on the 23rd. Since breaking Rommel's line at El Alamein on November 4 they had covered 1,350 miles in eighty days—an average of 17 miles a day across a veritable wilderness. Such a feat was rendered possible only by the excellence of the supply arrangements, which were in charge of Brigadier Lindsell. A British military Government was set up to administer Tripolitania for the time being ; one of its first steps was to remove all traces of Fascism.

Though it had conquered Tripolitania, the Eighth Army had not succeeded in destroying Rommel's Army, which was therefore now available for the defence of Tunisia. Hence the occupation of Tripoli did not mark the end of its labours in Africa, as had

once been fondly hoped. The task which faced General Anderson's First Army—the bulk of which was still in Algeria—was also much more formidable now than it had been two months before. British Naval and Air forces, it is true, had been busy intercepting enemy convoys from Sicily to Tunisia, but in spite of numerous successes they had been unable to prevent substantial reinforcements from getting across. The First Army, on the other hand, was still reduced to comparative immobility by lack of communications, and was still unable to send adequate support to the British advanced units centred at Medjez el Bab in Tunisia. On January 6 British infantry from Medjez, assisted by parachutists and commando troops, expelled the Germans from Jebel Ahmara (Longstop Hill), a strong position about 20 miles southwest of Bizerta, but on the next day they were again dislodged and driven back to their former positions. From this point the British in Tunisia were reduced to the defensive against a much superior enemy, and retained their footing with difficulty.

The success of the Allied landings in North Africa in November and the speed of the initial advance had led the public in England to hope for a rapid conquest of Tunisia ; and the prospect which now unfolded itself of a long and arduous struggle there caused a corresponding feeling of disappointment. In a review of the war situation which he gave to the House of Commons immediately on its reassembling on January 19, Mr. Attlee pleaded for the exercise of more patience. Referring to the hold-up of the Eighth Army at Wadi Zemzem, he compared its advance to the action of a spring which has every now and then to be re-coiled before it can make the next stroke. The First Army again had been hampered by the weather, which had made movement practically impossible off the roads for tanks and wheeled vehicles, and had seriously affected the provision of airfields. The enemy's communications with what was known as the " Tunis tip " were also very much shorter than theirs. He assured the House that the Government had every confidence in General Eisenhower, General Anderson, and the men of the Allied forces in Tunisia ; and he emphasised the fact that Malta, which a few weeks before had been in mortal danger, had been re-supplied and was more than ever a thorn in the side of the enemy, while in the Mediterranean area there was close co-operation between Air Force, Navy, and Army.

Mr. Attlee also tried to reassure the House with regard to the political situation in French North Africa, which was still regarded with great misgiving both in Parliament and in the country. The French civil authorities, he said, were co-operating fully with the Allied forces, just as the French troops were doing. He admitted that the British Government did not entirely see eye to eye with the American in regard to French affairs. The differences, however, were not serious, and the British Government

fully appreciated the value of the contact which the United States Government had maintained with Marshal Plain's and of the political preparations which they had made in Morocco and Algiers. The one object of both Governments in the political field was to promote the union of all Frenchmen in the war against the Axis for the liberation of France.

The reason why the war review was given by Mr. Attlee and not by Mr. Churchill was because the Prime Minister had left the country for another conference with President Roosevelt. The place chosen for the meeting on this occasion was Casablanca in French Morocco, which had the advantage of being close to the chief focus of both military and political activity. Here the President and the Premier met for the fourth time on January 14, accompanied by their principal military advisers. Premier Stalin had also been invited to attend the conference, but in face of the military operations in Russia he found himself unable to absent himself, nor did any other representative attend from that country. Discussions went on continuously for ten days, and among those who took part at various times were Mr. Macmillan, the British Adviser in North Africa, General Eisenhower, General Alexander, Sir Andrew Cunningham, the British Naval Commander, and Sir Arthur Tedder, the British Air Commander. The first news of the conference was given to the public by the Ministry of Information on January 26, when it was also stated that "the entire field of the war had been surveyed theatre by theatre throughout the world, and all resources marshalled for the more intense prosecution of the war by land, sea, and air"; also that "complete agreement had been reached upon war plans and enterprises to be undertaken during the campaign of 1943 against Germany, Italy, and Japan."

From Casablanca Mr. Churchill went on to Turkey, in order to establish personal contact with President Inonu and confirm the good relations existing between Britain and Turkey. He reached Adana at the end of January, accompanied by Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and General Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial Staff, and other military leaders. The discussions which ensued covered not only the existing military situation, but also post-war problems, and gave satisfaction on both sides. On his return journey Mr. Churchill visited Cyprus and Tripoli, and at the latter place thanked the Eighth Army for its achievements in the name of the King and the British people. He returned to England on February 7, after a tour of nearly 10,000 miles.

Shortly before the Casablanca meeting the Foreign Office, in confident expectation of ultimate victory, had issued a warning to neutral countries against allowing themselves to be used as storehouses for plunder taken by the Axis Powers from occupied and subjugated territories. In a declaration published on

January 6 it was pointed out that, now that the tide of battle was beginning to turn, the Axis Powers were not only extending and accelerating their campaign of plunder, but were making every effort to stow away the stolen property in neutral countries, and to persuade neutral citizens to act as fences or cloaks on behalf of the thieves. The Allied Governments therefore declared their resolution not to accept or tolerate the misdeeds of their enemies in the field of property, however they might be cloaked, just as they had recently expressed their determination to exact retribution for personal outrages (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 75). For this purpose they gave notice that they reserved all their rights to declare invalid any transfers of or dealings in properties, rights, and interests of any description which had been taken from persons in Occupied Territories, whether in the way of open looting or plunder, or of transactions apparently legal in form and even voluntary. The participating Governments further pledged themselves to give one another all possible assistance in this matter and to follow similar lines of policy ; and as a first step they decided to establish a committee of experts who would consider the scope and sufficiency of the existing legislation of the Allied countries for the purpose of invalidating transfers or dealings of the nature indicated.

On January 11 Great Britain, in fulfilment of the declaration made on October 10, 1942, and in conjunction with the United States, signed a treaty with China renouncing extra-territorial rights and establishing equality in all dealings with that country [*vide* China]. It was stated that this treaty was to be only a stepping-stone to a comprehensive treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation, and consular rights, negotiations for which would be opened within six months of the Allied victory.

The strategic plan formed at Casablanca involved even greater demands on industrial production than ever before, and in the House of Commons on January 19 Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, the Minister of Production, warned the nation that some further dislocation might be expected. In order to obtain the additional labour power which was needed, and at the same time to satisfy the requirements of the forces for more men, there would have to be, by means of concentration or otherwise, further withdrawals of labour from the less essential industries, and further mobilisation of women into industry, both for munitions work and as replacements for those transferred from the less essential industries. Mr. Lyttelton informed the House that their plans for 1943 demanded that increased emphasis should be placed on the manufacture of ships, of aircraft, of anti-U-boat devices, of tanks, and of certain specialised types of Army equipment. On the other hand, there were other types of equipment where they could afford to plan even reductions in their programmes* The number of workers to be transferred was small in proportion to

the total number-engaged in industry, though in peace-time it might well seem enormous.

On January 22 a Delegate Conference of the Mineworkers' Federation gave unanimous approval to a scheme drawn up by a Board of Investigation presided over by Lord Greene, which had been set up some time previously, for establishing in the coal industry a system of conciliation which should be absolutely watertight. The chief feature of the scheme was the setting up of a National Conciliation Board consisting of a Joint Negotiating Committee of equal numbers of owners' and miners' representatives, with two chairmen, one an owner and the other a workers' representative, and a National Reference Tribunal consisting of three permanent members, none of whom should be engaged in the coal-mining industry or be a member of either House of Parliament, except in the case of a judicial member of the House of Lords. Matters which could not be settled by the ordinary machinery were to be referred in the first instance to the Negotiating Committee, and failing a settlement by them to the National Tribunal, for "final decision." The Minister of Fuel was also to be empowered to refer any question to the National Board for decision or report. Every settlement reached by the Negotiating Committee, and every award made and decision given by the National Tribunal on a national question was to be binding on the two national associations (of owners and miners) and the several district associations and their members for the time being. Thus for the first time it was proposed to establish compulsory arbitration in a British industry as a permanent feature, and not merely as a war-time emergency measure. The scheme had already been approved by the owners, and the acceptance of the district miners' associations was announced at the end of March ; it came into force on May 1.

On January 26 the House of Commons agreed to a supplementary Vote of Credit of 900,000,000/. to last till the end of the financial year, and a Vote of 1,000,000,000Z. for the early part of the next year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that expenditure had risen from 12,500,000Z. a day in October to 14,000,000Z. a day, the increase being about 500,000Z. a day on the fighting Services and 750,000Z. a day on miscellaneous war services. It was probable that expenditure in North Africa was now taking the place of rising production at home as the main factor in the increase of expenditure, and they were also incurring substantial expenditure by way of reciprocal aid to their Allies.

On the same day (January 26) Sir W. Jowitt moved the second reading of a Bill establishing a Minister of Town and Country Planning, whose duty it should be to secure consistency and continuity in the framing and execution of a national policy in respect of the use and development of land throughout England and Wales. He gave it to be understood that he himself would

take that title. He warned the House that it would not be his function to deal with a " Better Britain " policy—which was the task of the Government as a whole—but only to concern himself with the administration of the Town and Country Planning Act and any amendments to it that might be contemplated. Mr. Greenwood and other speakers agreed with him that comprehensive and orderly planning travelled far beyond the range of any single Department, and accepted the new Ministry simply as a step in the right direction, and then only if it were properly used ; and the Bill and the Money Resolution in connexion with it were agreed to without opposition.

On January 27 the Education Committee of the London County Council considered a report presented by a Sub-committee which it had appointed to examine a request from Lord Fleming's Public Schools Committee (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 55), that the Council should co-operate with it in the work of reforming the English Public School system. The report among other things expressed the view that the independent public day and boarding schools were, in the widest sense, educationally undesirable while the present principles guiding their management and recruitment continued, and that therefore the Council, as education authority, should not be associated in any scheme of collaboration with them. A motion to refer back the report to the sub-committee was rejected by the Education Committee by a large majority. The report was debated by the Council itself on February 10, and a motion to refer it back was again defeated by 43 votes to 24.

On January 27 a White Paper was published containing proposals for reforming the Foreign Service, in accordance with the promise made by Mr. Eden in June, 1941. The criticisms usually levelled against the Diplomatic Service, it said—such as that it was recruited from too small a circle, or that their attainments were too narrow or their contacts too restricted—were often overstated, and were in some cases based on a misunderstanding of the functions of the Diplomatic Service. It was acknowledged, however, that in recent years conditions had changed, making an understanding of social problems and economic labour movements indispensable for forming a properly balanced judgment of world events. It was necessary therefore to widen the training and experience of the modern diplomat in order to meet modern conditions.

For this purpose it was proposed to amalgamate immediately the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, the Commercial Diplomatic Service, and the Consular Service, to separate entirely the new combined service from the home Civil Service, and to treat it as a self-contained and distinct service of the Crown. Naturally, since the training for the three branches had hitherto been different, the posts in them would not be immediately

interchangeable; all future entrants, however, would join a combined Foreign Service, would receive similar training, not merely in languages and history, but also in economics and commercial affairs, and would be completely interchangeable. In the period immediately following the war the Foreign Service would probably be greatly under-staffed, owing to the fact that for a number of years there would have been no new entry; and for this period therefore a scheme of special entry was being worked out. After that the majority of vacancies would be filled by open competitive examination, taken between the ages of 21 and 23, and similar to that for the Home and Indian Civil Services. About 25 per cent, of the candidates, however, would continue, for a time at least, to be chosen mainly by selection on the basis of their records, along with a written examination in English subjects. Successful candidates would be given travelling studentships for eighteen months in order to study at least two languages abroad, together with history and economics, and would then have to pass a second examination in these subjects. Those who qualified would be placed on probation for a year, half of which they would spend in the Foreign Office and half in the study of economic, industrial, and social questions in Government Departments dealing with these affairs. In this way it was hoped to facilitate the entry from any social sphere of candidates with suitable qualifications and to enable them to obtain the necessary vocational training at the expense of the State.

The proposals contained in the White Paper were submitted to the House of Commons for its approval on March 18. They had on the whole a friendly reception, and were generally recognised as a genuine attempt to bring the Foreign Office into conformity with modern requirements and make it a suitable instrument for interpreting the foreign policy of the future. A division was forced by a small group which considered that the proposed changes would not sufficiently democratise the Service, but the motion was carried by 153 votes to 6.

On January 28 Sir J. Wardlaw-Milne, the chairman of the House of Commons Select Committee on National Expenditure, proposed in the House a motion recommending the report of the Committee on the Civil Service (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 85) to the consideration of the Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply agreed with the Committee that it was important to think early ahead, and that certain changes might be necessary both in the organisation and in the training of the Civil Service. He demurred, however, to both of the principal recommendations made by the Committee—that a new Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury should be appointed who should be exclusively concerned with the machinery of government, and that each session a Select Committee should be appointed to see that the work of the Executive was being carried

out efficiently and economically; and generally speaking he maintained that the means in use for keeping the Civil Service abreast of the demands upon it were more efficient than the Committee had supposed.

The month of January this year, unlike the same month in the two preceding years, brought not a decrease but a considerable increase in air-raid activity both on the British and the German side. British and American home-based bombers made altogether thirty-two day or night raids during the month over Germany and the Occupied territory, some of them, especially over the Ruhr district, of great intensity, while Berlin was bombed on four occasions. The Germans also subjected England to heavier bombing than for several months past, and heavier also than in any previous January. London experienced its first raid for eighteen months on the night of January 18, in reprisal for an R.A.F. raid on Berlin. Little damage was done on this occasion, but in a daylight raid three days later a school in South-East London was hit before the alarm was given, and 45 children, along with some teachers, were killed. The failure to sound the sirens in time was the subject of questions in Parliament, and the official answer did not give complete satisfaction.

On February 2 in the House of Commons a motion was brought forward by Earl Winterton, a Conservative of somewhat advanced views, urging the Government to direct its economic and financial policy in such a way as to ensure that employment, industry, and commerce should be increased and developed after the war to the greatest possible extent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply, admitted that, though the war had yet to be won, the subject was well worth discussing already, and that some steps towards the end in view could be taken at once. He first of all, however, uttered a warning that, in consequence of the great impoverishment of the world during the war years, an improvement in living conditions was not to be expected immediately after the conclusion of hostilities, though after a certain transitional period there might be a progressive raising of the standard of living. The key to the whole problem in his opinion was the revival and maintenance of the export trade, without which their comparatively high standard of living must inevitably fall. There must be a high priority for the export trade in all their post-war efforts; if they could get that right most things might be possible and at an earlier time.

The Chancellor indicated various ways in which the Government could stimulate employment and trade. First and above all, they could make a great contribution by their general policy in regard to foreign affairs, their continuous interest in the promotion of the export trade, and their general social policy. They could provide the stimulus of capital equipment, especially by the building programme which would be necessary **after the war.**

They would also make it their care in future to provide the economic and financial statistics on which policy should be based. Finally, they attached the greatest importance to the working out well before the end of the war of an agreed economic policy between themselves and the United Nations, especially America and the Dominions, in accordance with the promise made in the Atlantic Charter. With this agreed economic policy would go an international monetary system.

The Chancellor's speech satisfied the House that the Government understood well enough the economic problem which would face the country after the war, but not that they had plans for dealing with it. On this point Mr. Dalton, the President of the Board of Trade, who closed the debate, was slightly more reassuring. He informed the House that he had lately made special arrangements for widespread study of post-war problems, having instituted for this purpose a series of consultations with representatives of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce and the Federation of British Industries, with the officers of the Trades Union Congress, and other similar bodies. He had also approached particular industries with inquiries as to what in their view would be the main obstacles to the restoration of full activity in their industry within a reasonable period after the cessation of hostilities, how they considered those obstacles could best be overcome, and at what point they wished the intervention of the Government to assist them. He had also asked each industry to consider the probable condition of its equipment at the end of the war and how far the modernisation of plant on a considerable scale would need to be undertaken, and had also inquired what products had been developed as a result of new developments and inventions, and what new products or varieties could be placed on the market. Among the industries to the needs of which he was paying particular attention he mentioned the cotton, woollen, and pottery industries. Mr. Dalton expressed himself as hopeful that if they made their export industries really efficient they would find a ready sale abroad, and that the Government would be able to do a good deal better in the provision of employment in the post-war period than the least that would satisfy the postulate of the Beveridge scheme.

On February 3 questions were again asked in the House of Commons about the political situation in French North Africa, which was still viewed in England with considerable uneasiness. Mr. Eden, in reply, could add little to what Mr. Attlee had said on the subject two weeks before. General Giraud's administration, he said, was collaborating to the full with the Allied Commander-in-Chief, and the troops under General Giraud's command were playing their full part in the fighting in Tunisia. Despite the many difficulties, a start had been made both for the

reconciliation between Frenchmen and for the readjustment of internal conditions in North Africa. Much yet remained to be done, and in neither respect was the situation as they would wish to see it, but they must recognise that these were problems which could best be solved by Frenchmen. There was no difference of policy in these matters between the British and American Governments ; both wished to see unity in the ranks of Frenchmen and the restoration of traditional French freedom both in North Africa and France itself, and for that reason they were agreed that nothing should be allowed to distract them from the first and imperative duty of developing the maximum military effort, on which everything else depended.

On February 4 Lord Cranborne in the House of Lords and Mr. Eden in the House of Commons extended a welcome to the four members—two of each House—who had just returned from a Mission to China (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 269), and congratulated them on the highly successful outcome of their journey. In reply, the members concerned expressed their appreciation of the profuse hospitality which they had enjoyed in China, and paid a tribute to the sterling qualities which they had observed in the Chinese people. They also testified to its strong feeling of comradeship with the British people in the present struggle.

On February 9 Mr. Bevin, the Minister of Labour, moved the second reading of a Bill for setting up a Commission to advise the Minister on the regulation of wages in the catering industry. His intention to introduce such a Bill had been announced some time before, and had been met with strong protest from a group of over a hundred Conservative members, led by Sir Douglas Hacking, who maintained that it was controversial in character, interfering as it did with private enterprise, and that it was therefore a breach of the pledge given by Sir Stafford Cripps on November 12 that no controversial legislation would be introduced by the Government in the course of the war. Mr. Bevin, with the full support of the Cabinet, refused to accept this plea. In moving the second reading of the Bill he pointed out that it was in line with the general policy pursued for the last fifty years of protecting the interests of employees and securing for them fair conditions of labour. The reason why the Bill was being brought forward now was because there was ground for expecting that after the war there would be a great extension of the catering trade, and it was necessary to ensure betimes that those who returned to it or entered it anew should do so under proper regulation. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Sir Douglas Hacking, who maintained that conditions of employment in the trade were satisfactory, and that there was no demand for the Bill from the side of the employees. On a division the second reading was carried by 283 votes to 116. Sir Douglas Hacking thereupon

pointed to these figures as proof that the Bill was in fact controversial, and suggested that it should be withdrawn. Mr. Eden, however, announced on the next day that it would be proceeded with, at the same time expressing the hope that some of the differences would be "ironed out" in the Committee stage.

Mr. Churchill made his first appearance in the House of Commons after his return to England on February 9, and received a great ovation. On February 11 he gave the House as full an account as circumstances permitted of his recent tour. At Casablanca, he said, the whole scene of the world war, in its military, armament production, and economic aspects, was subjected to a prolonged, professional examination the like of which he had never known in all his experience of inter-Allied Conferences. The object was to engage the enemy's forces on land and sea and in the air on the largest possible scale and at the earliest possible moment. As a result of the discussions they now had a complete plan of action which comprised the apportionment of forces, as well as their direction and the weight of the particular movements which were decided upon, and this plan they were going to carry out to the best of their ability in the next nine months. They would not desist till they had secured unconditional surrender, till no vestige was left of the Nazi or Fascist power, or of the Japanese war-plotting machine.

For good or for ill, said Mr. Churchill, Britain and America knew exactly what it was that they wished to do. But their ability to execute their plans depended primarily on their freedom of movement at sea. On this subject Mr. Churchill was rather more communicative than Government spokesmen had been for some time. He still refrained from giving figures of British losses, because, he said, it was desirable to "leave the enemy guessing, to let him be the victim of his own lies, and to deprive him of every means of checking the exaggerations of his U-boat captains or of associating particular losses with particular forms and occasions of attack." But he did go so far as to tell the House that in the last six months Anglo-American and Canadian new building together had exceeded all the losses of the United Nations by over 1,250,000 tons, and meanwhile the great American flow of shipbuilding was leaping up month by month. Certainly the number of U-boats was increasing, but so were their losses and the means of attacking them and protecting the convoys. The rate of killing of U-boats was in the past three months half as good again as in the previous ten months, which had been the best so far in the war. The destructive power of the U-boats had also undergone a steady diminution; in the first year of the war each operational U-boat at work had accounted for an average of 19 ships, in the second year of 12, and in the third year of 7-J. They could expect, therefore, even allowing for a high scale of losses, to be better off at the end of 1943 than at the

beginning, and still better of at the end of 1944, supposing the war lasted so long.

Mr. Churchill informed the House that British and American strategists were unanimous in adhering to their decision of a year before, that the defeat of Hitler and the breaking of the German power must have priority over the decisive phase of the war against Japan. He renewed at Casablanca the declaration he had made two months before—that if Germany were defeated first, all the forces of the British Empire would be moved to the Far Eastern theatre with the greatest possible speed. He had offered to embody this declaration in a special treaty, but President Roosevelt had stated that the word of Britain was quite good enough for him. For the time being their Asiatic effort was confined to clearing Burma, to the opening of the Burma Road, and giving what aid they could to China. Referring to Turkey, he warned the House against reading more into the official *communique* than it contained. Turkey was their very good friend, but it was no part of their policy to get her into trouble. Britain and the United States were now supplying Turkey with as great a quantity of weapons as she could take, and the one request he had made of Turkey at the conference at Adana was to get the rearmament business thoroughly well organised. As for the situation in Tunisia, a great trial of strength was about to take place, but he had the utmost confidence in General Eisenhower. It had been agreed at Casablanca that the existing frontier between Tripolitania and Tunisia should form the boundary between the American and British spheres. Consequently, as the Desert Army passed into Tunisia it would come under the orders of General Eisenhower, to whom General Alexander would become deputy Commander-in-Chief, while corresponding changes would be made in the Naval and Air Commands.

The time was already ripe for giving effect to this arrangement. After capturing Tripoli the Eighth Army had continued its advance without pause towards the Tunisian frontier, 100 miles distant. By January 25 it had captured the small port of Zauia, 40 miles on. On February 1 the important port of Zuara, more than half-way to the frontier, was taken. Progress from this point became slower, owing to difficulties of the ground and stiffer enemy resistance. By February 10, however, the Tunisian frontier was reached. Five days later the village of Bou Gardane with its important air landing ground was occupied. Fom Tathouine fell to the British on February 18 and Medenine on the 21st, and nothing now stood between them and the formidable Mareth Line, which was strongly occupied by the enemy. At this point, in accordance with the arrangement mentioned by Mr. Churchill, supreme command in Tunisia was taken over by General Alexander, as deputy Commander-in-Chief under General

Eisenhower, his own place in Cairo being taken by General Sir Henry Maitland-Wilson.

On February 16 Mr. Greenwood in the House of Commons brought forward a motion welcoming the Beveridge Report on social insurance (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 89). as a valuable aid in determining the Government's policy of post-war reconstruction. His avowed object in doing so was to give the Government an opportunity of stating how far it intended to give effect to the scheme outlined by Sir William Beveridge. The public interest created by the report on its first appearance nearly three months before had not flagged for an instant, and both the principles and the detailed proposals contained in it had come to be regarded more and more by a large part of the population as a test of the Government's sincerity in its professed desire of improving social conditions after the war. Public suspicion on this point had been aroused by an order issued by the Minister of War a short time previously forbidding the circulation among the troops of a resume of the report composed by Sir William Beveridge himself; and there was now much curiosity, not unmixed with anxiety, as to the line which the Government would take.

The first statement of the Government's intentions was made by Sir John Anderson, the Lord President of the Council. He disappointed Labour members at the outset by announcing that the Government could not accept the plan in its entirety nor take immediate steps to bring it into operation. While, he said, the general lines of development of the social services laid down in the report were those that the Government would wish to follow, not all the main features of the report commended themselves to them equally. Further, in view of the uncertainties as to financial and international conditions after the war, the Government could not yet undertake any definite commitments. None the less it would prepare draft legislation as soon as possible, and on the assumption that employment would be maintained at a level sufficient for the purposes of the scheme—an assumption which, he pointed out, was at present entirely incapable of proof.

Dealing with the detailed proposals of the report, the Minister stated that the Government accepted in principle the institution of a system of children's allowances. It also welcomed the conception of a reorganised and comprehensive health service which, in the words of the report, "would ensure that for every citizen there should be available whatever medical treatment he required, in whatever form he might require it." For this purpose the Health Departments would seek the help of those main organisations—local authority, voluntary or professional—on whose active participation the success of any new reorganisation must depend. The Government, he said, recognised that the medical profession itself was approaching this major reorganisation in the

progressive spirit which was expected of it. In regard to children's allowances, Sir John pointed out that the Government had plans for greatly extending the provision of school meals and similar allowances, to the extent of making them equivalent to 2s. (*id.* a head per week instead of the 1s. assumed by Sir William Beveridge. For this and other reasons they proposed that the rate for children's allowances should be fixed at 5s. for the second and later children instead of the 8s. recommended in the Beveridge Report. The Government agreed with the report that the scheme for contributory benefits should be made universal, applying to all classes of persons without regard to their incomes. It also agreed that sickness and unemployment rates should be the same. On the other hand, the Government could not accept the proposal of the report to defer the payment of full-scale old age pensions for twenty years, and preferred to fix the contribution and the payment now. The part of the plan dealing with workmen's compensation was also open to objection, and required further consideration. Sir John put in a good word for the approved societies, which he hoped some means would be found of retaining under any new scheme, and he definitely objected to the suggestion that the business of industrial insurance should be turned into a public service. Finally, the Government agreed that the administration of the insurance side of the entire social security scheme ought to be consolidated into one organisation, but it was still in doubt whether that unified organisation should be a new Ministry or should take the shape of some kind of statutory board.

Sir John Anderson's statement, with its very careful and guarded acceptance of the main features of the report, was heard with great impatience by Labour members, and was subjected by them to frequent interruptions. They were especially annoyed with his insistence that as yet there could be no final commitments. A meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Labour Party was at once held to consider the Government statement, and it decided to table an amendment expressing its dissatisfaction with the declared policy of the Government and calling for an early implementation of the plan. Among the other parties also there was dissatisfaction. Some forty Conservatives backed an amendment calling on the Government "to set up forthwith the proposed Minister of Social Security," and a Liberal amendment was also put down demanding legislation at the earliest possible moment for giving effect to the social security plan.

Neither the tabling of the amendments nor the expostulations of speakers in the debate produced any change of heart in the Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer on the next day made it clear that they had no intention of going a single step beyond the action outlined by the President of the Council. He

laid even greater stress than his colleague had done on the necessity of securing a firm financial basis for any commitments they might undertake, and reminded the House that money would have to be found after the war for things not less important than social security, such as housing, education, or civil aviation. He dwelt on the fact that time would be required for completing the negotiations with regard to family allowances and the comprehensive medical service, and altogether made the realisation of the Beveridge proposals seem even more problematical than Sir John Anderson had done.

On the next day before Parliament met the Parliamentary Labour Party held a meeting to consider whether they should proceed with the amendment which had been tabled by their Administrative Committee. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin strongly urged them not to do so, in the interests of national and party unity; Mr. Bevin also warned them that a vote against the Government on this issue would be in effect a vote of censure on the Labour members of the Government, of which they would have to take serious notice. These considerations, however, could not outweigh the irritation which had been caused in the Labour ranks by Sir Kingsley Wood's speech, and it was decided that the amendment should be moved and carried to a division.

A final effort to stave off a division was made by Mr. Herbert Morrison at the end of the debate on the next day (February 18). He declared himself to be somewhat mystified by the extensive belief which seemed to be held in some quarters of the House that the Government was trying to evade the issue, and was seeking instead of forwardly planning to go backward. He pointed out that the National Council of Labour in a recent resolution had approved the principles laid down in the Beveridge Report, subject to the reservation that detailed proposals should be submitted to further scrutiny; also that Sir William Beveridge himself had clearly stated in the report that he did not contemplate it becoming operative till the end of the war. By contrast the Government had published pretty specifically their provisional conclusions about the points of the report, and had committed themselves to a whole series of items in the report. They had done so, of course, subject to financial considerations; but Sir William Beveridge himself was far too responsible a person to say that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the War Cabinet had no right to look at financial considerations. The House, he said, had not expected last December, when the report was published, that Ministers would so soon be able to give specific undertakings in regard to it. Considering the pressure of work on the Cabinet, he thought they had made extraordinary despatch—thanks chiefly to the energy and industry of the Lord President. They had already taken decisions of principle on the great majority of the issues of the plan. Decisions of amount must of

necessity wait till the post-war price level was known ; while the time for the execution of the decisions could not be fixed because, among other things, of uncertainty about the course and duration of the war. Of the twenty-three changes suggested by Sir William Beveridge the Government had rejected only one—industrial assurance as a public utility—and Sir William had said that this was not necessary to the plan. Six more were left open for further consideration in the light of the debate in Parliament and such other suggestions as the Government might receive. The other sixteen had been accepted. From whichever point of view they looked at it they found that the Government had substantially accepted the report; the idea some people seemed to entertain that the Government had in fact almost rejected the report was an illusion which he could not understand. Mr. Morrison assured the House that the consultations and negotiations necessary for framing legislation were being actively prosecuted, and that as soon as these were completed a Bill or Bills would be prepared. Finally, he warned members against giving a vote against the Government which might precipitate serious political difficulties.

Mr. Morrison's defence of the Government satisfied, on the whole, its critics on the Conservative and Liberal benches, and removed the bad impression made on them by the speeches of his colleagues. The Labour members were more obdurate, and refused to be pacified. No fewer than 97 of them went into the division lobby for the amendment, while only two non-official Labour members supported the Government. The actual voting was 119 for the amendment and 335 against.

Having registered in the voting lobby their protest against the Government plans, the rank and file of the Labour Party were willing to forget their differences with the Labour Ministers and return to their allegiance as if nothing had happened. The Ministers themselves, however, were of a different mind; they felt that they had been placed in a false position, and were not so ready to regard the incident as closed. Mr. Bevin was reported to be particularly aggrieved, and even to have hinted at resigning. At a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party held on February 24 Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison lectured the party on its lack of loyalty, and pointed out that such behaviour weakened their own influence in the councils of the Government. The bulk of the members were quite unrepentant and refused to see anything wrong in their action. On the other hand, they did not seek to carry the quarrel further ; and a meeting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress held on the same day passed a resolution expressing its continued confidence in the Labour members of the Government, and calling for further meetings of the National Council of Labour as soon as possible to continue discussions on the Beveridge Report.

A last attempt to galvanise the Government into more vigorous action was made by a number of speakers in the House of Lords in a debate on the Beveridge Report on February 24 and 25. Their appeals, however, were coldly received by the Lord Chancellor, who made it clear that the Government had no intention of going beyond the limit set by the President of the Council.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Red Army was celebrated on February 21 and 22 at meetings in all parts of the country, several of which were addressed by members of the Government. At the principal meeting held at the Albert Hall, London, Mr. Eden paid tribute in the name of the Government to the valour of the Red Army and to the magnificent qualities shown by each of its departments. He also laughed to scorn the efforts made by Nazi propagandists to sow discord between England and Russia. To mark the occasion, the King presented to the city of Stalingrad a sword of honour "to commemorate the inflexible courage of the warrior city and as a token of Britain's admiration and that of the world."

On February 23 the Select Committee appointed in December to examine the proposal that civilian women should be compensated for injuries equally with civilian men (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 86) presented its report. The conclusion of the Committee was that the proposal "not only had justice on its side, but could be adopted with little practical difficulty and at relatively little cost." It could, in the opinion of the Committee, be carried into effect most satisfactorily by the abolition of the distinction between gainfully and non-gainfully occupied persons, and by the adoption of flat rates of compensation for all adult civilians irrespective of sex or occupation. It was pointed out that the present system was peculiarly unfair to the housewife and led to various anomalies. The Committee did not think that the adoption of the proposal would have any reactions in the fields of Common Law Damages, Workmen's Compensation, and National Health Insurance.

On February 24 Mr. T. Johnston, the Secretary of State for Scotland, moved the second reading of the Hydro-Electric Development Bill for Scotland. The Bill embodied the recommendations made by the Committee which had reported on the subject in December (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 94), that a non-profit earning Public Services Board should be set up to carry on the further development of the water-power resources in the North of Scotland. The Board would be enjoined to collaborate "in the carrying out of any measures for the economic development and social improvement of the North of Scotland district or any part thereof." It might borrow on its own credit without limit, but the Treasury would guarantee its loans only up to a total of 30,000,000. A few days earlier the Standing Committee on National Parks had circulated a memorandum in

which objection was taken to the Bill on the ground, among other things, that it sacrificed to large-scale industrialism areas which should be reserved by the State as national parks, and did not provide any plan for giving the Highland population as a whole the economic and social betterment which it needed. Little was heard of these objections in the debate in Parliament. The only criticism offered of the Bill was on the ground that it would involve too much bureaucratic control, but this also was withdrawn after an explanation by the Minister.

The Service Estimates were again presented this year on token votes. In introducing the Army Estimates in the House of Commons on February 25, Sir James Grigg, the Secretary of State for War, passed in review the administrative activity of the War Office during the preceding twelve months. He singled out the preparations for the landing of the North African expedition as being worthy of particular praise. They had been begun as early as March and included the moving of 185,000 men, 20,000 vehicles, and 220,000 tons of stores in three weeks from billets and depots to ports; and packing cargoes in such a way that they could be discharged with the utmost speed. All this, too, had to be done with the greatest secrecy, in order to take the enemy by surprise. Another major administrative achievement was the building up of the forces in Iraq and Persia and the development of communications between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. It was chiefly for the furtherance of this work that Persia and Iraq had in September been formed into a separate command. At home they had had the problem of the movement to and accommodation in Great Britain of United States troops. In this matter as also in those connected with the North African preparations there had been the most admirable Anglo-American co-operation.

The last year had witnessed a change in the role of the Army from a primarily defensive one to one of active preparations for the offensive, and the forces in Great Britain had been reorganised accordingly, in spite of a certain shortage of man-power. The reorganisation of the General Staff announced in the previous year had also been carried through. In the Deputy C.L.G.S.'s Department a General Staff Research Directorate had been set up to examine continuously the lessons to be derived from their own or enemy operations, and to produce a properly digested body of doctrine whether tactical, organisational or relating to weapons. Operational research groups, staffed by scientists and technicians as well as by soldiers, had been formed to study current events in the field and to report to the War Office and the Ministry of Supply how weapons and equipment behaved under battle conditions. Every step in fact was taken to see that the War Office knew what the Army wanted and made sure that it got it as soon as possible. Co-operation between the War

Office and the Ministry of Supply had been excellent. Steps had also been taken to reduce "paper work," and soon some 50 per cent, of the returns hitherto made by most of the Field Force units would have been abolished.

In training the most notable innovation had been the introduction of realistic battle training on a large scale, in the course of which the conditions of a modern battlefield were reproduced as nearly as possible, including the use of live ammunition. There were also exercises, again with live ammunition, on a sufficiently large scale to enable formations of all arms to operate together, and with air support. This had involved the use during the past year of an additional 7,000,000 acres of land and some interference with food production, though they had endeavoured to do as little damage as possible. They had received the utmost help and collaboration from the Ministry of Agriculture and from the whole agricultural population.

Training and equipment of the Home Guard had also been improved—partly as a result of compulsory enrolment and compulsory training and duty—and this had made it possible to rely on it for the local defence of the country to a greater extent than ever before. A large number of anti-aircraft batteries had been formed from the Home Guard, and the link between them and Civil Defence had become closer. The women of the A.T.S. were also being increasingly used to release men, especially in the anti-aircraft command, where soon 40 per cent, of the personnel would be women.

In introducing the Navy Estimates on March 3, Mr. A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, surveyed briefly the whole course of naval operations in the previous twelve months, and added some interesting facts to the scanty information already disclosed. He described the period as one of the most exacting and dangerous in their whole naval history. This was due almost entirely to the increased seriousness of the U-boat threat. In the latter half of 1941 this had seemed to be under control, but the entry of Japan into the war had altered the position overnight. Two great oceans were added at a stroke to the area in which their shipping was menaced by submarine and air attack, and some naval strength on which they had counted for escort work in the Atlantic had to be diverted to more distant theatres. Help had also to be given to the United States Navy in protecting shipping on the eastern seaboard of America. The U-boats had grown more numerous and bolder in the course of the year, and they had made sharp raids in waters as distant as the routes round the Cape of Good Hope, the approaches to the Mozambique Channel, and the east coast of Brazil. In combating them increased use had been made of aircraft patrols and escort, which in 1942 were responsible for more than half the attacks estimated to have caused damage or destruction to U-boats.

The Canadian Navy had also given valuable assistance in the Atlantic. Large numbers of surface escorts had already been produced, but the need for more was still urgent. The work of protecting supplies to Russia had cost them two cruisers, ten destroyers, and six smaller warships; the relief and reinforcement of Malta in 1942 had cost three cruisers, nine destroyers, and two aircraft-carriers. Another great danger they had to contend with was that of mines, which were found in British waters, in the Mediterranean, in the Cape area, in India, and Australia, and enough of which had been destroyed to sink the whole British Mercantile Marine twice over.

Meanwhile the attack on the enemy's sea communications, which were confined to waters close to enemy shores where protection was easy, had continued with undiminished vigour. According to the latest estimates, the tonnage of which the Germans and Italians had been deprived had now reached the total of some 5,000,000, and nearly another 3,000,000 tons had been damaged, much of it severely. In this work British submarines had played a conspicuous part. Great havoc had also been wrought in the Mediterranean by torpedo bombers, which had sunk there ten enemy supply ships besides damaging, in most cases severely, at least four warships and twenty-three merchant ships, including transports and tankers. Altogether the Fleet Air Arm had proved itself a most potent weapon, both for defence and offence.

While the losses suffered by the Royal Navy had been heavy, yet the Fleet taken all round was a great deal stronger that day than it had been a year before. They had lost one new and four old capital ships, one new and four old aircraft-carriers, and two merchantmen converted to aircraft-carriers. Yet they were as strong then in capital ships as they had been at the outbreak of the war, and the weight of aircraft that could be launched from shipboard had increased in the same period. In the cruiser category replacements had very nearly equalled losses, and they had a good many more destroyers and submarines than when the war started. Altogether 900 warships—from mine trawlers and minesweepers to the largest types—had been completed in British shipyards in England and overseas, apart from the conversion of merchant ships to auxiliary warships. This achievement compared very favourably with that of the last war, especially when considered in the light of the much higher quality and more complicated equipment now required of warships, and the more difficult conditions in which building had to be carried on. The most outstanding achievement was perhaps the creation of the corvette fleet, which now numbered over 200. The output of merchant tonnage in the first forty-two months of the war was also considerably greater than in the corresponding period of the last war, and they had exceeded their target for 1942 by a

creditable margin. On the whole, however, they tended to leave this side of the work more to America and to concentrate on the building of escort vessels. There was also an immense amount of repair and conversion work, while up to date 8,300 British and Allied merchant vessels had been fitted with guns and other devices to protect them against aircraft or submarines or both.

Soon after Mr. Alexander had concluded his speech, and while the House was discussing the Naval Estimates, news was brought to it of the death of the Speaker, Captain Fitzroy, who had been ill for some time, and the sitting was immediately suspended. [See under Obituaries.] This was the first occasion for three hundred years on which a Speaker had died while Parliament was in session. The rules of the House forbade it to transact business so long as it was without a Speaker, and an interval of five days had to elapse before a new one could be elected. It was fortunate, therefore, that no very urgent business was claiming the attention of Parliament. When the House met again on March 9 it unanimously elected as Speaker Colonel Clifton Brown, who had been chairman of Ways and Means, or Deputy Speaker, under Captain Fitzroy. On the next day tributes were paid by all parties to the memory of Captain Fitzroy, and Major Milner was appointed Deputy Speaker.

In introducing the Air Estimates on March 11, Sir A. Sinclair, the Secretary of State for Air, stated that during the past year the Royal Air Force had continued to expand rapidly, and the total output of trained aircrews had been substantially higher than in 1941. The standards had also been raised and the period of training lengthened, with the result that there had been a great increase in the striking power of the Royal Air Force, and especially of Bomber Command. There had also been a marked decline in the proportion of accidents to hours flown. The contribution of the Dominions to the war in the air had continued on the same magnificent scale as heretofore, and arrangements had been made for a still further expansion of training facilities in Canada. There had been a great increase in the past year in the number of transport squadrons, and to control their operations he had decided to establish a Royal Air Force Transport Command, which would work in close collaboration with the corresponding civil organisation, the British Overseas Airways Corporation.

Turning to the part which the Air Force was playing in the war, the Minister stated that throughout the whole of the past year there had been a formidable German bomber force in Western Europe, but the soundness of the air defence of Great Britain had compelled them to confine themselves largely to "sneak" raids on coastal towns. Their object had obviously been to stir up an agitation which would compel the Government to divert forces for the protection of these coastal towns from offensive action against Germany. Once again, however, they

had under-estimated the fortitude of the civilian population, and these raids were proving as futile for their purpose as they were costly to the German Air Force. At sea the air cover provided by Coastal Command on the one side and the Royal Canadian Air Force and the United States Air Forces on the other for convoys crossing the Atlantic had markedly improved. In the operations in North Africa the air forces had acted in the closest harmony with the land forces, and had inflicted enormous damage on the enemy.

Dealing with the British air offensive over the Continent, the Minister stated that its first effect was to compel the enemy to keep his finest fighters and pilots in Western Europe all through the hard battles in Russia and in Africa. Little more than a quarter of the German Air Force was strung out from the White to the Black Sea, and nearly double that number was held in Western Europe by the offensives of Bomber Command and Fighter Command. In addition, important factories working for Germany in Occupied France had been destroyed, transport had been dislocated, and in particular the attacks on locomotives had filled French railway workshops to congestion and made them ripe targets for day bombing. The destruction in Germany's industrial centres had been on a large scale, hundreds of acres having been devastated in Essen, in Cologne, in Wilhelmshaven, in Rostock, in Mainz, in Lubeck, in Karlsruhe, and in Dusseldorf. It was reckoned that Bomber Command had destroyed or seriously damaged 2,000 factories and industrial works, rendered homeless more than a million people, and caused intolerable overcrowding in towns in the more eastern part of Germany, including Berlin. Direct damage to steel works in the Ruhr and Saar had caused a loss of 1½ million tons of steel, and in three months in the summer the daily output of coal fell by 20 per cent. The heavy damage to the Phillips Radio Works at Eindhoven had resulted in a loss to the Axis of no small proportion of their total production of radio valves, and must have caused a further marked reduction in the war power of Germany. Heavy damage had also been done in the three chief industrial centres of Italy, Turin, Milan, and Genoa. In view of this record the Minister maintained that the bomber offensive had fully justified itself.

In the discussion which ensued an amendment was moved urging the Government to take steps to ensure the immediate development of civil air transport at the conclusion of hostilities. Sir A. Sinclair, in replying to the debate, stated that the Government was fully alive to the importance of this problem, and a few weeks before had received the report of a committee which had been appointed to study it. In accordance with the recommendations of this committee they had decided that the design of a limited number of types of civil aircraft should proceed with the assistance of the Government as and when it could be arranged

without interfering with work on aircraft required for the war. The Government were also giving close attention to the organisation of civil air transport on the international plane after the war, and they were in preliminary consultation with the Dominions and India, while consultations with other members of the United Nations would follow.

The decision of the Government to create an Army Transport Command brought to a head the friction which had long existed between the Air Ministry and the British Overseas Airways Corporation, and a number of directors of the Corporation resigned. The Government thereupon appointed others in their place. In the House of Lords on April 15 the new appointments were strongly criticised by Viscount Rothermere, and Lord Reith drew a very unfavourable comparison between the interest shown by the American Government in civil aviation and the treatment of the B.O.A.C. by the British Government. On May 21 some fresh appointments were announced which were also critically received in the House of Commons.

The British air assault on Germany and German-occupied territory was continued with full vigour during February, and at the end of the month reached a new pitch of intensity. A heavy raid on Nuremberg on the night of February 25 was followed on the next night by an attack on Cologne almost equalling in weight of bombs dropped the "thousand-bomber" raid of the previous May, and two nights later by the heaviest attack yet made on the U-boat base of St. Nazaire, while the intervals were filled in by almost continuous sorties made by the R.A.F. and the United States Army Air Force. The St. Nazaire raid was followed on the next night by the heaviest air raid yet made on Berlin. Such a burst of activity was still exceptional; but from this point the offensive was sustained at a level which fell not far short of fulfilling the threat of the Air Ministry in the previous spring that Germany would be bombed both heavily and continuously. The R.A.F. losses were frequently considerable, but not disproportionate to the numbers engaged.

While the British air offensive against Germany was gaining strength, in Africa the British armies were for a time thrown on the defensive. In an endeavour to link up with the Eighth Army, General Anderson's forces, which had come to include American and French contingents, spread southwards as far as the neighbourhood of Kairouan, forming a weakly held line from north to south along the mountain range parallel to the coast from Bizerta to Sfax. At the end of January, however, the enemy, now strongly reinforced and commanded by General von Arnim, commenced to thrust them back. A strong force of tanks, infantry, and artillery pushed through the Faid Pass, on the road from Sfax to Sbeitla, which was held by French troops, and advanced some miles to the west. Two weeks later this

advance was resumed north-westwards towards Sbeitla and south-westwards towards Gafsa. The American troops opposing them were driven back, and evacuated Sbeitla on the 17th, and the Kasserine Pass behind it and also Gafsa immediately afterwards. Advancing from the Kasserine Pass the enemy commenced to threaten the important junction of Tebessa, the capture of which would have enabled them to turn the British advanced positions at Medjez el Bab. Fortunately British and American reinforcements arrived in time, and after three days heavy fighting turned the tide. On February 24 the enemy began to withdraw through the Kasserine Pass. By the 26th the Pass was in Allied hands, and on March 2 Sbeitla was retaken. By this time the enemy had launched a new offensive in the extreme north of Tunisia and had taken Sejenane, and commenced to march on Beja ; but thanks largely to the stubborn resistance* offered by a British artillery detachment at Sidi Nsir on February 26, here also his advance was held up after a few days.

In the south also the Germans displayed similar boldness in face of the Eighth Army. While General Montgomery was still making his preparations for an assault on the Mareth Line Rommel, on March 7, took the offensive and launched a vigorous attack at two points. General Montgomery's comment was characteristic. In a message to his troops issued at the beginning of the attack he declared that this was just what he wanted. The enemy, he said, was caught like a rat in a trap, and was hitting out in every direction, trying to gain time to stave off the day of his final defeat in North Africa. His confidence that Rommel would pay dearly for his hardihood was fully justified. All his assaults were repulsed with great loss, and by March 8 he had withdrawn his forces back into his own lines.

On March 11 Rommel made another attack, this time at Ksar Ghilane, 40 miles south-west of the Mareth Line, but again he was thrown back with heavy loss. At about the same time the British in the extreme north began to force their way back to Sejenane, while north of the Shott Jerid, the great salt lake which protected Rommel's right wing, the French and Americans recaptured Metaoula, and a few days later occupied Gafsa and El Guettar, on the road to Gabes. In the north, however, the British were, on March 19, again forced to withdraw to three miles west of Tamera.

On the night of March 20 General Montgomery at length commenced his carefully prepared assault on the Mareth Line, stretching from the coast near Mareth to the hilly ground at Matmata, 40 miles to the south-west. Along the whole front of the enemy ran a muddy watercourse between high sandy banks, known as the Wadi Zigzaou. British troops, taking the enemy by surprise, succeeded in crossing this not far from the sea in the night of March 20, and in the course of the next day established

a bridgehead of considerable width and depth, while sappers laboured hard to build a causeway over the wadi strong enough to carry tanks and heavy artillery. Unfortunately the treacherous nature of the soil made the task much more difficult than they had anticipated, and before the work was far advanced the enemy found time to recover from his surprise and to make an attack in force on the bridgehead. After some extremely fierce fighting the greater part of the British forces had by March 24 been thrown back across the wadi, with considerable loss.

By a brilliant improvisation General Montgomery not only restored the position but turned his set-back into victory. At the very beginning of the offensive he had sent a force to work round the Matmata hills and attack El Hamma on the north-west of Rommel's position. Seeing that now a frontal assault on the Wadi Zigzaou would prove too expensive, he diverted the troops which he was holding ready to cross the wadi to the support of the force attacking El Hamma. The manoeuvre was entirely successful. The reinforcements, under the command of General Freyberg, in spite of great difficulties of ground, arrived at El Hamma while the bulk of Rommel's forces were still occupied with the British bridgehead at the other end of the Mareth Line. After a sharp but brief conflict, and with the aid of effective air support, they captured the place, thus completely outflanking the German line. Perceiving his danger, Rommel evacuated the Mareth Line without delay. On March 29 the British crossed the Wadi Zigzaou in force and occupied the whole of the strongly organised defences, capturing much booty and many prisoners.

The taking of the Mareth Line, important as it was, opened a way for the Eighth Army no further than to the port of Gabes, a few miles to the north. Beyond this was the narrow plain of the Wadi Akarit, or the Gabes Gap, only 12 miles broad, and here, as was expected, the enemy again made a stand. He was not allowed to remain there long. On April 6, before daybreak, British and Indian troops, under cover of a tremendous artillery barrage, advanced to the assault in the pitch darkness, taking the enemy completely by surprise. By noon a hole had been blasted in his defensive line, through which British armoured and mobile forces immediately commenced to advance. Strong counter attacks made by the enemy were repulsed, and by nightfall the British had reached the open country, having taken 6,000 prisoners. Rommel's Army retreated northwards, hotly pursued by the British, who were now able to join hands with the Americans advancing eastwards from the direction of Gafsa and El Guettar.

On March 16 the Colonial Secretary informed the House of Commons that shortly before he had sent out to Jamaica proposals for a new constitution for the island—the chief feature of which was a two-chamber system of government—and that these

had been favourably received. He also stated that the Government had approved practically all the suggestions made in a report just presented by Sir Frank Stockdale on conditions in the West Indies (where he had gone out as Comptroller in 1940), dealing particularly with problems of health, education, and agriculture. On the next day the Prime Minister, in answer to a question, stated that the administration of the Colonies must continue to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain, and they would continue to plan for their political, economic, and social development within the British Empire, though in co-operation with neighbouring and friendly nations.

The discontent evinced in the Beveridge Plan debate with the Government's comparative neglect of social reform was no less prevalent in the country than in Parliament. It showed itself there most clearly in the support given at by-elections in the early period of the year to candidates of a new party called Common Wealth, founded by Sir Richard Acland, an ex-Liberal, which advocated an advanced social policy with land nationalisation as its chief tenet. On more than one occasion the Common Wealth candidate ran the Government candidate very close, and would probably have been successful but for the staleness of the register. For this reason Sir Richard Acland, on March 16, formally opposed in Parliament the issue of a writ for the Eddisbury division in Cheshire (which in the end was won by Common Wealth even on the old register). He obtained only eleven supporters, but his protest had the effect of making the Government consider in earnest the recommendations of the Committee on Electoral Reform put forward in December (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 93).

To prevent party bickering from developing to a degree in which it might interfere with national unity in the prosecution of the war, the Prime Minister on March 22 delivered a broadcast address in which for the first time he gave his own ideas for treating post-war problems. Dealing first with foreign affairs, he said that after the defeat of Germany—which was not likely before another year or even two years—it was his hope that the United Nations, headed by the three great victorious Powers, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States, and Soviet Russia, should immediately begin to confer upon the future world organisation which was to be their safeguard against further wars by effectually disarming and keeping disarmed the guilty States, by bringing to justice the chief criminals and their accomplices, and by securing the return to the devastated countries of the mechanical resources and artistic treasures of which they had been pillaged. They would also have a heavy task in trying to avert famine from some at least of the ruined regions.

One could imagine, continued Mr. Churchill, that under a world institution embodying or representing the United Nations,

and some day all nations, there should come into being a Council of Europe and a Council of Asia. In the reconstruction of Europe he hoped that they would not lightly cast aside all the immense work which had been accomplished by the creation of the League of Nations. Certainly they must take as their foundation the lofty conception of freedom, law, and morality which was the spirit of the League. They must try to make the Council of Europe into a really effective League, with all the strongest forces concerned woven into its texture, with a High Court to adjust its disputes, and with armed forces, national or international or both, held ready to enforce those decisions and prevent renewed aggression and the preparation of future wars. As this Council would eventually have to embrace the whole of Europe it was desirable that side by side with the Great Powers there should be a number of groupings of States which would express themselves through their own chosen representatives, the whole making a Council of great States and groups of States. Questions of detail, however, such as the precise groupings of States or the machinery of co-operation or, above all, of frontiers could not be profitably discussed till the war had been won.

Turning to the situation at home, Mr. Churchill confessed to being very much attracted to the idea that they should make and proclaim what might be called a Four-Years' Plan, which would give time for the preparation of a second plan. This Four-Years' Plan would cover five or six large measures of a practical character which must all have been the subject of prolonged, careful, energetic preparation beforehand and which fitted together into a general scheme. When this plan had been shaped it would have to be presented to the country either by a National Government formally representative of the three parties in the State, or by a National Government comprising all the best men in all parties who were willing to serve. As soon as possible after the defeat of Germany a new House of Commons would have to be chosen by the whole electorate, so that whoever was burdened with the responsibility of conducting affairs would be able to speak in the name of an effective and resolute majority.

As the chief subjects to be included in his Four-Years' Plan Mr. Churchill mentioned national insurance, agriculture, health, education, and town planning and rebuilding. He laid stress, however, on the proviso that all their improvements and expansion must be related to a sound and modernised finance. He pointed out that at the end of the war there would be seven or eight million people with 200l. or 300l. apiece, a thing unknown in their history. Those savings of the nation were sacred; the State was built up around them, and it was the duty of the State to redeem its faith in an equal degree of value. Over a period therefore of ten or fifteen years there ought to be a steady continuity of values if there was to be any faith between man

and man and between the individual and the State. They intended therefore to continue after the war the policy of stabilising prices to the best of their ability. It was also necessary, if they were to avoid the slump that followed the last war, to have projects for the future employment of the people and the forward movement of their industries, and to ensure that private enterprise and State enterprise were both able to play their parts to the utmost.

This Sunday evening broadcast made a deep impression, and the Prime Minister's announcement that the Government were trying to frame a Four-Years' Plan to be put through after the war gave general satisfaction. It did not put an end to the demands of certain sections that more attention should be paid to social legislation during the war. But it did remove the suspicion which had grown up in certain quarters that Mr. Churchill personally was indifferent to social improvement and that he might use his immense influence after the war to prevent any great change in social conditions. In this way the broadcast achieved Mr. Churchill's object of cementing national unity and stimulating public interest in the prosecution of the war. On the other hand, his remarks about a post-war National Government aroused some concern in Labour quarters, which was only allayed by a definite statement from Mr. Attlee a couple of weeks later that both the Labour Party and Labour Ministers were quite uncommitted, and were free to take their own decisions at the appropriate time.

On March 23 the Ministry of Production issued an Order in Council conferring on it powers to appoint three directors to the board of any firm working for the Government with Government capital. The immediate object of the Order was to enable the Ministry to deal more effectively with a large firm of aircraft manufacturers which was not giving satisfaction. Since the Government under its Defence Regulations already possessed the power to appoint a controller for such firms or take them over, a number of industrialists saw in the new Order a dangerous precedent for encroachment on private enterprise, and on April 7 in the House of Commons a "prayer" was presented by 128 members for its annulment. Mr. Lyttelton, in reply, assured the objectors that the Government had assumed the new powers only to save itself the necessity of proceeding to more drastic steps, and the "prayer" was thereupon withdrawn.

In the House of Lords on March 23 the Government was pressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other speakers to provide help and asylum "on the largest and most generous scale compatible with the requirements of military operations and security" for the Jews of Europe threatened by the Nazis with extermination. Lord Cranborne, in reply, expressed the full sympathy of the Government with this object, but pointed

out that the difficulties in the way were very formidable. Even so, he said, it would be wrong to accuse the Government of inaction in the matter ; since the outbreak of the war over 60,000 refugees had been taken in, and over 800 a month were still being received. Still, it was impossible for Great Britain alone to find a solution for the problem. There was, however, more hope that progress might be made on an international basis, and he was able to announce that arrangements were in hand for conversations on the matter to take place between the British and United States Governments in the immediate future—an announcement that was soon followed by the conference at Bermuda.

After obtaining its second reading the Catering Bill (*vide* p. 10) was the subject of discussions between Mr. Bevin and Sir D. Hacking which failed to produce agreement in spite of certain concessions made by the Minister. When the Bill entered the Committee stage at the end of March its opponents at first contested its provisions so strenuously that two days were spent in discussing only four of its nineteen clauses. Mr. Bevin remained adamant and would make no further concessions. Seeing that his protests were of no avail, Sir Douglas now decided to give up the struggle, and on April 1 he announced that in order not to waste the time of members he and his associates would not move any more of the amendments standing in their names. Some of his supporters loudly expressed their surprise and indignation at this surrender, but none of them was bold enough to step into the breach, and the opposition to the Bill collapsed.

On March 30 the Secretary of State for India moved a series of resolutions approving the continuance in force of the proclamations relating to the Provinces in India where self-government had been suspended owing to the boycott imposed by Congress. He said that the resumption of self-government in these Provinces could take place whenever Ministers could be found to conduct affairs, and the door was still open. He made it clear, however, that he was looking for the first step towards the solution of the deadlock to be taken by Congress ; the only contribution which he himself made was to suggest that it would be well for both themselves and the Indians to get away from the idea that the only pattern of democracy was the particular form of Parliamentary executive which they had developed in England. Suggestions made in the debate that conversations should be opened with representative Indians were ignored by Mr. Attlee in his reply.

The British air offensive against Germany and the Occupied countries during March set up a new record for damage inflicted on German war industry. Berlin, Essen, Nuremberg, and Munich were the chief sufferers in Germany, and Mosquito bombers penetrated as far as the Knaben molybdenum works in Norway. Particular attention was paid in this month to the Axis railway

system all over Europe, and a large number of locomotives were put out of action. The German reply, in March as in February, chiefly took the form of "sneak raids" over the coastal towns, which did considerable harm to the civilian population. The casualty figures for the first three months of the year were officially given as 873 killed and 1,293 seriously injured. To the general surprise the heavy British raid on Berlin on March 1 led to no reprisals on London beyond the penetration to the outskirts of a few aeroplanes which did very little damage. One of these raids was indirectly, however, the cause of a serious disaster. When the anti-aircraft guns opened fire at nightfall on March 3 a large number of persons made a rush for an underground station in the east of London. A woman happened to stumble at the foot of a flight of steps leading to the platform, some persons behind tripped over her, and the crowd which was following on the steps became so inextricably jammed that in a few moments, before anyone outside was aware that anything was wrong, 178 persons had been crushed to death and 60 injured. An inquiry was instituted by the Home Secretary, but beyond the statement that there was no suspicion of foul play or panic its conclusions were not published, on the ground that they might convey information to the enemy.

On April 1 the Royal Air Force celebrated its twenty-fifth birthday, and in honour of the occasion the Secretary of State for Air delivered a broadcast speech in which he paid tribute to its three originators, General Smuts, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Winston Churchill. He recalled that at the signing of the Armistice in 1918 Britain had 23,000 aircraft—the largest air force in the world—whereas twenty years later at the outbreak of this war their aircraft strength at home was about one-fourth of that of the Luftwaffe. That should not happen again. The principle which had guided Lord Trenchard and the Air Staff during the difficult intervening years was to concentrate on a force of high quality, however small the quantity. Now the British and Dominion airmen, with their superb British aircraft and equipment, Spitfires, Mosquitoes, and Typhoons, Lancasters, Halifaxes, and Sunderlands, had established their ascendancy over the airmen of the Axis. They could rest assured that the traditions of the last twenty-five years were safe in the keeping of the gallant men who formed the R.A.F. in 1943.

The Civil Estimates for the year ending March 31, 1944, showed that 198,876,0062. was required for health, labour, and insurance, a net increase of 8,637,1622. (mostly for pensions), and **17,861,6492.** for trade, industry, and transport, a net decrease of 1,868,9042. (mostly on account of roads). The national accounts for the year ending on March 31, 1943, showed that ordinary expenditure had been 5,637,367,0002., and ordinary revenue 2,819,851,0002. leaving a deficit of 2,819,851,0002. Expenditure had

been 350,888,000Z. in excess of the original estimate, but 70,138,000Z. less than the revised estimate made later. Revenue, which included a contribution by the Canadian Government of 224,719,000Z., was 192,751,000Z. more than the estimate. Income tax, at over 1,000,000,000Z., had exceeded the estimate by 93,828,000Z., and Customs and Excise by 79,789,000Z.

On April 7 a White Paper was issued containing proposals for the establishment of an International Clearing Union which should serve the requirements of international trade and obviate any need among the nations of resorting to competitive exchange depreciation or similar practices which had been so harmful to international trade since the last war. The scheme had been prepared under the direction of Lord Keynes, and was generally associated with his name. As subsequently stated by Lord Keynes, its object in a word was " to provide that money earned by selling goods to one country could be spent on purchasing the products of any other country." The essence of it was that as many States as possible should combine to form a Currency Union which should issue an international bank-money called " bancor." Each member State should have assigned to it a quota of bancor, based on its average volume of trade, which should determine the measure of its responsibility in the management of the Union and its right to enjoy the credit facilities of the Union. Member States would agree to accept payment of currency balances due to them from other members by a transfer of bancor to their credit from the books of the Clearing Union. In this way it was expected that the credit balances of those nations which had more bancor than they required could be used for the assistance of those which had less, so as to enable them, as far as financial facilities went, to play their full part in international trade. The bancor would be tied somewhat loosely to gold, and the policy of the Currency Union would be " to supplant gold as a governing factor, but not to dispense with it."

In the House of Commons on May 12 the Chancellor of the Exchequer indicated that the Government, while not committed to any of these proposals, regarded them with favour, and was willing to put them forward as a basis of international discussion. Comparing it with the so-called " Morgenthau plan " which had just been put forward in America for the same purpose, he found the chief difference between the two schemes to lie in the fact that while gold was convertible into bancor, bancor was not convertible into gold, whereas the American unit, " unitas," was convertible both ways. In the debate which followed nearly all the speakers expressed their preference for the British over the American scheme precisely on the ground that it was less rigidly tied to gold, while practically all agreed as to the necessity of some international control of exchanges for the sake of world trade.

On April 8 Mr. Eden, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, gave the House of Commons a report on a visit which he had just made to the United States and Canada in order to establish personal contact with the leading statesmen there. He said that his exchanges of views had been entirely exploratory in character and committed neither the American Government nor themselves to anything. He claimed for them, however, that they constituted a beginning, made under the best conditions, towards reaching an agreement on the best way of dealing with the problems that would face them after the war, and he assured the House that they would be followed up. He also expressed his conviction that it was a mistake to try to base their relations with the United States on sentiment or common language or institutions. The true foundation was a common interest in the maintenance of world peace and in preventing a repetition of catastrophic world conflicts every twenty years ; and he thought that this was fully understood in America also.

The British invasion of Burma which had been started towards the end of 1942 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 95) produced little change in the early months of 1943. Having allowed the British to reach Buthidaung, a few miles north of Akyab, almost without opposition, the Japanese began to put up a much stiffer resistance, and practically prevented further progress. The furthest point south to which the British land forces were able to penetrate was Donbaik, between Buthidaung and Akyab, though British patrols on February 22 made a successful raid by sea on a village 60 miles south-east of Akyab. Towards the end of February the Japanese brought up reinforcements and assumed the offensive. Their assaults were successfully withstood for a time, but as a result of their infiltration behind the lines the British early in April found it advisable to withdraw to their base at Buthidaung, further up the river Mayu. Thus a campaign which had started with great promise took an unfavourable turn some time before the arrival of the monsoon, though it had attained its major objective of denying the enemy the use of Akyab and preventing attacks on India. The total number of casualties up to this point was stated to be 3,514, including 392 killed, of whom 171 were British, and 1,017 missing. The enemy losses were probably over 4,000. Between January 1 and April 10 the R.A.F. lost 40 planes and destroyed probably over 100 of the enemy.

CHAPTER II

THE CONQUEST OF TUNISIA AND SICILY

THE Budget for 1943-44 was introduced in the House of Commons on April 12, a few days before the Easter recess. Surveying the financial position of the country, the Chancellor of the Exchequer

dealt first with the external costs of the war, the burden of which, he said, was not sufficiently appreciated. In the first two years of the war they had relied on the ordinary method of meeting these costs by exporting goods and services for sale abroad. Now they could no longer spare the labour and the materials to produce the exports or the shipping to convey them ; the volume of their exports available to be sold abroad had fallen to about a quarter of what it had been before the war. The place of exports for sale had been largely taken by the new system, instituted by President Roosevelt, of Lend-Lease or mutual aid, which rested on the principle that in a common war all should give all they could to the common task, without reckoning mutual financial indebtedness. At first the larger part of what they had received from the United States on Lend-Lease terms had been in the form of food, but now it was in munitions of war and other supplies.

Naturally the country from which they derived the greatest volume of supplies under the Lease-Lend arrangement was the United States, but Canada had also made a munificent contribution in proportion to her resources. This traffic, however, was far from being one-sided. They were, for example, spending about 150,000,000Z. in constructing aerodromes, barracks, hospitals, and other buildings expressly for the use of the American troops in England. In the last seven months of the last year they had furnished to the American forces in the United Kingdom a quantity of supplies which would have involved 1,200,000 tons of shipping, provided about 1,600,000 tons of construction material, and made available 700,000 deadweight tons of shipping for American military operations.

Heavy external costs were being incurred by Great Britain in the defence of India and of other countries which were making common cause with them. Their exports could buy them no more than a trifle towards these external costs, and the rest they had to borrow, mostly from these countries themselves. In this way India had been able to pay off what she had borrowed from Great Britain in the old days, and still retain much in hand. To meet the local costs of the war from Tunisia to Burma they were borrowing between 400,000,000Z. and 500,000,000Z. a year. They also had external costs for what they purchased from South America, and for the chartering of ships from the European Allies. These various causes brought the total of their overseas disinvestment, as it was called, in 1942 to 630,000,000Z., and he did not expect that during the coming year it would be materially different. That was why he had so often emphasised the problem of their post-war balance of payments.

The cost of the war had now reached the stupendous sum of 13,000,000,000Z. and they had concurrently increased the expenditure on social services—excluding unemployment benefit—from 160,000,000Z. to 219,000,000Z. for 1943. They had raised in

taxation during the past financial year the unprecedented figure of 2,483,000,000/., of which income tax had contributed over 1,000,000,000/.. Of all the expenditure since the war began no less than 44 per cent, had been met by current domestic revenue, the proportion rising from 36 per cent, in 1940 to 46 per cent, in 1942. The additional yield of all taxation in 1941-42 over 1938-39, excluding Excess Profits Tax and National Defence Contribution, was 1,231,000,000/., of which direct taxation had produced 687,000,000/., and indirect—mostly from liquor, tobacco, and entertainments—544,000,000/..

Side by side with this heavy taxation they had borrowed since the beginning of the war to the end of March no less than 8,667,000,000/.. Thanks to Government controls and the variety of sources they had tapped, they had been able to borrow this sum at low rates of interest and on steadily improving terms. Subscriptions to small savings, such as savings certificates, Defence Bonds, and savings bank deposits, totalled 1,968,000,000/.; and very largely the same army of regular savers now owned income-tax post-war credits to the value of some 300,000,000/.. These men had certainly deserved well of their country ; nevertheless, statistics showed that there was still room for a substantial curtailment of personal expenditure on non-essentials, with corresponding increase in small investments.

The Government control of prices had continued to keep the cost-of-living index number, apart from minor seasonal changes, within the range of 125-30 in terms of the pre-war level. The food index in the previous month had been 20 per cent, above the level at the outbreak of the war, as compared with 23 per cent, in April, 1941. This result had been attained only by a liberal use of subsidies, which, however, had also included expenditure incurred primarily for nutritional reasons, like the national milk scheme and the school meals scheme. The cost of stabilisation to the Exchequer was now running at the rate of 180,000,000/.. a year. One of its objects was of course to prevent rises in wages, and its value for this purpose depended on a wise use of the machinery for wage negotiations, in regard to which there was still need for vigilance.

As a further aid to keeping down the cost of living the Chancellor proposed to exempt from purchase tax all utility cloth, whether in the piece, shaped, or partly made up, as well as textile articles of a kind used for domestic purposes, such as towelling, handkerchiefs, and bed-linen. The cost of this to the Exchequer would be about 6,000,000/.. in a full year. Another concession to the taxpayer was to widen the scope of house-keeper allowance so as to benefit about 100,000 householders at a cost of 2,000,000/., and of the dependent relative allowance so as to bring in about 500,000 dependent relatives with incomes of between 50/.. and 80/., at a cost of 7,000,000/.. in a full year.

Certain adjustments would also be made in levying the excess profits tax.

The total expenditure for the coming year was put by the Chancellor at 5,756,000,000Z., of which 4,900,000,000Z. would be for war purposes. To this sum oversea disinvestment might contribute 600,000,000?. He proposed to raise by taxation some 2,900,000,000?., leaving 2,250,000,000?. to be covered by domestic borrowing. Income tax on the existing basis he computed to yield 1,175,000,0002., an increase of 168,000,0002. on that of the year just closed, due to the effect on various classes of incomes, including wages, of the very high level which had been reached by war production. Excess profits tax he estimated to yield 500,000,000?., an increase of 122,000,000?., due to a similar reason. Estate duties were placed at 100,000,000?., an increase of 7,000,000?., due to the improvement in security prices. Surtax was placed at 80,000,000?, stamps at 17,000,000?., and miscellaneous duties at 1,000,000?., making a total for Inland Revenue of 1,873,000,0002. The yield from purchase tax was put at 90,000,000?., and from Customs and Excise on the present basis at 873,000,0002., or 12,000,0002. less than in the last year. Miscellaneous revenue of 59,000,0002. would bring the total on the existing basis to 2,805,000,000?., or nearly 100,000,000?. less than his target of 2,900,000,000?.

For closing this gap the Chancellor relied entirely on increases in indirect taxation. The duty on beer was to be increased by the equivalent of *Id.* on a pint, on whisky by 2s. 4d. a bottle, on light wines by 3s. and on heavy wines by 6s. a gallon. The duty on tobacco would be increased by 6s. a pound on unmanufactured leaf, with corresponding increases on imported cigarettes and cigars, which would mean an extra 4½2. or 5d. an ounce on pipe tobacco, and 1½d. or 2d. on a packet of 10 cigarettes. Members of the armed forces would, however, still be able to obtain tobacco at the old prices in their special canteens. The purchase tax on luxury articles would be raised from 66½ to 100 per cent., and the entertainment tax on seats would be increased. The total yield from all these increases, and allowing for the concessions previously mentioned, was estimated to be 102,000,000?. in the current year, and 110,000,000?. in a full year, so that the total income for the current year would be 2,907,000,000?.

In the debate on the Budget statement—which was very favourably received—a number of speakers expressed disappointment that the Chancellor had not seen his way to introduce a system of collecting income tax on wages from current earnings. The existing system of collecting the tax on last year's earnings was causing great discontent amongst wage-earners, who often found themselves called upon to pay a substantial sum as tax on previous earnings at a time when their earnings were much reduced and they could ill spare the money.

The Chancellor, in reply, pointed out that the proposed "pay-as-you-earn" system involved many difficulties, and no one had yet succeeded in devising a workable scheme. He promised, however, that his advisers would continue to examine the question.

On April 14 Lord Cecil in the House of Lords asked the Government whether they had reached any decision as to the nature of the international authority which it would be desirable to set up after the war with a view to the maintenance of peace and the encouragement of international co-operation. Lord Cranborne, in reply, said that for any international peace system to be effective it was not necessary that it should be universal. What was essential was that it should be more powerful than any potential aggressor, and should contain all the nations inspired by the principles for which it stood; in particular, those nations which controlled the raw materials without which modern war was impossible. It should contain, therefore, indispensably the British Empire, the United States, Russia, and China. If these stood together peace would be preserved, but if by any evil chance a rift came between them the world would relapse into chaos.

While Parliament was thus peacefully occupied at home, the Allied forces had been making steady progress on the Tunisian battle-front. On leaving the Wadi Akarit and the Gabes Gap on April 8 the Eighth Army emerged into a broad coastal plain which contained few natural obstacles, and began once more to advance northwards with great rapidity. On April 10 it occupied the port of Sfax, and two days later the port of Sousse, more than 50 miles further on, while at the same time Allied forces from the west entered Kairouan. On the 14th the outskirts of Enfidaville further up the coast were reached by the Eighth Army. Here the plain ended, giving way to forbidding ranges of craggy hills which stretched almost as far back as Tunis. In these the Germans had strongly entrenched themselves, and once more General Montgomery had to call a halt.

Meanwhile, with the help of reinforcements from England and America, General Alexander had greatly strengthened the First Army, the main body of which was now stationed in the neighbourhood of Medjez el Bab, and from there directly threatened Tunis, some 20 miles away. He had also by now transferred the American forces which had operated from El Guettar to the extreme north, leaving between the Eighth and the First Armies the French forces in the neighbourhood of Pont du Fahs. These four groups constituted a kind of perimeter round Tunis and Bizerta, stretching 150 miles from Cape Serrat on the northern coast of Tunisia to Enfidaville on the eastern coast. The Allied forces were by now greatly superior to the Axis on the ground both in numbers and equipment, besides possessing a decisive predominance in the air. But they were faced everywhere with precipitous crags

and narrow passes providing the enemy with excellent defensive positions of which he did not fail to make the fullest use. Within the perimeter, too, were not less than 200,000 Germans and Italians—most of the former well-seasoned troops—under the command of General Von Arnim (Rommel having returned to Europe), with strict orders to fight to the last. Although, therefore, the ultimate conquest of Tunisia seemed assured, there was every reason to expect that it would not be completed without an arduous, bitter, and perhaps lengthy struggle.

On April 19 American and R.A.F. fighters intercepted a large enemy convoy off the Tunisian coast, and in one of the largest aerial engagements of the African campaign destroyed some seventy of their transport aircraft and escorting fighters. Immediately afterwards the Eighth Army resumed the offensive, and on April 21 captured Enfidaville. From here without pausing it advanced into the mountainous country beyond, and after a severe struggle on the 23rd took the precipitous height of Takrouna, which dominated the first part of the road to Tunis.

It was now the turn of the First Army to take up the offensive. Early on the 22nd an advance was commenced with armoured forces southwards from Medjez el Bab towards the marsh of Kourzia, on the way to Pont du Fahs. To prevent the further deployment of the British offensive the Germans on the same day made an attack west of Medjez el Bab, but they were repulsed with considerable loss after penetrating to within a short distance of that place. The British thereupon on the same night launched an attack on the heights of Heidous and Jebel Ahmara (Longstop Hill), north-west of Medjez, the latter of which, after changing hands several times, had been in the possession of the Germans since January 7 (*vide* p. 2). Both were now taken by the British after some days of fierce fighting, and the way was thus opened to the key-town of Tebourba, one of the outposts of Tunis. The capture of Jebel Ahmara was followed on April 27 by that of Bou Aoukaz, another strongly fortified hill on the east side of the Medjerda river.

The success of the British in taking such strong positions as Longstop Hill and Jebel Bou Aoukaz gave clear proof that their advance to Tunis could not be permanently stopped, especially when at the beginning of May it was followed by further havoc wrought on enemy supplies at sea by the British Air Force. The rate of progress hitherto made, however, had not been such as to raise hopes of a speedy end of the campaign. Between the First Army and Tunis there was still a powerful enemy force—which at the beginning of May actually took the offensive and for a time recovered Jebel Bou Aoukaz. The advance towards Pont du Fahs also made little headway, and further south the Eighth Army, after proceeding about 10 miles beyond Jebel Takrouna, was also brought to a standstill.

The first real breach in the enemy's defences was made rather unexpectedly by the American forces advancing from Sejenane in the north, which on May 3 occupied Mateur, a key position on the railway from Tunis to Bizerta and only 15 miles from the latter place. This greatly facilitated the attack which General Anderson had already planned to make from Medjez el Bab, and for the support of which additional units had been transferred to him from the Eighth Army. On the night of May 5 an assault was launched on Jebel Bou Aoukaz. Although successful, this was not meant to be more than a feint, and the main attack was made further south through Massicault. The enemy was taken by surprise and his resistance was on this occasion completely overcome ; using tanks and armoured forces the British swept on till on May 7 they entered the city of Tunis, the whole of which was rapidly occupied. What was more surprising, the enemy resistance at Bizerta, which was much more strongly fortified, collapsed with equal suddenness, and this place was also occupied by the Americans on the same day. With the fall of Tunis and Bizerta, the battle for Tunisia, and with it the whole campaign in North Africa, was practically at an end. There were still over 150,000 enemy troops at large, but their position without bases or sources of supplies was hopeless. The bulk of them retired to the Cape Bon Peninsula, where they were soon surrounded by British and French troops. The watchfulness of the Navy prevented all escape by sea, and within a few days they surrendered unconditionally. By May 12 resistance throughout the country was completely at an end.

The magnitude of the Allied victory exceeded the wildest expectations of the British public. As General Eisenhower said, it more than made amends for the six months' delay which had been caused by the failure of the British to seize Tunis immediately after their arrival in North Africa, before the Germans had sent over their reinforcements. As it was, nearly 250,000 prisoners were now captured, including the German and Italian Commanders-in-Chief, von Arnim and Messe. An immense amount of booty, including more than 1,000 guns and 250 tanks, was also taken, the enemy having given up the struggle long before they reached the end of their resources. The casualties of the British First Army from April 17 to the end of the fighting were 8,400 altogether, and of the Eighth Army from April 17 to May 3 just over 2,400. This brought the total of the casualties incurred by the forces of the British Commonwealth and Empire in Africa since Italy entered the war to about 220,000 in killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners.

In announcing the Tunisian victory to the House of Commons on May 11, Mr. Attlee drew attention to the practical example of Allied co-operation given by the American and British High Commands, and spoke warmly of the spirit of comradeship

displayed by the British, American, and French troops engaged. He also praised the close co-operation between the military, naval, and air forces, which, as he said later, "made the campaign a classic example of the military art." On May 18 resolutions of thanks to the Forces were passed in both Houses of Parliament.

While the British armies were completing the conquest of Tunisia, the home-based air offensive on Germany continued to gather momentum. In the course of April ten major raids were made on Germany in which almost 10,000 tons of bombs were dropped. The chief targets were Duisburg and Essen. The most spectacular raid of the month, however, was that made on the 16th on the Skoda works in Czechoslovakia, the chief supply source of German armament for the Russian campaign. This raid, which involved a round flight of 1,800 miles, was carried out by over 600 bombers, and cost the British a loss of 55 planes—the largest so far in any single raid. Usually the losses did not exceed 5 per cent, of the machines engaged.

Further fighting also took place during this time between the British and the Japanese in Burma. On April 25 the Japanese resumed the offensive and attacked the British positions at Buthidaung and Maungdaw. They were at first repulsed, but after a time their infiltration tactics were again successful, and in the second week of May the British found it advisable to retire once more further north, leaving the Japanese in possession of the road between Buthidaung and Maungdaw. Thus by the end of the campaigning season practically the whole of the ground gained at the beginning had been lost. Though disappointing as a whole, the campaign was rendered notable by the achievements of a commando force which, led by Brigadier Wingate, made an expedition into the interior in February. Receiving supplies only from the air, this force penetrated 300 miles to the east, crossing the Chindwin and Irrawaddy rivers, and relieving for a time the enemy pressure on the Chinese in Yunnan. After an adventurous three months in the jungle it returned safely to its base, having gained valuable information and experience.

Immediately after the victory in Tunisia Mr. Churchill once more paid a visit to Washington, where he arrived on May 12. He was accompanied on this occasion not only by the British Service chiefs but also by Field-Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell and the Commanders of the other fighting services in the Indian theatre. On May 14 he broadcast from Washington an address to the Home Guard in England, in celebration of its third anniversary. He was in America nearly two weeks, during which time plans were concerted for Allied action both in the European and in the Far Eastern theatres of war. From America Mr. Churchill went to North Africa, where he was joined by Mr. Eden. After surveying the theatre of war and reviewing the troops, and after interviews with the British and American

military chiefs and also with **General Giraud and General de Gaulle**, he returned to England on June 5.

On May 11 in the House of Commons the new Minister of Town and Country Planning, Mr. W. S. Morrison, moved the second reading of a Bill for bringing under planning control land which was not included in the existing Town and Country Planning Act, and also for strengthening control in the interim period between the passing of a resolution to plan and the conferring on a scheme of statutory force. He stated that an additional area of about 10,000,000 acres would be brought under control by the Bill. Speakers in the debate were unanimous in commending the objects of the Bill, but several of them pointed out that it went only a very short way towards solving the problem of planning, and that little progress could be made until the question of land ownership and control had been settled—a view which the Government did not venture to contest.

Great interest was taken throughout the country in the re-opening on May 11 of the Theatre Royal, Bristol, the oldest and one of the handsomest theatres in the country, which had narrowly escaped destruction in the air-raids of 1940 and 1941, and had had even a narrower escape in the next year from being pulled down to make room for a factory. From this fate it was saved by a public-spirited effort of the citizens of Bristol, who raised money to purchase it from its would-be destroyers. Funds for its re-equipment were furnished by the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, a private body which was subsidised by the Government for the purpose of providing entertainments in villages and factories. This was the first occasion in England on which public money had been used for the assistance of the theatre, and many hoped that the precedent thus set, in however irregular a way, would not remain without fruit.

An encouraging report of the food situation in the country was given to the House of Commons on May 13 by Mr. Mabane, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food. He said that thanks to its prudent management the Ministry was still able in the fourth year of the war to offer a balanced dietary and to look forward to the fifth year with a reasonable degree of confidence. This was largely because of the good use it had made of the science of nutrition, which showed it how to concentrate on the right kinds of food, and of the process of dehydration, which enabled it to economise in shipping space. He stated that the points system was securing an equitable distribution of non-perishable foodstuffs which were in good supply, but it could not be applied to those which were perishable or in short supply. Where both these disadvantages were present, as in the case of fish, it was very difficult to secure fair distribution, and there was much complaining among the public.

In moving the second **reading of the Finance Bill** on **May 18**

the Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out that the Government, while sparing no expense for the purposes of the war, was careful to keep in mind the needs of post-war reconstruction as far as possible. For one thing it was borrowing at the rate of 2 per cent., so that although they had had to borrow during the war more than the whole of the debt at the beginning of the war the cost of the debt had gone up only by some 75 per cent. Again, since the annual produce of the Excess Profits Tax was about 400,000,000Z., the post-war credit of 20 per cent., even allowing for the incidence of income tax, was accruing to industry at the rate of 40,000,000Z., per annum, which would be a valuable help for the modernisation and development of business. Special war-time provisions had also been made in regard to depreciation and obsolescence, which were recognised by industry as giving very considerable relief.

On May 19 in the House of Commons Mr. Peake, the Under-Secretary of the Home Office, made a statement on the refugee problem in which he defended the Ministry from charges brought against it that it lacked sympathy with the refugees and had no desire to help them. They had to recognise, he said, that the United Nations could do little or nothing in the immediate present for the vast numbers who desired to escape from Hitler's clutches, as Hitler was determined not to let them go. All they could do was to assist refugees who had already reached neutral or Allied territory. In the three years between 1940 and 1942 63,000 refugees had been admitted to Great Britain, and in the past five months a further 4,000 had arrived; this was a record with which no other country could compare. Many thousands of refugees from enemy-occupied countries had arrived and were still arriving in England without *visas*, and no refugee who had reached England without a *visa* had been turned back. As further evidence of its good-will, the Government was now prepared to extend the categories of persons eligible for special consideration to parents of persons serving in the British or Allied armed forces or Mercantile Marines, to persons willing to join the forces, and to parents of children under 16 already in England. Those who urged the Government to do more had completely failed to make any practical suggestions.

With regard to the Bermuda Conference (*vide* p. 29), the Minister stated that its agreed report involved military questions and had other aspects which made it necessary that it should be kept strictly confidential. He was, however, able to inform the House that the delegates agreed in rejecting, as contrary to the policy of both the British and the United States Governments, any proposals for joint negotiations with the German Government to release potential refugees, as also the suggestion that military prisoners in Allied hands should be exchanged and that food should be sent to selected groups of refugees. The conclusions of

the conference were, however, not entirely negative, and he assured the House that, while there was no solution commensurate with the seriousness and complexity of the problem other than speedy and final victory, more was being done than was generally appreciated and, within the limits of the war effort, there were a number of hopeful possibilities for the future. At the conclusion of the debate Mr. Eden stated that the War Cabinet had approved the report and recommendations of the Bermuda Conference and also the steps necessary to put them into force, and he also gave an assurance to neutral countries that the British Government were prepared to share with them the financial burden of assisting the refugees.

On May 20 the Minister of Health moved the second reading of a Bill making further small increases in widows' pensions and exempting applicants for outdoor relief from a means test. The Bill was admittedly only an interim measure, to be replaced later by one altering the basic rates of pensions. Mr. Greenwood accepted it as a fulfilment of the Government's promise made in July, but some members were more impatient, and an amendment was moved for the rejection of the Bill. This received the votes of 61 members, of whom 49 were from the Labour Party. The "revolt" was discussed at a party meeting on May 26 at which Mr. Attlee called for better party discipline. A report on the subject was also drawn up by the Administrative Committee of the party, but no disciplinary action was taken.

On May 25 the Chancellor of the Exchequer asked the House of Commons for a new Vote of Credit of 1,000,000,000Z. for war expenditure, and at the same time informed it that the Canadian Government had just made a contribution even more munificent than its money gift of 1,000,000,000 dollars in the previous year. Under its new Mutual Aid Act it was making provision of essential supplies in kind, and in addition was accepting direct liability for the cost of the Royal Canadian Air Force personnel serving overseas, besides purchasing for cash certain capital assets concerned with production in Canada. This would enable the United Kingdom and other United Nations which lacked Canadian dollars to obtain from Canada the war supplies they needed without the accumulation of the war debts which they so much wished to avoid. Its immediate effect had been to reduce their own expenditure on the war in the new financial year from about 15,000,000Z. a day to about 13,500,000Z. a day. *

On May 26 the House of Commons once more discussed the growth of delegated legislation by means of statutory rules and orders—of which there had already been over 700 in the current year—and the Government was urged by many speakers to set up a standing committee to examine and report on such legislation, as recommended by the Donoughmore Committee in 1931. The Home Secretary, in reply, declared that, whatever might be the

case in peace-time, the Government could not consent to such a course in war-time, when speedy action was essential and the time of Ministers and officials was already heavily taxed. He said that the success of all the emergency powers legislation depended, fundamentally, not on the technical force of law but on the good-will and co-operation of all sections of the community, and he intimated that so far this had not been lacking. The view of the Government, he said, was that the House as a whole should keep a watch on the Executive, and if it was thought that they were not doing right a "prayer" could be put down for the annulment of any regulation to which objection was taken.

The long-drawn-out struggle between the Government and the Trades Union Congress over the Trades Disputes Act of 1927 entered on a new phase with a resolution taken by the National Union of Post Office Workers at its Annual Conference on May 4 to apply for affiliation to the Trades Union Congress, in defiance of a clause in the Act which forbade the affiliation of Civil Service organisations to the T.U.C. Three weeks later the General Council of the T.U.C. promised that the application would be accepted, hoping in this way to force the hand of the Government. Addressing a Conference of Trade Councils on May 29, Sir Walter Citrine said that they had spent much time in trying to get successive Prime Ministers, and representatives of the Conservative and Liberal Parties, to recognise the justice of their case, but without making the least progress. Now they had decided that whatever the risks they were once again going to establish organic connexion with the Civil Service trade union, and restore to it a right which was denied to the Civil Service worker in no other democratic country.

On May 20 and 21 the Conservative Party held an Annual Conference for the first time since 1937. Mr. R. Catteral, of Bolton, a working-man member, was in the chair, and at the opening session Mr. Eden gave an address in the absence of Mr. Churchill. He emphasised the necessity for the Conservative Party to show a progressive spirit, to consider objectively new problems as they arose and adapt themselves to changing conditions. The conference responded by giving a cordial welcome to the Beveridge Report, not, however, without criticism of details. At the same time it constituted itself the champion of private enterprise, and gave as one reason for its acceptance of the Beveridge scheme the fact that it provided an alternative to socialisation. The conference recognised the party's need for younger Parliamentary candidates who should rely more on ability than on wealth, and called for the presentation of a clear policy to the nation for the better combating of Socialism.

On June 1 the Government was again asked in the House of Commons whether it had any plans for developing civil aviation after the war, and various suggestions for this purpose were put

forward by a number of speakers. Mr. Attlee, in reply, remarked that most of the speakers seemed to ignore the fact that for the present civil aviation could not be divorced from military, and that in England the question of security must always enter into plans for civil aviation. He maintained, however, that the Government was planning ahead as far as war conditions would allow. They had, he said, acquainted the Dominions with the result of their preliminary studies and the conclusions they had come to in recent years, but found that the Dominions had not yet reached a definite point of view. They had also taken preliminary steps for the construction of various types of machine which would be useful for civil aviation after the war. He pointed out further that many of the aviation facilities provided in various parts of the Empire for military reasons would be available in the post-war period also.

With the liquidation of the enemy forces in Tunisia the Allied Air Force in that country was able to give its undivided attention to Italy and the adjacent islands, which had already felt the weight of its hand even during the African campaign. It was now in possession of airfields most favourably placed for the bombing of Sicily and Sardinia and the intervening islands, and also the western coast of Italy itself; and it lost no time in turning its advantage to account. From Tunisia, Malta, and Tripolitania an air offensive was launched against Italian territory no less persistent, and not much smaller in scale than that carried on from the home bases against Germany in the same period. The principal objectives were airfields in Sicily and Sardinia, and the ports of Naples, Palermo, and Messina. The Italian defences were much less effective than the German, and the British losses in these operations were correspondingly smaller.

At home meanwhile the air offensive against Germany became ever fiercer and more destructive. In May, as in April, the chief* target was the Ruhr district, and in the course of the month devastating attacks were made on its chief industrial centres, Duisburg, Dortmund, Diisseldorf, Essen, and Wupperthal (Eberfeld-Barmen). In each of these something like 1,500 tons of bombs were dropped—nearly half the total quantity dropped on London in the raids of the autumn of 1940. The most sensational air exploit of the month, however—and perhaps of the war—was that carried out by a group of nineteen four-engined Lancaster bombers which, after a long period of training and preparation, on the early morning of May 17 made an attack on the three great water dams serving the industrial needs of the Ruhr valley. Mines weighing about 1,500 pounds each were placed with such skill and accuracy that the dams were all breached in vital spots, and millions of tons of water were released to flood the Ruhr valley. Seven of the Lancasters failed to return.

On May 29 a concentrated assault from the air was commenced on the strongly fortified island of Pantelleria, between Cape Bon and Sicily. The fury of the attack increased daily, until a greater load of bombs—amounting to millions of pounds—had been dropped on the island's 30 square miles than on any other target of similar size. The air attack was supported at times by a naval bombardment. On June 9 and 10 enemy fighter planes intervened from Sicily, but they were driven off with the loss of 37 machines. The British and American losses throughout were negligible. An Allied landing for which preparations had been made was forestalled by the surrender of the garrison on June 11. Two days later the small islands of Linosa and Lampedusa, further to the south, also surrendered to attack from the air. The capture of these islands, and especially Pantelleria, finally threw open the Sicilian narrows to British shipping, and enabled it once more to use the Mediterranean as a highway to the east; for the present this was the principal gain which accrued to England from the conquest of Tunisia.

At the end of May and beginning of June, while the attack on Pantelleria was developing, there was an almost complete cessation of air raids on Germany, partly on account of unfavourable weather conditions, partly to allow the Royal Air Force a breathing-space for recuperation. The offensive against the Ruhr was resumed on the night of June 11, when Dusseldorf and Munster received the heaviest attack so far of the war, more than 2,000 tons of bombs being dropped. On the next night a raid on a similar scale was made on the neighbouring town of Bochum, and two nights later one on Oberhausen. A devastating attack was made on Krefeld on June 21, when the R.A.F. lost the unusually large proportion of 44 machines out of 700. Similar havoc was wrought at Mtilheim on the 22nd, at Elberfeld on the 24th, and at Gelsenkirchen on the 25th. Outside the Ruhr area raids were made on the Schneider armament works at Le Creusot on June 19 and on Friedrichshaven on the 20th. The Lancasters which carried out the last-named raid instead of returning straight home flew on to North Africa, and on their way back a couple of nights later bombed Spezia on the Italian coast. Altogether in the last twenty nights of June 15,000 tons of bombs were dropped by Bomber Command. The night raids of the R.A.F. were supplemented by daylight raids of the American United States Army Eighth Air Force, the two working in the most harmonious co-operation.

German air raids over England in May were somewhat more destructive than in the preceding months, the casualties according to the official figures being 584 killed and 733 seriously injured—again mostly in the coastal districts, though London also suffered slightly. The increase was not taken very seriously by the public, which was reassured by the opinion expressed in authoritative

quarters of the Air Force that the Luftwaffe was no longer capable of organising raids which could greatly damage British industry. The Government also, while recognising that heavy raids might still take place occasionally, considered that it was no longer necessary to make provision against sustained heavy bombing like that of 1940 and 1941, and did not shrink from reducing the paid Civil Defence service accordingly. In a debate on the subject in the House of Commons on June 20—the first for two years—Miss Wilkinson, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Security, stated that in the whole-time personnel the establishment had been cut by one-third in the past twelve months, and that a further cut of 12½ per cent, would be made in areas other than those which were regarded as specially vulnerable. In actual numbers, however, the force was augmented, as each whole-timer relieved was replaced by about three unpaid part-timers, many of whom were enrolled compulsorily. The number of fire guards had also been increased to about 5,000,000, and their training had been made more thorough. Naturally, the burden on the part-timers was made as light as possible; nevertheless, the demands on the unpaid civil population were now greater than they had been in the period of the heavy bombing, when the proportion of paid workers had been much higher. The Home Guard also was allowed no relaxation, although the danger of invasion had become remote.

In the course of May a particularly determined attack was made by U-boats on large convoys of food and war materials sailing from the United States to Great Britain. Long lines of German submarines were spread to intercept the convoys, and they were often concentrated in packs of 15 or 20 for purposes of attack. The defence was carried out by combined forces of escort ships and aircraft of the Navy and of Coastal Command, working in the closest co-operation and using the latest tactics, by which the enemy was sought out and attacked long before he could approach his prospective victims. The battle ranged over hundreds of miles and extended intermittently throughout five days and five nights, most of the engagements being fought many miles from the convoys. The results were highly satisfactory; two U-boats were destroyed, three probably destroyed, and others damaged, while 97 per cent, of the ships forming the convoys reached harbour in safety without having been molested.

That the war against the U-boats in the Atlantic had of late taken a definite turn for the better was revealed by the First Lord of the Admiralty in a statement to the House of Commons on June 2. March, he admitted, had been a bad month for sinkings, but in April and May losses had been reduced below the level of the three months December to February, which had been much lower than a year before. Over the whole of the first five months of the year there had been a saving of more than one-third as

compared with the previous year, and with the American merchant ship programme nearing its peak there had been large increases in the tonnage available to the United Nations. What was perhaps most important was that the curve of U-boat destruction, thanks to the increasing size of their escort forces and the growing deadliness of their new weapons and devices, was steadily rising. In the last six months the rate of destruction had been 25 per cent, above that of the previous six months, and in the last two months the number of U-boats in the Atlantic battle seemed to have decreased ; this was due in part to the bombing of U-boat building yards and operational bases in the Bay of Biscay by the R.A.F. and American bombers.

On June 8 Mr. Churchill gave an account to the House of Commons of his visits to Washington and North Africa. Since the Casablanca meeting, he said, the progress of events had been more rapid and the armies had marched faster than had been foreseen, and it became necessary therefore to explore new fields. Having faced disaster together, the American and British leaders had now to show that they could also turn good fortune to the best advantage. Complete agreement had been reached between the two Governments as to the next steps ; there had been no differences such as had occurred in the last war between the politicians and the military men. In North Africa also he had found the most complete concord and confidence at General Eisenhower's headquarters, and the forces of the two great nations of the English-speaking world working together literally as if they were one single army. It was, he added, a very fine experience for a visitor to mix with the splendid armies—British, American, and French—which had come into being in the African war.

There could be no doubt, said Mr. Churchill, that both Stalingrad and Tunisia were the greatest military disasters that had ever befallen Germany in all the many wars she had made. The suddenness of the German collapse reminded them of what had happened after Jena, and at the close of the last war. Though this fact should be noted and weighed, however, no undue expectations should be based on it. They were prepared to win the war by hard fighting, and if necessary by hard fighting alone. The operations now impending in the European theatre had been fitted into their proper place in relation to the general war. The thought of taking some of the weight off Russia, of rendering more speedy and effective aid to China, and giving a stronger measure of security to their beloved Australia and New Zealand, had never been absent from their minds.

Referring to the German outcry against the terror of the British air bombardment, Mr. Churchill said that this was a satisfactory proof of the growing efficiency of their attack, and declared that nothing would turn the Allied Nations from their

intention and endeavour to accomplish the complete destruction of their foes by bombing from the air in addition to all other means. Their first concern in England, however, was still with the anti-U-boat war, and in regard to this Mr. Churchill confirmed the cheering intelligence already given to the House by the First Lord of the Admiralty. They were now bringing into play the very long-range air power—the "V.L.R." as it was called—which they had long been preparing, with the result that for the first time in May their killings of U-boats had substantially outnumbered the U-boat output. He expressed himself as confident that the U-boat war would not stand between the United Nations and their final victory, while all the time the air war would grow in weight and severity.

On June 12 the King, accompanied by the Secretaries of State for War and Air, paid a visit to North Africa in order to convey personally his congratulations to the troops there on their victory and to bestow certain decorations. During his absence his place at home was taken, in accordance with the Regency Act of 1937, by five Counsellors of State, *viz.* the Queen, the Duke of Gloucester, the Princess Royal, Princess Arthur of Connaught, and Lady Southesk. While in Africa the King inspected the battle-fields, and also paid a visit to Malta, being everywhere received with the utmost enthusiasm by all nationalities. He returned to England in a night flight on June 25.

The Forty-second Annual Conference of the Labour Party was opened in London on June 14 under the chairmanship of Mr. A. J. Dobbs. The Executive's report was entitled "The Labour Party and the Future," and outlined a Socialist policy for the post-war period. For the present, however, it recommended the continuance of the electoral truce, with the continued participation of the Labour Ministers in the Government. The latter proposal, as last year, aroused some opposition, though not so strong as then, because the issue this year was not complicated with the question whether the Labour Party should support non-Labour candidates at by-elections. After a pledge had been given on behalf of the Executive that after the war a national conference would be called to decide whether the truce should be continued, a motion to end it at once was defeated by 2,243,000 votes to 374,000. The pledge was reaffirmed on the next day by Mr. Attlee.

On the second day a resolution was moved on behalf of the Executive welcoming the Beveridge Report and calling on the Government for the speedy preparation of the legislation necessary for giving it effect. An amendment was moved inviting the conference to record its approval of the action of the Labour members who voted against the Government in the debate on the report on February 17, and calling on the Parliamentary Party to continue its efforts to secure immediate legislation to

implement the principles of the report. A lively debate followed, in which the Labour Ministers were freely criticised for their treatment of the report. On this occasion the Ministers were defended by Mr. Greenwood, who pointed out that every Minister was in honour bound to support the Government or come out of it, and that the three Labour Ministers had done* their best and were still doing their best to secure implementation of the report. The amendment was ultimately defeated by 1,715,000 votes to 955,000.

On the next day the conference discussed once more the question of receiving Communists into the fold. A renewed application from the Communist Party for affiliation had been refused by the Executive in February on the familiar grounds. One of the most important of these was removed by the dissolution of the Russian Comintern in May, but when the application was renewed it was again refused by the Executive. It was now supported, however, by the influential miners' union, the president of which moved that the application of the Communist Party should be granted, provided that it agreed to accept and abide by the constitution of the Labour Party. This was vigorously opposed by Mr. Herbert Morrison, who said that the best way for the Communist Party to show its sincerity would be to follow the example of the Comintern and disband itself; and the proposal for affiliation was rejected by 1,951,000 votes to 712,000.

On the same day the chairman read out a long statement setting forth the views of the Executive on the crisis which had arisen over the Trades Disputes Act. The statement recalled that the Labour Movement had never accepted the unjust restrictions of the Act, and that it had sought to take advantage of the spirit of amity and co-operation produced by the war to secure its repeal by consent. It criticised the Conservative Party severely for its uncompromising attitude, and described its refusal to consent even to the limited amendment of the Act proposed by the T.U.C. General Council as an extreme manifestation of partisan prejudice and power. On the action of the Council itself, however, in supporting the postal workers in their defiance of the Act the statement expressed no view. It merely declared that a very delicate position had arisen, and it asked the delegates to refrain from any form of intervention, even by discussion. Though somewhat taken aback by this request, the delegates loyally complied, and immediately approved the chairman's statement without comment.

On the fourth day a heated discussion arose on the subject of what was known as Vansittartism—the idea, of which Lord Vansittart had made himself the principal exponent, that the German people in the mass were no better than their Government and were equally responsible for the calamities which had befallen Europe. A resolution was moved denouncing this idea, and

drawing a clear distinction between the German people and the Nazi Government. This was countered by an amendment, declaring that the Nazi Government would not have remained in power but for the support which it received from the overwhelming mass of the German people, but nevertheless opposing a treaty of mere revenge. The amendment was finally carried by 1,803,000 votes to 720,000. About a hundred of the supporters of the motion thereupon held what they called an indignation meeting, in which they denounced the vote of the conference as playing into the hands of Goebbels, and denied that it represented the true sentiments of the British working class. In fact, the action of some of the delegates who voted for the amendment was subsequently repudiated by the unions which they represented.

With the approach of warmer weather the Minister of Fuel and Power was able to congratulate himself on having got through the winter without needing to impose any restrictions on the consumption of coal. At the beginning of May he informed the public that the production of coal since the previous June had fully kept pace with consumption and in fact somewhat exceeded it, so closing the previous "gap" of eleven million tons annually. This was due as to one-third to increase in production and as to two-thirds to economies in consumption. Domestic users alone had cut down their consumption of coal by some 4,000,000 tons; they had probably consumed less of their own free will than they would have been required to do under the coupon rationing scheme which at one time it had been intended to introduce. This abstinence could no doubt be attributed in part to the exceptional mildness of the winter; none the less it put out of the question any introduction of the rationing scheme in the current year.

In a report issued on May 28 the House of Commons Select Committee on National Expenditure expressed the opinion that in the coming months production was likely to decline while the demands for coal would increase, and that therefore the need for economy was imperative. In a debate on the coal situation in the House of Commons on June 23, Mr. Grenfell, a former Minister of Mines, also sounded a warning note, predicting that there would be a break-down in the industry unless more workers could be drawn into it. The Minister, however, still refused to be discouraged. He praised the public for the way in which they had responded to his appeal last year, and said that next winter he would ask them, and show them how, to make considerably greater economies. The three million tons saved by industry was only a beginning, and he expected much greater economies from them in the ensuing months. As a result of various steps taken by the Government he also expected an increase in output. Providing, therefore, there was no serious **decline in the output per man** and the **economies secured last**

year were not only maintained but increased, he thought they should see the winter through.

On June 3 the text was issued of a Foreign Service Bill supplementing the reforms of the Foreign Office approved by Parliament in March (*vide* p. 7). Its chief provision was that the Foreign Secretary should be able to retire at will diplomatic representatives who had shown themselves incapable of filling the highest posts, and that the officials so retired should be compensated for their loss of employment by receiving a higher rate of pension and a larger lump sum than if they waited till the expiry of their term. In moving the second reading of the Bill on June 22, Mr. Law, the Foreign Office Under-Secretary, explained that the Foreign Secretary already possessed certain limited powers of retiring officers of the service simply on the ground of lack of ability, but he was loth to use them for fear of inflicting hardship on the official involved, and therefore he usually fell back on the unsatisfactory expedient of transferring him to a post of inferior importance. The new Bill would relieve the Minister of this embarrassment and give him a freer hand for keeping the service up to the highest level of efficiency.

On June 10 the text was published of a Pensions Appeal Tribunals Bill, under which independent tribunals were to be set up for the hearing of appeals against the rejection of war pension claims by the Minister of Pensions. The Bill received an unopposed second reading on June 24, but for the Committee stage a number of amendments were put down with the object of removing restrictions on the right of appeal contained in the Bill. When the Bill entered Committee on July 1 the House made it abundantly clear that it was strongly in favour not only of wider rights of appeal than were contained in the Bill, but also of a considerable increase in the existing rates of pension. As the Government was already considering this question, it withdrew the Bill, promising to introduce in a short time a Bill which would provide for an increase in the scale of pensions as well as for an Appeal Tribunal.

On June 23 Mr. Eden informed the House of Commons that the Government had accepted proposals made by the United States Government for the creation of a United Nations organisation for post-war relief. On July 6 he stated in the House that the Government accepted without hesitation the resolutions of the conference which had just been held at Hot Springs in the United States to consider the problem of post-war food supply in Europe, and would recommend them to the Governments of the Colonies, Dependencies, and Oversea territories. The Government, he said, intended to participate fully in the establishment of an interim commission to carry on the work of the conference, and to prepare a plan for permanent organisation in the field of food and agriculture.

Referring to the report of the Hot Springs Conference in the House of Commons on July 28, Mr. Hudson, the Minister of Agriculture, expressed regret that so little public interest was shown in it as compared with the Beveridge Report, although it affected a much wider circle, and more continuously. The Government, he said, accepted the implications of Hot Springs and the recommendations contained in Resolution XII, dealing with relief. They considered that the best contribution which England would be able to make to the relief of hunger and distress throughout the world was to go on producing the maximum amount of foodstuffs from their own soil as long as this proved to be necessary. They had increased the total production of food from the soil of the country by 70 per cent, compared with the pre-war position, and were getting towards the limit of what was possible, having regard to the shortage of labour, machinery, and fertilisers. Their chief aim must now be to maintain the high level of production they had already reached, while at the same time taking care to ensure that the fertility of the soil was not undermined, which again would involve an increase in live-stock and livestock products.

On June 24 the Home Secretary announced in the House of Commons the Government's plans for improving the electoral machinery so as to make the voting at elections more truly representative—or less unrepresentative—of public opinion. An Armed Forces Register would be prepared embracing members of the forces and merchant seamen, who would vote by post if they were in England and by proxy if they were abroad. New electoral registers would be compiled for civilians, including all over the age of 21 residing in each constituency. The residential period would be two months. The business premises qualification would be obtainable by claim, and claims and objections would be dealt with swiftly under a simplified procedure.

On June 29 it was announced that the Government had appointed a Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Cohen, to consider and report what major amendments were desirable in the Companies Act, 1929, and in particular to review the requirements prescribed in regard to the formation and affairs of companies and the safeguards afforded for investors and the public interest. In answer to a question Mr. Dalton promised that the matter of nominee shareholders would also be dealt with. Since the passing of the 1929 Act it had been found in practice that the existing powers did not always make it possible to check even evasions of a type amounting to criminal practice. Conditions in the commercial world had also changed to such a degree as to make a revision of the law necessary.

When the Finance Bill came up for its Report stage on June 29 Mr. Eden moved that the third reading should be taken immediately afterwards, as had been done in the two previous

years, but the House on this occasion would not consent, as it was not yet satisfied with a clause introduced by the Government to check evasion of excess profits. On this point also the Government gave way, inserting amendments to safeguard barristers, bankers, and accountants who might be associated quite innocently with tax evaders. When the third reading was taken on July 7 the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that he was still trying, in conjunction with the Trades Union Congress and the Employers' Confederation, to find a way of taking income tax from the current earnings of manual workers, but he had not yet succeeded, although the problem seemed to have been solved in the United States and Canada. With regard to excess profits, he said that the amount of tax evasion was relatively small, and he thought he had now sufficient powers to deal with a case which had aroused much indignation in Parliament, of a "deal" in whisky which, by an ingenious manipulation of the Company law, had deprived the Exchequer of millions of pounds of excess profits.

German air activity over England showed a decline in June, the total number of casualties being only 200 killed and 284 injured. How completely the tables had been turned in the air battle between the R.A.F. and the Luftwaffe was shown by the fact that the total weight of bombs dropped over England in the period from January 1 to June 19 of this year was little more than half the 2,000 tons dropped on Dortmund in a single hour on the night of May 23. German losses in the whole period amounted to 211 aircraft out of some 1,400 which had crossed the coast, as compared with 38 bombers lost by the R.A.F. over Dortmund. Between May 22 and June 22 Bomber Command dropped altogether more than 15,000 tons of bombs, mostly on Germany. At sea, too, the position in June was equally satisfactory; as a result of the heavy toll taken of the U-boats in May the main transatlantic convoys were practically unmolested, and the losses of Allied and neutral ships from submarine attacks were the lowest since the United States had entered the war. The sinkings of Axis submarines, on the other hand, remained, in the words of the official *communiqué*, "substantial and satisfactory," in spite of the fact that the number of targets offered to the anti-submarine vessels and aircraft of the United Nations was not so great as previously. Partly in view of the improved situation, partly to put a stop to unauthorised statements, it was decided that an official Anglo-American statement on anti-submarine warfare should be issued henceforth about the 10th of each month.

A Bill to supplement the Ribbon Development Act of 1935 was introduced in the House of Commons on July 1 by Mr. Noel-Baker, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of War Transport. He said that the Act of 1935 had done much less

than was hoped to stop the process of ribbon development, not because the local authorities were unwilling to operate it, but because they did not possess the financial resources for making the compensation necessary in many cases. Since the war the process had been greatly quickened by the erection of buildings required for the increase of war production. In some cases the local authorities had made a stipulation that these should be removed at the end of the war, but the legal validity of such a stipulation was doubtful. In order, therefore, to strengthen their hands the Government now proposed to give local authorities a right to make such a stipulation, and to apply it retrospectively to cases where it had already been made. The rejection of the Bill was moved on the ground that it reduced for the duration of the war the safeguards against ribbon development, but after the Minister had made it clear that the Government was really anxious to stop such development as far as possible, the motion for rejection was withdrawn and the Bill was read a second time.

On July 6 the House of Commons discussed a report issued by a Forestry Commission presided over by Sir G. Courthope. The report advocated as a long-range programme for timber the planting in fifty years of 5,000,000 acres—of which 1,000,000 acres were to be planted in the first decade—at a total cost of about 41,000,000?. In the debate Sir G. Courthope insisted that owing to conditions in Russia and Sweden, their main sources of supply hitherto, it was necessary to provide as quickly as possible for the production at home of a substantial part of their timber requirements. On behalf of the Government Sir W. Jowitt stated that before legislation could be promoted an opportunity must be given for representations to be made by the interests concerned, including land-owning interests. The Government intended to follow a vigorous policy of afforestation after the war, but forestry could not be dealt with in isolation from their post-war needs as a whole.

On July 7 Mr. Eden addressed a great "Salute to China" meeting held at the Albert Hall, London, to mark the sixth anniversary of the Sino-Japanese war. In the course of his remarks he repeated the words used by Mr. Churchill in his recent address to the American Congress, that he regarded the bringing of effective and immediate aid to China as one of the most urgent of their common tasks. Their determination to aid China, he said, was not limited by political or financial considerations, but by physical problems alone. Suggestions that Britain did not wish to see China strong he characterised as both ludicrous and mischievous. Without a strong and united China there was no prospect of lasting stability in the Far East. In the East as in the West they would have to build up a collective system of security, to which China and all those nations directly concerned in the Far East would especially have contributions to make.

On July 8 Mr. Dingle Foot, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Warfare, gave a report to the House of Commons on the economic blockade of the Axis countries. He said that the problem of imposing a blockade on the whole of German-controlled Europe had been solved by the introduction of compulsory navicerts, by which control was transferred from the seas to the quays. The procedure had worked more effectively and smoothly than anyone had expected when it was first introduced in the summer of 1940. By this means neutrals were prevented from acting as conduit pipes to the enemy, and in addition the use of the weapon of the Black List had been carried a good deal further than in the last war in order to deter neutral countries from supplying the Axis even with their own products. The Ministry, he said, was being constantly urged to relax the blockade and allow food to enter the Occupied territories for the benefit of the native populations, who were supposed to be starving. This was not the fact; a condition of famine did not prevail generally throughout Occupied Europe. In any case the responsibility for feeding the Occupied countries lay upon the Germans, and they did not intend in any way to relieve them **of it.**

One of the chief tasks of economic warfare since 1941 had been to keep Germany and Japan apart and prevent them from establishing any commercial intercourse, either by land or sea. In the spring and summer of 1942 Japanese attempts to run the blockade had been occasionally successful, but in the past eight months this traffic had been brought practically to a standstill, thanks largely to the scouting work of the Coastal Command Air Force. As a result of combined naval and aerial efforts the Germans had lost during the last year 30,000 tons of rubber, 5,000 tons of tin, 25,000 tons of edible oil, and smaller but hardly less important quantities of tungsten and quinine. The cargoes which had been lost to Japan included heavy machinery and tools. As for the inner blockade, it had diminished Axis trade with both neutral and Axis countries in the Mediterranean, and forced the enemy to carry on the congested Balkan railways the oil which could more easily have been shipped from Constantinople to Italian ports. Similarly, the war on the enemy's shipping, which had been carried on by bomb, mine, and torpedo for the last three years in the narrow waters of the Baltic and the North Sea, had reduced the tonnage at the Germans' disposal to the bare minimum needed to meet their most essential military and economic requirements. A final weapon of the blockade was air attack on the enemy's war production, whether in the form of attacks on particular factories or on whole industrial areas; both kinds had been used most effectively.

Mr. Foot closed his survey with the defeat of the Axis Powers the weap

which they used to exercise through sea power alone, but now exercised through the combined command of sea and air, would prove again to be one of the most decisive factors. The idea, however, so widely held at the beginning of the war, that the blockade alone could bring about the downfall of Germany, had long since been given up by everyone in England. It was universally recognised that an invasion of the Continent could not be dispensed with ; and the public were already growing impatient with the long delay in following up the conquest of North Africa with an attack on what Mr. Churchill had once called " the soft under-belly of the Axis." The Allied High Command had, in fact, during this time been busily making its preparations for the next step in the programme laid down at Casablanca, which, as was subsequently revealed, was the conquest of Sicily. After the fall of Pantelleria a systematic and thorough bombing of airfields in the island had been carried out, with the result that in a few weeks most of them were put out of action, and Allied air supremacy over Sicily was assured. At the same time reinforcements were sent to North Africa, and a vast fleet of ships assembled in the ports there. This did not entirely escape the enemy's notice, but to divert his attention a raid was carried out at the beginning of July by British land forces on Crete.

The expedition at length set out to cross the Sicilian Straits at nightfall on July 9. It consisted of some three thousand vessels, carrying or escorting a dozen divisions of British, Canadian, and American troops. The passage was made without incident, and by morning the ships were drawn up facing the beaches for 50 miles on either side of Cape Pesaro, at the south-eastern tip of Sicily. The enemy had been taken by surprise, and the landings were made with very little opposition. The British seized the coast running to the north of Cape Pesaro, in the direction of Syracuse, the Canadians and Americans the coast to the west, in the direction of Gela. Inland, too, considerable numbers of air-borne troops and parachutists had been landed during the night at strategic points, also with very little opposition. As in Tunisia, the general direction of operations was in the hands of General Alexander, and the British troops, consisting again of the Eighth Army, were commanded by General Montgomery.

The British troops immediately commenced to advance northwards, and, still meeting with only feeble opposition, on July 10 captured Syracuse, and two days later the port of Augusta. The harbours in both places were very little damaged, and the task of the Navy in disembarking reinforcements was in consequence greatly facilitated. It was not till they had taken Lentini and advanced into the Catanian plain that the British met with really stiff resistance. Half-way between Lentini and Catania they were held up for forty-eight hours at a bridge over the river Simeto, owing to a mistake in the landing of parachutists, and

this gave the Germans time to throw reinforcements into Catania, which, being protected on the land side by Mount Etna, occupied a very strong position.

Meanwhile the Americans, after being nearly thrown back into the sea at Gela by a German counter-thrust, had made such rapid progress further west that within a week the whole of the south-eastern part of the island was in Allied hands, and the High Command was able to put into operation its first plans for the administration of the* territory. General Alexander was appointed Military Governor of the island, and under him was set up an organisation called the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territory—Amgot for short—with Major-General Lord Rennell of Rodd at its head. General Alexander at once issued a proclamation dissolving the Fascist Party and assuring the population that their personal and property rights would be respected so far as military exigencies allowed. Arrangements were also made for feeding the inhabitants, who everywhere welcomed the invaders as liberators.

On July 19 a strong force of American bombers carried out the first Allied air raid on Rome. The question whether Rome, with its priceless historical monumeats, should in any circumstances be bombed had greatly exercised public opinion in England ever since the first raids had been made on Italy. The Government had been urged in Parliament to treat Rome as an open city ; but Mr. Eden had replied that they would not he'sitate to bomb it to the best of their ability and as heavily as possible if the course of the war should render such action convenient and helpful. This was now judged to be the case, as Rome was a most important railway centre for the conveyance of reinforcements to Sicily. Every precaution was, however, taken to confine the damage to military objectives ; for this purpose the raid was made in daylight, and the pilots and bomb-aimers received particular instructions to avoid damaging religious and cultural monuments.

On reaching Catania on July 19 the British Eighth Army was again brought to a halt by the strength of the German defences. Meanwhile, however, the Americans and Canadians were encountering only the feeblest opposition from the Italian troops in the rest of the island, and were sweeping all before them. Enna, in the centre of the island, was taken on July 22 ; the whole of Western Sicily was abandoned by the enemy immediately afterwards, and on July 23 the Americans occupied Palermo, the capital, without a struggle. From here they commenced to march eastwards along the northern coast, while the Canadians approached the western slopes of Etna. By the end of the month the enemy were confined in the north-eastern corner of the island within a line running from Catania round Mount Etna to the northern coast, about 170 miles long, hard pressed by the

British on the south, the Canadians in the centre, and the Americans in the north.

A new plan for the County of London (not including either the City or Greater London in the Home Counties), drawn up by two experts of the London County Council, was published on July 13, and attracted widespread attention. Four major defects were specified in the existing County of London—traffic congestion, depressed housing, inadequacy and maldistribution of open spaces, and a great jumble of houses and industry. The new plan sought to remedy these defects while preserving and even accentuating the historical character of London as a collection of communities descended from ancient villages which still preserved not only a physical grouping but also a strong local loyalty. One of the aims of the plan, therefore, was so to direct through traffic that it should pass round or by the communities and not through them. The communities themselves were "to be divided into smaller neighbourhood units of between 6,000 and 10,000 persons related to the elementary school and the area served by it." To emphasise the metropolitan character of London, certain districts of national note, like those round Westminster Abbey and the British Museum, were to be made into "precincts" which would be closed to all traffic save that serving the district. Open spaces were provided in the plan on the scale of 4 acres to every 1,000 people, which meant an addition of about 5,000 acres to the existing open space and were to be laid out in such a way that "it would be possible for the town-dweller to get from his own doorstep to open country through an easy flow of open space from garden to park, from park to parkway, from parkway to green wedge, and from green wedge to Green Belt." The density of population contemplated was 136 people to the acre, of whom 55 per cent, would live in houses and 45 per cent, in flats. This would involve an exodus from the present County Council area of about 600,000, which would, of course, seriously affect the localisation of industry.

On July 13 Colonel Stanley, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated in the House of Commons that there had been of late in the Colonies a remarkable advance in political self-consciousness which the Government was desirous of fostering by strengthening their education and economic development. For the promotion of higher education he proposed to set up a Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Asquith which would inquire how the home universities could best give guidance and help in developing the colonial colleges into universities. Another Commission, with Mr. W. Elliot, M.P., as chairman, would make a particular inquiry into higher education in West Africa. On the economic side the most striking phenomenon in recent years had been the formation of trade unions, of which there were now about 300. To give them the benefit of English experience he intended

to institute in England a two-year course, open to people from the Colonies, particularly Africans, for training in leadership in societies. Later in the summer the Minister himself made a tour of the West African Colonies.

On July 14, in a debate on merchant shipping in the House of Commons, a number of speakers urged on the Government the necessity of securing for England a strong merchant marine after the war, especially in face of the vast growth of the American marine, and also of providing proper conditions of service for the seamen. Mr. Noel-Baker, in reply, said that the Government were fully alive to both needs, and would certainly not neglect the Merchant Navy as it was neglected after the last war. When asked "whether the Government intended to hand back to private ownership the vessels it had requisitioned or had built, he replied that this was a matter for Parliament to decide. Sir A. Salter, who had for long had charge of British shipping interests in Washington, said that whatever apprehensions might be aroused in them by the American production of ships, there was no doubt that the motive behind it was simply to build a vital instrument of war ; and it had been used with such effect for this purpose that he was unable to regard it with anything but gratitude and joy. He revealed to the House that twice in the last three years the shipping situation in England had been so serious as to threaten the whole issue of the war, and each time the balance had been restored by American production. The first crisis was in the spring of 1941, when they were losing several times as much shipping as they were building and were in danger either of famine and having to close down factories for want of raw material, or of being unable to supply their armies in the Near East and elsewhere. The United States came to the rescue, and in 1942 they had the ships they needed and the prospect of many more. The second crisis was after Japan entered the war and America began to lose more ships than she was building, but again a spurt in American production saved the situation.

On July 14 a White Paper was issued setting forth the changes which the Government proposed to make in rates and conditions of war pensions. Pension rates for death and disablement in the present war were to be raised and assimilated broadly to those payable for the last war, which were related to a cost-of-living index figure higher than that now obtaining. This meant an increase from 37s. 6d. to 40s. a week as the minimum pension payable to a soldier who was wholly disabled, and corresponding increases in family and other allowances. In addition to the increase in standard rates, the pensions of widows of " other ranks " with children were to be supplemented by a sum equivalent to the amount paid in rent and rates over 8s. per week, the maximum rate of supplementation being 12s. per week. The principle was maintained that there should be no additional

allowance for a wife or children if the marriage took place after the injury for which a pension was granted, an exception, however, being made in favour of men who were unemployable because of their disablement; these also had their standard pensions supplemented by an extra 10s. a week. The conditions of entitlement to pension were to be modified considerably in favour of the claimant, on whom henceforth no onus of proof was to rest. Where any reasonable doubt existed as to whether deterioration in health was due to service conditions, the soldier discharged on medical grounds was to be given the benefit of the doubt. On the other hand, the Government refused to accept the principle, "fit for service, fit for pension," and insisted that there must be a causal connexion between disablement and war service. Accidents sustained while "walking out" and the like were to be accepted for pension, but not if sustained while on leave. Applications for pensions rejected in the past were to be reviewed in the light of the new conditions.

In recommending the new arrangements to the House of Commons on July 20, Sir John Anderson maintained that they substantially met all reasonable demands on behalf of service men and their dependants. On the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer he stated that in the consideration of the matter by the War Cabinet purely financial considerations had not been allowed to play a dominant part; the Government had sought to get rid of the reproach that any disabled ex-Service man should have to have recourse to the Poor Law or to private charity. The discussion which ensued showed that the House was on the whole satisfied, though Labour members considered that there was still room for improvement. A Bill for setting-up the new Pensions Appeal Tribunals was passed shortly afterwards.

On July 15 the House of Commons agreed to the continuation in force of the Emergency Powers Act, from August 24. Replying to a suggestion that a Select Committee should be appointed to scrutinise regulations made under the Act, the Home Secretary said that the Government still thought such a proposal unwise, especially as they had recently made various changes and improvements in procedure which he thought would be found to safeguard the rights and privileges of Parliament. He informed the House that since June 30, 1942, a further 124 persons had been released under Regulation 18B, while 25 new orders of detention had been made. There were now 429 persons under detention, of whom 286 were persons of hostile origin or association, 55 were concerned in activities prejudicial to the public safety, and 88 were members of the British Union or concerned in activities for the furtherance of the objects of the British Union.

At its Annual Conference, held in London on July 15-17, the Liberal Party carried a stage further the process of restating its

policy in the light of modern conditions which it had commenced at last year's assembly (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 69). The principal resolution dealt with the relation of the State to industry, and, while accepting as necessary the continuance of Government controls for some time after the war, urged that after the transition period all which could not be shown to be necessary and beneficial should be removed. It also called for the appointment of a Ministry of Industry and an Economic General Staff, the presentation annually of a capital Budget as well as a revenue Budget, and a Board of National Investment to facilitate the expansion of capital works in times of trade depression. Addressing the conference on July 17, Sir Archibald Sinclair, the leader of the party, said that if after the war agreement was found to exist on the plans the Government were now making for the restoration of peace, order, justice, and commerce throughout the world, there would be a strong case for preserving the unity of the Government for a period of reconstruction, but he was determined that the Liberal Party should not barter its independence or lose its individuality in a permanent coalition with any other party. This assurance did not satisfy the delegates, and in spite of appeals by the Executive Committee the conference at its closing session adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling on the party leaders to refuse to participate in any post-war political alliance, and expressing the view that the continuance of the National Government after the war would be fraught with grave danger to national and international reconstruction.

On July 16 the House of Commons discussed the question of the trend of population, as a subject vitally affecting all projects of social improvement. It was pointed out that if present tendencies continued, a decline in the population would soon set in, and suggestions were made for stimulating the birth-rate by means of Government action. Mr. E. Brown, the Minister of Health, in reply, pointed out that the great increase in the population of the British Isles in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century was something abnormal and could not possibly be kept up. The check might perhaps have gone too far, but there was no ground for expecting a further decline in the birth-rate simply by reason of what had happened in the past. In fact, they were now getting good results from their long-term policy of maternity and child welfare service. The one point on which all who dealt with the question were agreed was that more knowledge was needed, and the Government therefore intended to institute an inquiry on the broadest basis into the whole question of birth-rate and population.

On July 16 a White Paper was issued by the Board of Education containing proposals for a complete recasting of the education service in England and Wales, with the aim of providing greater

equality of opportunity between different classes and more diverse facilities for the development of individual talent. This was to be effected by making secondary education as universal as primary education was under the existing system ; and for this purpose a revolutionary change was proposed in the relation between the two branches. Henceforth all children, and not only a selected few, were at the age of 11 or 12 to be transferred from primary to secondary schools, where they were to remain till the age of 15 or even 16. Fees were to be abolished in all secondary schools, for the maintenance of which the local authorities were to be responsible. There were to be three main types of secondary schools—grammar, modern, and technical. Children were to be transferred to these from the primary schools, not on the results of a competitive test, but on assessment of their individual aptitudes largely by such means as school records, supplemented, if necessary, by intelligence tests, due regard being had to their parents' wishes and the careers they had in mind. At the age of 13 or even later, there would be facilities for transfer to a different type of education if the original choice proved to have been unsuitable. Religious instruction on an agreed basis was to be an integral part of the secondary school curriculum, and the provisions of the Education Act of 1936 were to be revived for the aiding of voluntary schools.

Even for those who left school at 15 education would continue compulsorily up to the age of 18 on a part-time basis, the hours of attendance being taken from the hours of employment, and the minimum being a day a week or its equivalent. The institutions for part-time education would be known generally as Young People's Colleges. Besides giving technical and vocational instruction these should include in their curricula some basic elements, such as physical training, and training in clarity of expression, in understanding of the written and spoken word, and in the broad meaning of citizenship.

For the benefit of parents who preferred to have their children educated in schools outside the public system it was proposed that all independent schools should be open to inspection by the Board of Education and should not be allowed to continue if considered by the Board unsatisfactory. It was proposed that in future the local education authorities should be the county councils of the counties and county boroughs only; the actual supervision in the counties would be in the hands of district committees. For bringing the scheme into operation it was estimated that it would be necessary ultimately to raise the total expenditure from public funds on education in England and Wales from 123,000,000Z. to 190,000,000Z.—an increase of 67,400,000/.

An important pendant to the White Paper was provided by the report issued a few days later (July 25) by a Committee appointed in 1941* under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Norwood,

to consider suggested changes in the secondary school curriculum and the examinations connected with it. The Committee held that the School Certificate Examination, which for twenty years had rendered useful service in giving guidance and direction to teachers, was now tending to dominate over-much the minds of pupils, and it recommended, therefore, that it should in future be set internally instead of externally, though in order not to cause confusion the transition should be made gradually, over a period of, say, seven years. The Higher School Certificate Examination should be abolished, as being too specialised, and to meet the requirements of university entrance, of entry to professions and other needs, a school-leaving examination should be conducted twice each year for pupils of 18. State scholarships to universities should be of such value as to enable the holder to take full part in the life of the university. The Committee was on the whole against the introduction into the grammar school curriculum of new subjects such as economics, social studies, and citizenship, and insisted that throughout the lower school special provision should be made in classroom time for physical education, religious instruction, and English.

On July 29 Mr. R. Butler, the President of the Board of Education, formally asked the House of Commons to give its approval to the Government's scheme. He pointed out that this was the first attempt since 1870 to cast the British educational system in an entirely new mould; all previous changes since that time had been merely adaptations of the system—excellent in its day—created by W. E. Forster. The reception given to it by the House was on the whole highly favourable. Criticism centred chiefly on the arrangements for giving religious instruction in schools, which did not satisfy certain Catholic and Free Church spokesmen. Neither did they satisfy the National Union of Teachers, but for opposite reasons. Similar approval, with similar reservations, was voiced in the House of Lords in a debate on August 4 and 5.

On July 22 the report was published of a conference of representatives of local authorities which had been called in the previous month by the Minister of Health to discuss methods of mitigating war-time housing difficulties. The report stated that, notwithstanding the rapid and efficient measures taken to deal with extensive war damage to property, the housing situation had become progressively worse. Overcrowding had increased, and in many areas it was impossible to obtain separate family accommodation. Throughout the country the condition of existing houses was continuously deteriorating. Local authorities had to face an insistent demand for houses without any power to meet it. The failure of the Government to find any remedy for the situation was also severely criticised at a congress organised by the building industries about the same time.

On July 22 the Home Secretary announced in the House of Commons that the Government proposed at an early date to introduce legislation to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee on Electoral Machinery for the redistribution of Parliamentary seats (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 93). By such legislation it was hoped to secure that a scheme of redistribution would take effect before the first post-war General Election was held. After that there would be in existence a standing body of Boundary Commissioners who would keep the state of the constituencies under review, and would be in a position when any redistribution was required to prepare schemes for Parliamentary approval. Two days later Mr. Morrison announced that legislation would also be shortly introduced for preparing an Armed Forces Register and for bringing and keeping up to date the electoral register in each constituency.

On July 28 the Home Secretary laid before the House of Commons a Bill providing for a number of increases in workmen's compensation. It was to remain in force till December 31, 1946, by which time it was hoped that more satisfactory arrangements for workmen's compensation would be made in a wider social security plan. The influence of the Beveridge scheme was already seen in the proposals now made to increase children's allowances to 5s. a week and to make a special allowance for married men. It was estimated by employers that the aggregate payments for workmen's compensation would increase under the new proposals from 16,000,000Z. to 20,000,000Z. a year.

On July 29 Mr. Bevin, the Minister of Labour, stated in the House of Commons that both in the aircraft industry and in the coal industry there was an urgent need for additional labour beyond what could be supplied from the existing sources. In the case of the aircraft industry this was due to the constantly growing demands of the Air Force ; in the case of the coal industry to the insufficiency of new recruits. For making good the deficiency he mentioned various devices, included in which were the calling up of women between 45 and 50 and the recruitment for the mines of boys from the age of 16. Both suggestions caused great uneasiness in the House, and Mr. Bevin made it clear that they would not be put into force without further debate.

On July 26 the political situation in Italy was profoundly altered by the fall of Mussolini and the transference of supreme authority to the King and Marshal Badoglio. In the House of Commons on July 27 the Prime Minister expressed the general satisfaction at the downfall of one of the principal war criminals, and summoned the Italian people to carry the change to its logical conclusion. The British and United States Armies, he said, now stood at the portals of the Italian mainland armed with the powers of the sea and the air and a very large land and

amphibious force equipped with every modern weapon and device. These masterful forces brought, if the Italian people so decided, relief from the war, freedom from servitude, and, after an interval, a respectable place in the new and rescued Europe. If, on the other hand, the new Italian Government chose to adhere to the Germans, the Allies would continue to make war upon Italy from every quarter, and by amphibious descent would endeavour to bring the utmost rigours of war increasingly upon them ; orders to that effect had, in fact, been given to all the Allied commanders concerned. A decision by the Italian Government and people to continue under the German yoke would not affect seriously the general course of the war, still less alter its ultimate result; the only consequence would be that in the next few months Italy would be seared and scarred and blackened from one end to the other.

While thus announcing Britain's readiness to continue the war with Italy, Mr. Churchill intimated clearly that he had no objection to the new Italian Government as such. Once the Fascist power was certainly and irretrievably broken, he said, they would be foolish to deprive themselves of any means of coming to conclusions with the Italian nation. It would be a grave mistake while Italian affairs were in a flexible and formative condition for the rescuing powers, Britain and the United States, so to act as to break down the whole structure and expression of the Italian State. They did not seek to reduce Italian life to a condition of chaos and anarchy and so find themselves without any authority with whom to deal. They did not wish to get themselves into the position into which the Germans had blundered in many countries, of having to hold down and administer in detail the entire life of very large populations, thereby becoming responsible for their whole upkeep and well-being. It was the interest of Italy, and also the interest of the Allies, that the unconditional surrender of Italy should be brought about wholesale and not piecemeal. Whether this could be accomplished or not he could not tell, but meanwhile he asked Parliament to give the Government a free hand for dealing with the situation and not to press it for untimely or premature explanations.

The Prime Minister's request was not allowed to pass without protest. A small but very vocal minority in the House, recalling the record of the King of Italy and Marshal Badoglio, and with the Darlan episode fresh in its mind, showed itself highly suspicious of the Government's intentions, and made repeated demands for a debate on the Italian situation before the House broke up for the summer recess. Mr. Eden, however, with the approval of the great majority, steadfastly refused the request, and contented himself with the usual promise that the House would be recalled if any emergency arose during the vacation.

For five days after Mr. Churchill's appeal to the Italian people General Eisenhower held his hand, while making preparations to strike fresh blows if they should be necessary. On the night of July 31 a warning was broadcast from Algiers to Italy that the breathing-space was about to end. On the next day, as the Badoglio Government made no sign of submission, military operations were resumed in Sicily. Within two days the British Eighth Army had taken the almost impregnable height of Centuripe, on the slopes of Etna, the Canadians Regalbuto, further west, and the Americans Troina, further north. On the morning of August 5 the British, without a struggle, entered Catania, which had been rendered untenable by the fall of Centuripe. From here they commenced to press on northwards towards Messina, again meeting with the most stubborn resistance from the Germans.

At the beginning of August President Roosevelt sent a letter to Mr. Churchill stating that in consequence of its huge ship-building programme the United States now had more merchant ships on hand than it could man, while England, which had of late confined itself more to naval building (*vide* p. 21), had a superfluity of merchant seamen. He therefore offered to transfer to the British flag from fifteen to twenty ships a month for the next ten months, "to avoid the prodigal use of man-power and shipping that would result from pursuing any other course." The offer was gratefully accepted, and on August 3 Mr. Churchill informed Parliament that the transfer had already begun, and would absorb their resources of trained seafaring population. He added that the Canadian Government were making a similar arrangement in connexion with ships built in Canada.

On the approach of the August holiday season the authorities again issued urgent appeals to the public to spend their holidays as far as possible at home, and warned them that there would be no increase whatever in the exiguous travelling facilities. The public this year took less notice than ever, and the rush for the more popular seaside resorts on the south and west coasts was almost as great as in peace-time. The result was that not only were the trains which ran crowded to suffocation, but thousands of passengers had to spend whole days or nights on the station platforms before they could leave for their destinations. At the resorts, too, accommodation and food supplies were terribly overtaxed, and for thousands the supposed holiday was more in the nature of a penance—fortunately not aggravated by inclement weather.

In the last week of July Bomber Command of the Royal Air Force carried out a series of terrific raids on Hamburg, on more than one occasion dropping over 2,000 tons of bombs. A great part of the town was reduced to ruins, and it was rendered practically useless for military purposes. British losses were about

3 per cent, of the machines engaged. Altogether some 16,000 tons were dropped by Bomber Command during the month. The German reply was again feeble. Not more than 150 German aircraft crossed the coast, and of those that ventured overland more than 10 per cent, were destroyed. Casualties caused by the raids during July were 167 killed and 210 injured.

CHAPTER III

THE INVASION OF ITALY

THE capture of Catania on August 5 finally secured for the Allies command of the Sicilian Straits and opened up new possibilities of naval action in the Eastern Mediterranean. From the purely naval point of view therefore the invasion of Sicily might be considered as having achieved its object. In the plan of action formed at Casablanca, however, Sicily was marked out as the stepping-stone for a land invasion of Italy, and for this purpose it was highly advisable, if not absolutely necessary, that the port of Messina should be occupied. It was therefore decided, before undertaking any other action, to complete the conquest of Sicily and clear the Germans out of the north-east corner which they still held, and where they constituted a potential menace to the Allied occupation.

Besides being considerably stronger on the ground the Allies had complete command of the air and were able to bombard the coast from the sea. Nevertheless, the task of covering the few miles that still separated them from Messina proved to be one of no small difficulty, and took much longer in proportion than the subjugation of the whole of the rest of the island. The ground was extraordinarily broken and rugged—even more than in Tunisia—and the Germans again showed rare skill in exploiting the possibilities of defence, along with the utmost tenacity and courage in actual combat. The Allied advance was in consequence painfully slow, especially in the initial stages.

By August 8 the Canadians had taken Adrano and the Americans Bronte, while further north American troops were making progress along the coast, and the British advanced along the east coast towards Acireale. Further advance of the Canadians and Americans was blocked by the enemy at Randazzo, on the northern slopes of Mount Etna, which held out for several days. At length, however, the Americans made a landing on the coast behind the enemy, and turned his position, forcing him to evacuate Randazzo on the 13th. This rendered his position hopeless and he began with all speed to cross from Messina to the mainland. Attempts by the Allied Air Force to

interfere with the land crossing were rendered ineffective by very heavy anti-aircraft fire, and the bulk of the German forces got away. Messina was finally occupied by the Americans on August 17.

The number of prisoners taken in the Sicilian campaign was about 200,000—nearly all of them Italians. Of the 70,000 to 75,000 German troops on the island at least 30,000 were lost. The enemy also lost over 200 tanks and 500 guns destroyed or captured, and about 1,700 aeroplanes destroyed or captured on the ground. Between August 5 and 17 the Allied Air Force also destroyed 34 enemy vessels in or near the Straits of Messina and put out of action 47 more. Allied casualties in the campaign were about 25,000, and the Allies also lost 103 tanks, 251 guns, and nearly 85,000 tons of shipping. Altogether the conquest of Sicily, although it had dragged out in the last stage, had been much more rapid and much less costly than had been anticipated.

On August 10 Mr. Churchill went to Quebec to attend a war conference with President Roosevelt and Mr. Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister. The British Chiefs-of-Staff also went at the same time to Canada to meet the United States Chiefs-of-Staff. The conference lasted till August 24. Practically nothing was made known to the public of its doings beyond the statement that it had paid particular attention to the war in the Far East, and that it had reached agreement on the political issues underlying or arising out of military operations. Two results, however, followed it immediately. One was the appointment of Lord Louis Mountbatten, who for eighteen months had been Chief of Combined Operations, as Commander-in-Chief in Burma and the South-West Pacific. The other was the recognition by Great Britain, along with the United States, of the French Committee for National Liberation in Algiers—a step for which public opinion in England had long been clamouring.

While Mr. Churchill was conferring with Mr. Roosevelt at Quebec, the British and American Armies showed little sign of activity. After the capture of Messina the Allied Air Forces prosecuted the air attack on the Italian mainland with renewed vigour, but the land forces made no immediate advance. On the political side, too, there was a similar absence of new developments; the surrender of Italy, though expected daily, continued to hang fire. To the public in England, which had been somewhat spoilt perhaps by the rapidity of the initial progress in Sicily, it seemed that they were being kept waiting an unconscionable time for the next step to victory, and the meagre results—so far as they knew them—of the Quebec Conference offered little compensation for their disappointment. Once more doubts began to spread whether the Government was exploiting military successes with sufficient vigour, and whether it was not allowing precious opportunities to slip through its fingers.

In a broadcast address which he gave from Quebec on August 31 Mr. Churchill dealt at length with two of the main complaints against the Government. One was that Russia had not been represented at the conference. He repudiated with vigour the suggestion that Russia had been in any way cold-shouldered. The chief reason, he said, why Russia had not been invited to participate was because the conference was largely if not mainly concerned with the war against Japan, and as Russia still had a treaty of non-aggression with that country she would only have been embarrassed by an invitation to Quebec. He stated emphatically, however, that nothing was nearer to the wishes of President Roosevelt and himself than to have a threefold meeting with Marshal Stalin, and if it had not yet taken place the reason was that the Marshal in present circumstances could not very well leave Russia. The President and he would persevere in their efforts to meet him, and in the meanwhile a conference of British, United States, and Russian Foreign Ministers or their representatives would be held at some convenient place, to carry their discussions to a point where the heads of States and Governments might be able to intervene.

The other ground of complaint to which Mr. Churchill referred—and of which much was again being heard at this time in Russia—was the absence of a Second Front in Europe. He admitted that the desire on the Russian part was quite natural, and assured them that what they said in honest criticism of British strategy would not be taken amiss by them or weaken their admiration for the Russian martial prowess and achievement. He was looking forward to the day when British and American liberating armies would cross the Channel in full force and come to close quarters with the German invaders of France, but of course he could not disclose it prematurely. Meanwhile he maintained that so far British and American strategy had been the best that was open to them in a practical sense. It had been bold and daring, and had brought into play against the enemy the maximum effective forces that could have been deployed up to that time by Great Britain and the United States, having regard to the limitations of ocean transport, the peculiar conditions of amphibious warfare, and the character and training of the Armies they possessed. The great flanking movement into North Africa had certainly reached rich and substantial results.

At the same time that Mr. Churchill left for Canada the Government took up the gauntlet which had been thrown down in May by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in its threat to defy the Trades Disputes Act of 1927. On August 11, disregarding efforts which had been made in the meanwhile by Labour bodies and Civil Service organisations to find an amicable settlement, it issued a statement calling attention to the provisions of the Act and warning the members of

the Postal Union which had applied for affiliation to the T.U.C., and any other Civil Servants who might wish to take a similar course, that if their application was accepted by the T.U.C. at its Congress next month they would cease to be regarded as Civil Servants and would forfeit their pensions. It gave no hint whatever of compromise or concession.

It was now for the General Council of the T.U.C. to decide whether battle should be joined or not. Distrusting its own judgment on the matter it now for the first time sought the advice of the political side of the Labour movement. At a joint meeting of the General Council, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and the Administrative Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party held on August 19 counsels of moderation prevailed. It was resolved to set up a joint committee with instruction "to make a fresh effort to find a settlement of the question of the relations of the Civil Service Unions to the T.U.C.," and meanwhile to advise the Postal Workers' Union to withdraw their application—which they immediately did. Thus for the time being the Government remained masters of the field.

The Seventy-fifth Trades Union Congress opened at Southport on September 6. It was attended by more than 750 delegates representing over 6,000,000 workers, who included more than 1,200,000 women, an increase of nearly 600,000 over the figure for the previous year. The Congress on this* occasion for the first time was presided over by a woman, Dame Anne Loughlin. Fraternal delegates from allied and neutral nations included ten trade unionists from the Soviet Union, two representatives of the American Federation of Labour, and three Swedish trade unionists.

The report of the General Council referred with approval to the system of joint production committees which had become prevalent in war industry, but complained that while the Council was represented on the Advisory Council of the Ministry of Production, its advice on production difficulties had seldom been sought. It stated that the Council had already discussed with the Government the question of demobilisation, and supported the Government's broad principle that demobilisation should be according to "age plus length of service/" though it held that this should be extended to cover quality as well as length of service. The report also stated the Council's view that after the war control over prices, distribution, and production would have to continue as long as circumstances required, and it would be difficult if not impossible to maintain it without imposing some measure of control over labour itself.

The Congress in the course of its proceedings gave a cordial welcome to the Government's White Paper on education, the chief complaint against it being that the Government's approach to educational reconstruction was too leisurely. A resolution

was passed calling for the early implementation of the Beveridge scheme of social insurance, with the alteration suggested by the General Council, that workmen's compensation should be kept outside the general plan of social security. Another resolution authorised the preparation of a general plan for the post-war reconstruction of the country. The thorny question of the application of the Post Office Workers' Union for affiliation was discussed at a secret session on September 7, and on the next day a resolution was passed approving the course taken by the General Council.

On September 7 Mr. Bevin, the Minister of Labour, addressed the Congress, and urged the Trade Unions to preserve in peacetime the increased sense of responsibility for the national welfare which they had shown in war-time. On September 8 the Congress was addressed by Mr. Svernik, the head of the Russian delegation, who pleaded again for the opening of a Second Front. On the next day Sir Walter Citrine informed the Congress that when he had been in Moscow in the summer with a delegation of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee they had been pressed by their Russian colleagues to urge on the Government the opening of a Second Front, but their reply had been that they were not competent to advise the Government on this matter. Another Russian proposal which they had been unable to accept was an extension of the Anglo-Soviet Committee so as to make it an international body embracing the trade union movements of all nations. After hearing Sir W. Citrine the Congress passed a resolution recommending that every effort should be made to open a Second Front, and requesting the General Council to consider the possibilities of convening a world conference of representatives of organised workers as soon as war conditions should permit.

At its final session on September 10 the Congress discussed a motion placing responsibility for Germany's war crimes on the German nation as a whole, and demanding that it should be treated accordingly. An amendment was moved drawing a clear distinction between Nazis and Germans, and declaring that the former alone were responsible. On this occasion the verdict given by the labour Party Conference earlier in the year on the same question was reversed, the amendment being carried by an overwhelming majority.

In his broadcast address on August 31 Mr. Churchill made much of the fact that as a result of the conquest of Sicily Mussolini had been overthrown and the war impulse of Italy had been destroyed. This news was already more than a month old ; but had he been at liberty to say all he knew, he could have carried the story a good deal further. During this period the relations of the Badoglio Government to the Allied High Command were by no means so static as the public were led to

suppose ; behind the scenes and in profound secrecy there had been going on negotiations for the surrender of Italy which had now almost reached fruition. Early in August an emissary of Marshal Badoglio had gone to Lisbon and had there met an Allied representative. By this time the terms of surrender had been virtually agreed upon, and an armistice was actually signed on September 3—the fourth anniversary of Britain's entry into the war. It was agreed, however, that the conclusion of the armistice should not be announced, nor its terms come into force, until such a time as General Eisenhower should consider appropriate—in other words, until the British should have gained a footing on the mainland of Italy.

The invasion actually commenced on September 3. On that day British and Canadian troops of the Eighth Army crossed from Messina to the beaches opposite. They met with no opposition from the air and very little on land, and soon established a firm bridgehead. On the next day the Eighth Army advanced along the whole front and occupied the coast for 40 miles, from Melito to Bagnara, the Germans everywhere retiring before them, but seeking to obstruct their advance by demolitions. By the 7th they had reached Palmi, and on the next day at 5.30 General Eisenhower announced to the world from the Algiers radio station that the Italian Government had surrendered its forces unconditionally, and that as Allied Commander-in-Chief he had granted a military armistice by the terms of which the Italian Government had bound itself to abide without reservation.

The terms of the armistice were made public on September 13. Besides the immediate cessation of all hostile activity by Italian armed forces they included the transfer of the Italian Fleet and Italian aircraft to points to be designated by the Allied Commander-in-Chief, and the guarantee of free use by the Allies of all airfields and naval ports in Italian territory. On September 12 the bulk of the Italian Fleet, having made good its escape from the Germans, had already sailed into Malta and placed itself at the disposal of the Allies. Armed resistance by the Italian Land and Air Forces against the Allies had practically ceased even before the armistice. Congratulations were sent by the King to Admiral Cunningham on the successful conclusion to the Navy's task in the Mediterranean.

In a survey of the war situation which he gave to the House of Commons on September 21, Mr. Churchill stated that the British and American Armies would march through Italy as liberators, with the purpose of enabling the Italian people in due course to regain their rightful place among the free democracies of the modern world. He hastened to add that this would be no precedent for the treatment of Germany. Although they did not war against races as such, he was sure that the British, American, and Russian peoples who had twice in a quarter of a century

suffered measureless waste, peril, and bloodshed through the Teutonic urge for domination would this time put it beyond the power of Prussia and of all Germany to come upon them again with pent-up vengeance and long-nurtured plans. Nazi tyranny and Prussian militarism had to be absolutely rooted out if Europe and the world were to be spared a third and still more frightful conflict.

In order to exploit to the full the favourable conditions created by the armistice, the Allied High Command, as was subsequently revealed by Mr. Churchill, had planned coincidentally with its declaration to land an American air-borne division in Rome, in order to fight off the two German armoured divisions which were massed outside the city. Warning, however, came from the Italian Government a day or two before that the Germans had seized the airfields near Rome, and the plan was not carried out. Concurrently another plan hardly less daring had been prepared for striking a blow at the very heart of the enemy's position. This was a landing in the Gulf of Salerno, not far south of Naples. Preparations for this expedition had been commenced weeks before as soon as the armies in Sicily had been brought up to full strength. The date of this invasion had been originally fixed for the fifteenth of September, which was reckoned the earliest time by which the landing craft could be got ready. On August 18, however, Mr. Churchill cabled from Quebec to General Alexander that he doubted whether the Badoglio Government could hold their position so long without British support, and that therefore it would be advisable to shorten the period if possible. In response General Alexander managed to expedite matters to such an extent that the landing in Salerno Bay took place on the night of September 8.

In spite of their expeditiousness the Allies found that they had once more been forestalled by the Germans, who in anticipation of this move had taken up strong positions on the heights around Salerno Bay. None the less the first landing took them by surprise and was made with little opposition. Before the landing could be consolidated, however, they recovered themselves and attacked in force, and the invading troops were soon placed in a very precarious position, in spite of the protection which they enjoyed both from the air and from the sea. By September 11 the position had become critical, and so it remained for a couple of days or more. It required all the toughness and obstinacy of the British and American troops engaged to enable them to hold their ground. Reinforcements, however, were arriving all the time, and gradually a secure bridgehead was formed extending from Salerno on the north to Agropoli on the south, a distance of about 20 miles. The northern or left wing was held by British troops, the southern or right wing by American, the whole forming the Fifth Army under the command

of the American, General Mark Clark. On the 16th the Fifth Army was able to take the offensive, and began to thrust the Germans back.

Meanwhile the Eighth Army under General Montgomery had been pushing rapidly northwards from the toe of Italy in the face of very slight opposition. Advancing along the east coast it took Taranto on September 10, Brindisi on the 12th, Crotona on the 13th, and Bari on the 14th. From here it turned inland, and on the 17th its patrols met those of the Fifth Army advancing from the west. On September 22 the Eighth Army occupied the important road and rail junction of Potenza, 50 miles east of the Salerno bridgehead. The Fifth Army had meanwhile been steadily pushing the enemy northwards and also extending eastwards, so that now there was a more or less continuous Allied line from sea to sea.

While the Allied Armies were driving the Germans back in Italy, British and American bombing aircraft continued to carry terror and destruction into Germany both by day and by night. The principal targets attacked during September were Hanover, Mannheim-Ludwigshaven, and Bochum. German air raids over England in the same period caused the death of only five persons. In his speech in the House of Commons on September 21, Mr. Churchill pointed out that these attacks were compelling the Germans to devote more and more of their production to fighter aircraft, and with the continued progress of Anglo-American air preponderance which could certainly be expected month after month, he foreshadowed the ultimate possibility of saturating the enemy's defences both on the ground and in the air, with consequences that might be decisive.

In furtherance of the Government's policy of expanding aircraft production to the utmost limit, Sir Stafford Cripps, the Minister of Aircraft Production, on September 21 addressed a secret meeting of delegates representing the workers and managements of five hundred of the large aircraft factories of the country, and discussed with them various questions relating to production. He read to the meeting a letter from the Prime Minister stating that the aircraft industry would be called upon to play a supremely important part in the coming months of their offensive against the Germans and the Japanese, and that it was impossible to over-emphasise the need for large numbers of the most efficient and up-to-date aircraft. Great as had been the contribution of the aircraft industry to their war effort, they were expecting even better results in the months ahead. The meeting responded with enthusiasm and passed a resolution pledging the aircraft industry "to devote its untiring efforts to provide the Royal Air Force and the Fleet Air Arm with the greatest output of aircraft within its power."

On September 3 it was stated by the Air Ministry that in the

fourth year of the war, which had just come to an end, 96,000 tons of bombs had been dropped by Bomber Command on Germany—nearly double the tonnage dropped by the R.A.F. in the three previous years put together. The tonnage dropped on the Ruhr had been 50,000. The seven German towns most heavily attacked were: Hamburg, 11,000 tons; Essen, 9,000; Cologne, 8,000; Duisburg, 6,000; Diisseldorf, 5,000; Berlin, 6,000; Nuremberg, 5,000. Eighty tons of bombs were dropped for every aircraft lost, compared with 40 tons in July, 1942. The proportion of personnel lost per unit of bombs dropped also fell to half the figure of a year before. This average, however, was considerably exceeded in the case of some special operations; thus in a raid in August on Peenemunde, on the Baltic, where important research work was being carried on, no fewer than 40 bombers were lost, the attack being necessarily made under conditions favourable for the defence. It was pointed out, however, that the objective was one of particular importance, the attainment of which might seriously affect the efficiency of the German fighter and anti-aircraft defences, and therefore the loss, heavy as it seemed, might well pay a prolonged dividend in lower losses in the future.

On September 6 the Admiralty announced that no fewer than seven U-boats had recently been sunk in encounters in the Bay of Biscay. In a broadcast address which he delivered on September 16 Mr. A. V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty, dwelt on the wonderful change which had come over the naval scene in the Mediterranean since 1941, when at one time the British were left to face the Italian Navy with only three cruisers. In the Atlantic also, thanks to the destruction of U-boats since May and the amount of new construction, there was now almost as much merchant shipping available as before the war. While warning the House of Commons in his review of the war situation on September 21 that there could be no guarantee of the continuance of these favourable conditions, Mr. Churchill permitted himself to remark that they could now be defeated by the U-boats only if they were guilty of gross neglect in the shipyards and on the sea, and of an inexcusable falling-off in the scientific and technical ability on both sides of the Atlantic which hitherto had stood them in such good stead.

In the debate which followed the Prime Minister's survey a number of speakers again expressed misgivings regarding the British association with the Badoglio Government and the activities of Amgot. Mr. Eden, in reply, stated that Amgot was not intended to be permanent, and that the sooner the Government could find an Italian body to take the burdens of administration off their hands, the better they would be pleased. In respect to friendly countries, they had already entered into conversations with the various Governments concerned, with

a view to turning over to them, or to some similar body, the administration of the country from the earliest possible moment after landing, as soon as the military situation allowed. In Italy the kind of Government which they wished to see was one as broadly based as possible, and they would welcome the assistance of anyone who would help in that work. Whatever they might think of the Badoglio Government, they had to recognise that the delivery of the Italian Fleet had been honestly and even courageously carried out. Mr. Eden went on to assure the House that he was making every effort to collaborate with Russia. He said that, surveying as impartially as he could the work which they had sought to do with the Soviet Government since the conclusion of the treaty in the previous year, he did not feel that they had anything to reproach themselves with in their efforts to give effect to the treaty. There had been plain speaking on both sides, but that had not affected their good relations, and he was looking forward to meeting in a few weeks his opposite numbers in order to pave the way for a meeting between Marshal Stalin and the Prime Minister.

On September 22 a White Paper was issued setting forth a scheme which had at last been evolved by the Government for collecting income tax by means of weekly deductions from current earnings (*vide* p. 53). The scheme was to come into operation on April 6, 1944, and would apply to about 10,000,000 taxpayers, of whom 8,000,000 would be manual workers and 2,000,000 other wage-earners—such as clerks and typists—whose wages were calculated weekly. This change-over from yearly to weekly payments would mean their discharge from a tax-liability estimated at 250,000,000£2., being the amount of income tax which they would not yet have paid on their earnings for 1943-44. Since, however, about half of this sum would have been ultimately repayable in the form of post-war credits, and since, to judge by the experience after the last war, a great part of it would have had to be written off in any case, the final loss to the Treasury was not likely to be very serious.

On September 22 a message from the King was read in both Houses of Parliament, requesting them to amend the Regency Act of 1937 in such a way as to permit the Princess Elizabeth, who had now turned eighteen, to be included among the Counsellors of State whenever the need for appointing a Regency arose, "in order that she should have every opportunity of gaining experience in the duties which would fall upon her in the event of her accession to the Throne." The existing law fixed the age at 21. In accordance with this request, a Regency Bill was introduced in the House of Lords on September 23 which provided that "the Heir Apparent or Heir Presumptive to the Throne, if not under 18 years, should not be disqualified from being a Counsellor of State by reason only of his not being

of full age." The Bill also provided for the removal of the anomaly whereby the Queen had to be appointed one of the Counsellors of State during the King's absence from the country, even though she too might be out of the country, as had happened on the occasion of their Majesties' visit to Canada in 1939. The Bill met with no opposition in either House, and passed through all its stages before the end of the session.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Kingsley Wood, died suddenly on September 20, and tributes were paid to his memory by members of all parties in the House of Commons on the next day. [See under Obituaries.] On September 24 he was succeeded by Sir John Anderson, who retained his post in the War Cabinet. Sir John Anderson's place as Lord President of the Council was taken by Mr. Attlee, who remained Deputy Prime Minister. Mr. Attlee was succeeded as Secretary of State "for the Dominions by Lord Cranborne, who remained Leader of the House of Lords. Other changes announced at the same time were the re-entry of Lord Beaverbrook into the Ministry, this time as Lord Privy Seal, and the promotion of Mr. R. K. Law to be a Minister of State, while continuing to assist the Foreign Secretary. Further appointments to junior posts were announced on the next day.

While Britain had been gaining successes against the Germans in the Mediterranean area, the Russians on the eastern front had been dealing them blows which seemed already to be bringing final victory clearly within sight. Nevertheless the Government took the view that for England the hardest fighting still lay ahead, and that there could therefore be no talk yet of any remission in her war effort, nay, that it must even be intensified. To what a pitch that effort had been carried was shown by some striking figures given by Mr. Bevin, the Minister of Labour, in opening a debate on man-power in the House of Commons on September 23. Mobilisation, he said, had reached a stage with them at which it was not excelled by any other country in the war. No one who studied the problem before the war had ever believed that Britain with her population could at once provide for a continental army, an air force and a navy of the size they possessed, and at the same time maintain mechanical equipment to the extent which had been required of them. The fact that they had done so was a triumph of British organisation and genius. If they wanted to know how it had been done, the answer was that he had registered every man in the country between 18 and 51 and to date all women from 18 to 47—10,000,000 men and 10,000,000 women, besides special registrations for men and women with special skill and experience. Out of an original population of 33,000,000 people between 14 and 64, 22,750,000 were in the services, civil defence, or paid employment, either in the munitions industries or carrying on the civil life of the

country, where they had agreed that they should remain. Out of nearly 16,000,000 males between 16 and 64, 15,000,000 were in the service of the country or in paid employment. Of 17,000,000 women between 14 and 64, 7,750,000 were in the services or paid employment. Over 1,000,000 were doing unpaid voluntary work, such as nursing, Y.M.C.A. canteens, and billeting, which they should otherwise have had to find paid persons to do. Of the single women between 18 and 40, over 91 per cent, were working, while over 80 per cent, of married women of those age groups without children were engaged in war work. More than 1,000,000 men and women over 65 were in full-time paid employment in the war effort. In Merseyside and Manchester the average age of the dockers was nearly 51. Over 2,500,000 women had been recruited to the forces and industry from the non-manual and non-industrial classes. About 2,250,000 more persons were employed on munition work than at the end of the last war.

Mobilisation of man-power, said Mr. Bevin, must be regarded as having virtually, -reached the limit. Nevertheless it was incumbent upon him to find some 700,000 more persons for the needs of the coming campaign. These were required principally for the aircraft industry, for the cotton industry, and for the coal industry. For the purposes of the two former it had been decided to reduce to a minimum the intake to the women's services, and to register women up to the age of 50 ; also to direct boys of 16 and 17 to the aircraft industry. He mentioned that the registration of women of 47 had already taken place, without causing any complaint. None the less in the debate which followed, this step was severely criticised by a number of male speakers, as inflicting unnecessary hardship. Suggestions were made that a comb-out of the Civil Service might yield rich results, but it was pointed out on behalf of the Government that most of the younger members of the service—to the number of 90,000—had already been mobilised, and that the great majority of Civil Servants were rather overworked than underworked. It was also mentioned that the older women had come forward quite as willingly as the younger, and their interviews had been carried out more smoothly, no doubt because the interviewing officers had now acquired more experience.

In the coal industry Mr. Bevin stated that the number of men needed to keep production at the requisite level was 720,000, which meant that he had to find 30,000 as soon as possible and 20,000 in the next year. For this purpose he was conscribing youths and directing men from the surface to the coal face ; but he did not indicate whether he expected these steps to be effective. The mineworkers themselves certainly thought otherwise. On October 7 the Executive Committee of the Mineworkers' Federation submitted to the Minister of Fuel and Power a statement in which it was asserted that 4,200,000 tons a week was the

minimum output to meet the nation's needs, and that 3,750,000 was the maximum which could be expected from the industry under existing conditions. For overcoming the deficiency a number of drastic proposals were put forward, for most of which a prior condition was the nationalisation of the mines.

In the House of Commons on October 12 Major Lloyd George declared himself to be still hopeful that the coal needed by the country in the coming winter would be found. Incidentally, he informed the House that the comb-out of miners from the Army and other industries had been much more extensive than was commonly supposed ; in the past two years about 48,000 had been brought back from other industries, and 9,600 from the Army and 1,600 from the Air Force. Referring to a certain unrest which had recently shown itself in the industry, he said that too much attention had been paid to the stoppages which had occurred, though he admitted that the men had evinced a disregard for the machinery of conciliation which was disquieting. It was true that there had been a serious decline in production in the last few months, but he did not think that this was the fault of the existing system of dual control; still, the Government were willing to make such changes in that system as experience should prove to be necessary.

The Minister's statement left the Labour Party, and especially the mining members, profoundly dissatisfied, and they clamoured for a declaration of the Government's policy from a more authoritative quarter. In response, the Prime Minister himself intervened in the debate on the next day. Addressing himself at once to the question of nationalisation, he declared this to be a controversial matter which could not be considered during war-time. The only thing to be considered at the moment was how to obtain sufficient coal for their war purposes, and he was confident that this could be done without nationalisation. He made light of the alleged unrest in the coal industry, which, he said, had lost only 750,000 tons of coal in the past twelve months, out of upwards of 200,000,000 tons which had been produced. If there was more absenteeism than was healthy in the industry, this might be put down in part to war-time diet and regime ; in any case it was not worse this year than last, though the strain had meantime become greater. With perhaps the severest fighting of the war still before them he was reluctant to withdraw men from the forces. In spite of some exceedingly uncomfortable moments his optimism with regard to the shipping situation had been justified ; and he could not see anything in the mining situation which made him apprehend that this would be found to be the one gloomy failure in their national struggle. In his opinion there was nothing in the existing coal situation which would justify the violent overturn of their present system ; there was no case for controversial legislation or the reconstruction of the mining

industry as the essential to winning the war. Meanwhile, to relieve the anxiety of the miners as to their future, he gave them an assurance that the present system of control, with all the security which it conferred on the miners, would be continued after the war till Parliament should have decided on the future structure of the industry.

Mr. Churchill's optimism with regard to the coming winter was not shared by Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Greenwood, who spoke for the Labour Party. Nevertheless, if not convinced by his arguments about nationalism they were at least silenced, and did not press the demand, though Mr. Greenwood warned the Government that he would return to it again before long.

In replying to the debate on September 24, Mr. Bevin made reference to the unofficial strikes which had recently become somewhat prevalent, and the occurrence of which, though they were not important individually, seemed to show that there was something wrong in industrial relations. He said that some were deliberately provoked by employers for ulterior motives, such as to procure an alteration of contracts, while others were organised for political reasons and in order to impede the war effort. He threatened to take strict measures for dealing with both of these types. There were other strikes again which were declared on issues that appeared trumpery, but were really the result of protracted irritation, due perhaps to faults on the part of the management. The right way to deal with these was the course which he had always adopted—to have inquiries made in order to get at the facts and ascertain the best methods of dealing with them. He thought that, considering the difficulties that had arisen from the transference of labour and the entry into industry of new people who were unaccustomed to discipline and to trade union negotiations, it had been remarkable that there had been so few disputes during the war.

On October 7 Mr. W. S. Morrison, the Minister of Town and Country Planning, addressed a national housing and town-planning conference in London representing some 630 local authorities, and gave the excuses of the Government for its delay in putting into effect the proposals of the Uthwatt Report. This delay was being severely criticised in many quarters on the ground that it prevented local authorities from framing plans for new building and development. Mr. Morrison said that in the opinion of the Government it was better, in dealing with **the** matters raised by the Uthwatt Report, that there should be some delay than that a wrong decision should be reached; **for** such a decision would not only be harmful in itself, but it **could** not even be corrected without producing serious and persistent damage. While, therefore, they had given, and were **still giving unremitting attention to the subject, they were determined not to be jostled into premature conclusions.** He

assured the conference, however, that their deliberate findings were now nearly ready for presentation, and that these included their proposals for giving effect to the two pledges already made, that they accepted the principle of the public acquisition of all land in the reconstruction areas, and the principle that the compensation paid should not exceed the standard of values at March 31, 1939. This meant that local authorities could go ahead with the making of plans, secure in the knowledge that they would have possession of the land in the reconstruction areas.

On September 25 General Clark commenced a new offensive against the Germans on the heights -round Salerno. By the 29th his British troops, after stiff fighting, had captured Pompeii and emerged on to the plain of Naples. This city was itself entered on the next day. The Eighth Army, meanwhile, had scored an equal success by capturing the great airfields at Foggia, near the Adriatic coast, the possession of which brought both Austria and the whole of the Balkans well within the range of Allied bombers.

Prom this point the progress of the Allied Armies, though steady, was the reverse of rapid. On October 3 the Fifth Army took Benevento, north-west of Naples, and on the next day the Eighth Army sprang a surprise on the enemy by landing a force behind their lines on the Adriatic coast at Termoli. The Germans attacked the newcomers vigorously, but they held their ground till reinforcements arrived, when they turned inland, meeting the main force a little later. The Fifth Army, meanwhile, had reached the Volturno River on October 6, and on the 8th it took Capua and established a bridgehead across the Volturno. The line of this river was, however, strongly held by the Germans, and it was not till October 19 that they were finally pressed back from it, after hard fighting.

On October 12 the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that an important concession had been made to Great Britain by Portugal, in virtue of the treaty of friendship between the two countries which had existed since 1373—an engagement, as he truly said, without parallel in world history. At the request of the British Government, the Portuguese Government had consented to grant to Britain certain facilities in the Azores which would enable better protection to be provided for merchant shipping in the Atlantic. Britain in return promised to provide essential material and supplies to the Portuguese armed forces. The agreement in no way prejudiced Portuguese sovereignty, and all British forces were to be withdrawn from the Azores on the termination of hostilities, to the shortening of which it was thought that this step would contribute materially.

CHAPTER IV

THE MOSCOW, CAIRO, AND TEHERAN CONFERENCES

IN the middle of October General Smuts again came to London in order to take part in the consultations of the War Cabinet. In a public speech which he made in London on October 19 he recalled that just twelve months before he had announced that the Allies were about to pass from the defensive to the offensive against Germany. Looking back now at the hopes and forecasts for 1943, he could say that they had already gone further and achieved more than they had planned to do by the next winter. They were now preparing to make the grand assault by all arms next year—an assault in which a predominant part would probably be played by the United States. It was no longer a question of winning the war, but of winning it in the shortest possible time in order to save Europe from sinking still further into the abyss of exhaustion and devastation. After victory the salving of Europe would be the first charge on their efforts, and the problem of preventing aggression would also have to be fairly faced and solved, at whatever cost to national pride and rights of sovereignty.

General Smuts's address on this occasion did not herald any decisive blow like that of El Alamein in the previous year. The pace of Allied progress in Italy was not quickened, nor was any new field of operations opened. The speech did, however, prove to be the harbinger of a series of international conference which finally co-ordinated the efforts of the United Nations to secure victory over Germany and Japan, and pledged them to close co-operation in the task of rebuilding the shattered world after the war had been concluded.

The first of these momentous meetings was between Mr. Eden and Mr. Cordell Hull and Mr. Molotov, the Foreign Ministers of the United States and Russia, in Moscow, from October 19 to 30.

The primary object of their conference was to pave the way for one between the heads of the three Governments. For this purpose they examined plans for shortening the war in Europe and for framing a joint policy for after the war. The three Foreign Secretaries found themselves so much in harmony that they were able, on behalf of their Governments, to place co-operation between their peoples on a firmer basis than ever, and to enter into far-reaching commitments which bade fair to inaugurate a new era in Europe.

The principal achievement of the conference was a declaration on general security issued on November 2 by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and China. Besides repeating their determination to maintain **united** action **against their common enemies until they had brought about**

their surrender and disarmament, they now pledged themselves to continue that united action for the organisation and maintenance of peace and security. They recognised the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security. Pending the inauguration of such a system, these nations undertook to consult with each other and, as occasion required, with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations ; also to confer and co-operate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

As a first step towards the attainment of these ends the conference decided to establish in London a European Advisory Council, representing the United Kingdom, the United States and Russia, for ensuring the closest co-operation between the three Governments in the examination of European questions as the war developed. To this was to be added an Advisory Council for matters relating to Italy, to be composed in the first instance of representatives of these three Governments and also of the French Committee of National Liberation. Further, provision was made for the addition to this council of representatives of Greece and Yugoslavia. In conclusion, the conference issued declarations advocating the restoration of democracy in Italy, and of the independence of Austria.

After a meeting with the Turkish Foreign Minister in Cairo, Mr. Eden returned to England on November 10. In giving an account of his mission to the House of Commons on the next day, he said that looking back on the fifteen days of the work they did in the Soviet capital, he could say with assurance that they had brought new warmth and confidence into their dealings with their Soviet and American friends. While the actual achievements of the conference seemed to him solid enough, it was the friendly atmosphere of mutual interest and confidence which would always make it memorable to him. Referring to the Four-Power declaration, the parentage of which he assigned to Mr. Hull, he said that this would not have been enough without some special machinery through which the Allies could work continuously together. The European Advisory Commission was therefore going to be set up at once. It was to be purely an advisory, not an executive, body, and the reason why it was limited for the present to the three principal Powers was because on them chiefly rested the responsibility for seeing that the war was followed by a lasting peace. If they agreed, there was no problem which was not capable of permanent solution, while if

they did not agree, there was no international event which might not become an international problem. Similarly, the presence of French, Greek, and Yugoslavian representatives on the Italian Commission was to be explained by the special interest of these countries in the future of Italy.

On October 18 it was announced by the Foreign Office that, as a result of proposals made by the German Government soon after the end of the Tunisian campaign, an agreement had been reached for an exchange of sick and wounded prisoners of war, irrespective of rank or numbers, who had been recommended by the medical authorities, along with doctors, chaplains, medical orderlies, and stretcher-bearers in excess of those needed for the care of their fellow-prisoners. The success of the negotiations was due largely to the good offices of the Swiss Government, which acted as protecting Power. On this occasion no last-minute difficulties were raised by the German Government, as had happened two years previously (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1941, p. 77), and in the next few days, with the co-operation of the Swedish and Spanish Governments, some 3,000 members of the British forces, along with 1,200 or more doctors, chaplains, medical orderlies, and stretcher-bearers, were repatriated from Gothenburg, and some 1,000 men from Australia, New Zealand, and other parts of the Empire from Barcelona. Between 5,000 and 6,000 German prisoners were sent back in exchange.

On October 14 the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Anderson, moved in the House of Commons the second reading of the Wage-Earners' Income Tax Bill which had been prepared by his predecessor. He stated that under the plan embodied in the Bill the deduction of tax would keep pace not only with the weekly earnings but with the accruing liability up to date ; this removed the great objection to which all other plans had been found to be subject, that in millions of cases too much was deducted during the year and repayments had to be made at the end of the year. Referring to the desire which had been widely expressed that the system of " pay-as-you-earn " should be extended to the bulk of income-tax payers, the Minister said that the case for salary-earners was by no means so clear as for weekly wage-earners, since the State had much better prospects of getting from them arrears of income tax. Nevertheless, he announced that, if the House desired, he was prepared in the Committee stage of the Bill to extend the scheme to salary-earners with an income of up to £1,000 a year. In fact, when the Committee stage was reached on October 20, he was pressed from all sides of the House to extend the plan to all salary-earners, without limit, under Schedule E. To this he objected that it would give these taxpayers a privilege over those who paid under Schedule D. Nevertheless, in the discussion on the Report Stage on November 2 he announced that he accepted this

proposal also in principle, and would embody it in the next Finance Bill or in a special Finance Bill. Meanwhile earners of salaries up to 600Z. a year were brought within the scope of the existing Bill, in addition to weekly wage-earners.

On October 20, in replying to a debate on civil aviation in the House of Lords, Lord Beaverbrook informed the House that an Empire Air Conference had recently sat for two and a half days in London, and had come to an agreement both on policy and on plans, which, of course, were subject to the approval of the Dominions Governments. It was hoped that this would soon be followed by an international conference on civil aviation, but that must depend on the United States and Russia. He warned the House that between planning and performance there was a big step, as they had found to their cost after the last war. On this occasion, however, there was a good chance that they would be more successful, as they had already the experience of operating a service across the Atlantic for the past three years or so.

On October 21 the Home Secretary moved in the House of Commons the second reading of the new Workmen's Compensation Bill which had been introduced in July (*vide* p. 64). He stated that the proposed increases would apply to existing as well as to new cases. He once more made it clear that this was only a temporary measure, and that the Government in no way regarded it as relieving them of the responsibility of arriving at a decision on the Beveridge proposals, for the permanent revision of the system, at the earliest possible date. In spite of this assurance, strong opposition was offered to the Bill by a section of the Labour Party; the majority, however, supported it, and after some rather acrimonious discussion it passed through all its stages.

A Bill embodying the Government's proposals for drawing up a new electoral register (*vide* p. 64) was brought before the House of Commons for a second reading by the Home Secretary on October 26. He stated that the qualifying date would be the last day in the month before that in which an election was initiated, in the case of a General Election by Royal Proclamation, and in the case of a By-election by issue of the writ. The minimum time between the initiation of the election and the polling would be, allowing for everything, about seven and a half weeks. It was, he said, not pleasant to contemplate the possibility of the country being without a Parliament for so long a period. On the other hand, for Parliament to remain in being through the whole of a campaign would put a dangerous power in the hands of the Executive. It was therefore provided in the Bill that when a Proclamation was issued Parliament was not to be dissolved until thirty-six days thereafter. This would leave much the same period as at present—about twenty days—in which there was no Parliament.

While thus making preparation for a war-time election, the Home Secretary expressed the hope that there would be no need to hold one ; and he immediately went on to propose that the existing Parliament should once more prolong its existence for a year. As last year, he was able to point out that the fundamental reason for such a course was that a refusal by the House to prolong the life of Parliament would be seriously prejudicial to the war effort, and would be out of tune with the spirit of the nation, which was essentially one of national unity ; and these considerations once more overcame the repugnance of the House to the course proposed.

On October 29 the Prime Minister moved in the House of Commons that a Select Committee should be appointed to consider and report upon plans for the rebuilding of the House of Commons, which had been destroyed in an air-raid on May 10, 1941—since when the Commons had been meeting in the House of Lords—and on such alterations as might be thought desirable while preserving its essential features. Mr. Churchill made no secret of his desire that the new Chamber should be in essentials a replica of the old, especially in the two features which were most frequently criticised by foreign observers—its oblong form and its comparatively small size. He held that both these features were of distinct value for democratic Parliamentary government, the former because it made members more chary of changing their party allegiance by forcing them to cross the floor of the House, and the latter because it favoured the conversational style of discussion which was characteristic of the House of Commons. For these reasons, he said, the Government were most anxious that the House should adhere firmly in principle to the structure and characteristics of the House of Commons they had known. He also stated that it might be possible to commence building during the war, and to have the new building ready for use in eighteen months. The Prime Minister's fondness for the old building was far from being shared universally by the House, and he was urged by many speakers to allow the Committee as free a hand as possible. After an animated discussion, an amendment to defer consideration of the question was negatived by 127 votes to 3, and the motion to set up a Select Committee was then agreed to.

On November 4 the House of Commons agreed without discussion to a Vote of Credit of 1,250,000,000L, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated would meet expenditure till the middle of February. He stated that during the past six months expenditure on the fighting and supply services had been at the rate of about 11,000,000Z. a day, out of a total of about 13,250,000Z., and would have been higher but for the assistance they were receiving from Canada on Lend-Lease terms. The reason, he said, why he had asked this time for a larger Vote than usual was merely to suit the Parliamentary time-table.

On the same day in the House of Commons Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, defended both the India Office and the Indian Government against criticisms which had been levelled at them from many quarters for their handling of the famine situation in India. While admitting the responsibility of the Home Government for conditions in India, he maintained that the chief cause of the famine was the divergency of interests of the various States, which had prevented them from concerting measures in time. He also asserted that but for the steps taken by the Central Government the situation would have been much worse. He stated that there was ample foodstuff available for sending to India for the relief of distress, but the limiting factor was shipping. In the debate which ensued the Government was urged to provide more shipping for this purpose, and a strong attack on the India Office for its lack of initiative and energy was made by Sir G. Schuster, an authority on Indian affairs, who in other matters usually supported the Government. Sir J. Anderson, in closing the debate, promised that the Government would soon review the situation and take all measures which appeared necessary.

Meanwhile the Allied conquest of Italy had been pursuing its tedious and trying course. After surmounting the barrier of the Volturno, the Fifth Army found itself faced with other obstacles hardly less formidable, while the Eighth Army further east had to contend with great natural difficulties in the Apennines. At a Press Conference which he held on October 23 in Italy, General Alexander confessed that he was somewhat disappointed with their rate of progress. All roads, he said, led to Rome, but all roads were mined. Had they been unopposed, as they might have been, at Salerno, they might have driven right through to Rome. But the Germans had been too quick for them, and the four divisions which they landed were faced by at least four divisions, at full strength, well sited and supplied by land. If, however, they had not achieved their own object, they had the satisfaction of holding down in Italy and the Balkans, and so denying to the Russian front, some 35 to 40 German divisions.

The Allied forces now found themselves faced by a strong line which the Germans had formed stretching from Vasto on the Adriatic to Mondragone on the Tyrrhenian Sea, protected at one end by the River Trigno and at the other by the heights of Monte Massico, and with the stronghold of Isernia in the Apennines as its pivotal point. Working northwards from the neighbourhood of Capua, the Fifth Army, by the end of the month, had made their way through Sparanise, which they captured on October 25, and Teano, to within sight of Venafrò. On October 30 the Germans abandoned to them Mondragone and retired behind the Gariglione River, a little further north. The Eighth Army meanwhile, after establishing a bridgehead across the River

Trigno near the coast on October 24, had gradually occupied the whole right side of that river and had advanced in the centre towards Isernia. This key place was at length captured on November 4, and the Germans withdrew from the line they had hitherto held, ceding Venafrò to the Fifth Army on November 5 and Vasto to the Eighth Army a day or two later. By this time, however, they had formed an equally strong line a few miles further back, from the mouth of the River Sangro on the Adriatic to that of the Gariglione on the Tyrrhenian. To this they retired slowly and in good order, and for the Allied Armies the process of driving them from their defences had to commence all over again.

If the reports of land operations in September and October were disappointing, the news of the fight against the U-boats continued to be highly satisfactory. The official statement issued on November 9 recorded that during August, September, and October approximately 60 U-boats had been destroyed, although the number operating had been greatly diminished. More U-boats had been destroyed during this period than Allied merchant ships sunk.* The ratio of U-boat to merchant ship attrition in October had been more satisfactory than in any previous month, and the British tonnage losses from all causes in October had been the second lowest of any month of the war. The Germans had introduced new U-boat weapons and tactics, but so far they had been able to cope successfully with the changing situation. In October the German warship *Tirpitz* was also seriously damaged by British submarines.

In the air, fog interfered greatly with British night bombing in October, and only nine major attacks were carried out on Germany during the month. In these, however, a total of no less than 13,000 tons of incendiaries and high explosives was dropped, for the loss of some 220 machines. The principal target was Kassel, the home of Germany's largest locomotive works. German raiders came over to Britain on twenty-two nights, and on several occasions penetrated to the London area. There were, however, only about 250 bombers in all, and of these nearly a tenth were destroyed. The casualties for the month were officially stated to be 118 killed and 283 seriously injured.

For the fourth time in succession Mr. Churchill gave the Ministerial speech at the Lord Mayor's luncheon on November 9. Looking back over the year which had passed, he was able to assert that it had been for Britain and her Allies one of almost unbroken victory in every theatre and on every front. British, Dominion, and United States Armies had cleared Africa of the enemy. Together the British and United States forces had conquered Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and a third of Italy. They had broken the back of the U-boat war, which at one time had seemed their greatest peril. They had inflicted, and were inflicting, shattering damage on the German cities which were the

centres of munitions production. In all these operations on land, on sea, and in the air, Great Britain had borne the greatest part and paid the heaviest price. In the Pacific, where the main forces of the United States had been deployed, many brilliant actions had been recorded, and the strength of Japan had been steadily and remorselessly worn down. But all these successes, as he gladly acknowledged, were eclipsed by the victorious advance of the Russian Armies, which had inflicted deep and dire injury on the whole structure of the German military power.

Withal Mr. Churchill did not, like many people at the time, think that the end of the war was near. There was reason to expect, he said, that the German people would put up a desperate defence, and that the year 1944 would see the climax of the war. He himself was proceeding on the assumption that the campaign of that year in Europe would be the most severe, and, for the Allies, the most costly in life of any they had yet fought. They must, therefore, brace themselves for a supreme effort, and above all strive to preserve the good-will which at present existed between the British and American peoples, and which made their soldiers true brothers in arms.

In the course of his Guildhall speech Mr. Churchill touched briefly but significantly on the question of post-war reconstruction at home—the problem, as it was called, of "winning the peace." The growing public impatience with the Government's seeming dilatoriness in this matter was strongly expressed in a debate in the House of Lords on the very next day by a number, not only of Labour, but also of Conservative Peers. The Prime Minister now said that he regarded it as a definite part of the duty and responsibility of the National Government to have its plans perfected in a vast and practical scheme to make sure that in the years immediately following the war food, work, and homes should be found for all. He declared that on this far-reaching work the Government were now concentrating all the energies which could be spared from the actual struggle with the enemy.

As a kind of earnest of the Government's sincerity, an announcement was made a couple of days later that a Minister of Reconstruction had at length been appointed. The first holder of the office, with a seat in the War Cabinet, was Lord Woolton, whose management of the nation's food supply during the past two years or so had been one of the outstanding successes of the Government. Lord Woolton was succeeded as Minister of Food by Colonel J. J. Llewellyn, whose place as Minister Resident in Washington for Supply was taken by Mr. Ben Smith, a Labour member. Another change announced at the same time was that Mr. Ernest Brown, whose management of the housing problem had not given general satisfaction, left the Ministry of Health to become Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was succeeded by Mr. H. U. Willink, who had been in charge of relief work in

London during and after the heavy raids in 1940 and 1941. Mr. Duff Cooper, who made way for Mr. Brown, was shortly after appointed British representative with the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers.

On November 11 a White Paper was published setting forth the scope of the mutual aid furnished by Great Britain* to the United States, the U.S.S.R., and other Allies, the extent of which was far from being realised not only abroad but even in England itself. It said that when the first formal agreement was made in February, 1942, with the United States for the provision of mutual aid by the United Kingdom, raw materials and bulk supplies of foodstuffs (as distinct from rations for United States forces) were excluded, as the dollar receipts from United States purchases were needed to meet the heavy British liabilities on pre-Lend-Lease armament contracts in the United States which were not covered by Lend-Lease. Now, however, that those contracts had been largely fulfilled, and in furtherance of the general pooling of resources, the Government had commenced to extend reciprocal aid to foodstuffs and raw materials purchased by the United States from the United Kingdom and the colonial empire, besides defraying the cost of shipping services for those materials from all parts of the British Commonwealth.

One of the earliest and most important forms of aid which they had given to the United States was the steady flow of information and the fruits of research and practice which they had supplied since the earliest days of the war. This was not a service which could be valued in money, but it had cost more in blood and effort than most aid. They had passed on at once all that they had learned of the enemy's tactics and weapons, and of their own; all their establishments, their experiments and tests in battle had been open to American experts to watch and learn. While the United States were not yet at war, and later, before they were actually fighting against the Germans, the British had tried out their prototypes and models in actual combat, thus helping in the development of the Sherman tank and the Flying Fortress, among others.

In view of the great extent of American production of weapons of war by the time the American forces began to reach the battlefronts on any large scale, reciprocal aid had not taken the form of large assignments of ships, aircraft, guns, or other weapons to the United States. Such of these as they could spare from their own production and stocks had been made available to the rest of the Empire, to the U.S.S.R., to the French, and to the forces of other Allied Governments working from London. Most of their reciprocal aid to the United States had therefore been "servicing," taking the form of providing transportation, accommodation, airfields, facilities and local supplies to American forces

in the British Isles and the Colonies. Medical supplies and hospitals had also been provided.

As an example of the mutual aid furnished to Russia free of cost, the White Paper mentioned that by the end of May, 1943, 4,690 complete aircraft (including losses in transit) had been sent to that country. Arms, munitions, and military equipment were being supplied free to Chinese forces in China within the limitations of transport from India, which at present was very restricted. In addition, Chinese troops had been given all that they required locally, first in Burma and then in India. With the other Allies, their arrangements varied according to their needs and resources. Holland, Belgium, Norway, and Yugoslavia paid for all they gave them. The armed forces of Greece, Czechoslovakia, and the French Committee of National Liberation were being supplied without charge, and similar arrangements had been offered to Poland and Yugoslavia. Military supplies were also being supplied to Turkey free of cost. They had also on loan to their Allies one cruiser, 17 corvettes, 14 destroyers, 6 submarines, 16 motor torpedo boats, 17 motor launches, 19 mine-sweeping vessels, and 4 frigates.

With regard to the monetary value of the mutual aid furnished by Great Britain, the White Paper pointed out that a number of causes made it difficult to assess the amount. For one thing, some of the aid could hardly be measured in money terms ; and even where it could, the services and supplies were transferred without any price attached to them, and no attempt had been made to build up any detailed account. It was also to be remembered that owing to difference in prices American book costs would probably be 50 per cent, higher than similar British costs. On a rough estimate, however, it was reckoned that by June, 1943, the value of work done for America on capital installations in the United Kingdom was 92/. million, on goods and services transferred 82/. million, and on shipments to the United States 42/. million. The amount supplied to the U.S.S.R. was calculated at 187,000,000/., while credits and supplies to other Allies up to December 31, 1942, totalled about 186,000,000/. If to these sums were added the pay of troops and the cash expenditure in third countries on military operations and supplies, the payments made by the United Kingdom to other members of the United Nations in excess of sums received from them amounted up to the middle of 1943 to over 2,250,000,000/., to raise which she had had to part with gold and other capital assets and incur liabilities, thus placing a heavy burden on her future commerce.

On November 19 the Home Secretary announced that he was about to order the conditional release, on medical grounds, of Sir Oswald Mosley, the former leader of the British Fascists, from Brixton gaol, where he had been confined since May, **1940, under the notorious Regulation 18B.** Some years had **now passed since**

Sir Oswald with his gangs had played his pranks in the East End of London and elsewhere, **but** the memory of them was still **green with** the mass of the British working classes, and the thought **that** such an enemy of their rights should again be at liberty roused them to fury. The Home Secretary, however, disregarding protests from the Communists and others, a few days later duly **allowed** Sir Oswald to be transferred from prison to a kind of house detention in the country, under strict conditions governing his movements. The release was the signal for the outbreak of **a** violent agitation in working-class circles which to some extent interfered with work in the factories, and contained a distinct threat to national unity.

On November 23 the Home Secretary, in answer to questions, explained and vindicated his action in the House of Commons. He said that Sir Oswald Mosley had for some time been suffering from thrombo-phlebitis, and that recently five doctors who had examined him had declared unanimously that if he were kept in prison there was great danger of the ailment producing permanent damage to health, and even danger to life. It was true that even such considerations could not be allowed to override those of national security,¹ and in ordinary circumstances Sir Oswald Mosley would be the last person to be released. Nevertheless, in view of the great improvement which had taken place in the national position, he thought it would be safe to release Sir Oswald, under proper precautions, and this would be preferable to allowing him to die in prison. He held that this course was consonant with the general principle he had adopted, that the extraordinary powers of detention without trial conferred on him by Regulation 18B were not to be used except in so far as they were essential for national security.

Mr. Morrison's statement was immediately considered both by the Trades Union Council and the National Executive of the Labour Party. The former rejected it out of hand, describing the Home Secretary's action as "a blunder" and "untimely," **and** calling for its immediate reconsideration by the Government. **The** Parliamentary Labour Party was more circumspect, and after rejecting by 51 votes to 43 a motion directly censuring Mr. Morrison, passed a resolution demanding a full debate on the **matter** in Parliament. On November 28 a mass meeting in **Trafalgar** Square demanded emphatically that Mosley should be put back in gaol.

On December 1 Mr. Woods, a Labour member, in the debate on the Address, moved an amendment expressing regret at the release of Sir Oswald Mosley. Mr. Morrison, in reply, said that **he fully** understood the deep anger which had been **aroused by his action, and he admitted that** his original statement **to the Press had been rather too off-handed.** Nevertheless, he **main-**tained that if he was to administer Regulation 18B in a judicial

manner and not as a party politician he could not have acted otherwise. The object of the Regulation* was preventive, not punitive, and he could not take the responsibility of allowing the prisoner to die in prison if the national security did not demand it. He also pointed out that on previous occasions he had released others, poor persons and aliens, on health grounds.

Both in the debate and in the division the Labour Party showed itself to be divided over the matter. Mr. Greenwood spoke perhaps for the majority when he said that the **Home** Secretary's decision had been a wrong one, but since it had been made the House had perforce to accept it. On a division the amendment was negatived by 327 votes to 62, of which 51 were from members of the Labour Party. An agitation was for some time kept up in Labour circles, but it gradually died down as no untoward results followed the release.

Parliament was prorogued on November 23, and on the next day commenced a new session—its ninth. The King's Speech, while declaring that the prosecution of the war was still the primary task of the Government, dealt in some detail with the tasks which would await them when victory had been won. It promised that in the months to come the Government would complete their provisional plans for the period of transition through which they would have to pass before the troubled times of war gave place to the settled conditions of peace. It would be their primary aim to ensure that in this period food, homes, and employment were provided for the people, that good progress was made with the rebuilding of damaged cities, and that in industry, mining, and agriculture a smooth transition was made from war to peace. For some of these purposes fresh powers would be needed, and Parliament would be asked to grant them as preparations proceeded. In the immediate future it would be asked to make provision for the training and employment of disabled persons, and to amend the law regarding the reinstatement in their civil employment of persons discharged from the armed forces.

A programme of social reform was also outlined for the period of more settled conditions. The first item was a reconstruction of the national system of education in England and Wales, and perhaps in Scotland also. The House would be invited to discuss the views and proposals of Ministers regarding an enlarged and unified system of social insurance, a comprehensive health service, and a new scheme of workmen's compensation, with a view to helping them to frame legislation on these subjects. Special powers would be requested for the re-development of areas **which**, by reason of enemy action, overcrowding or otherwise, needed to be re-planned as a whole. The Government would also lay before them the results of their examination of the **Reports which** had been made recommending the **assumption of further powers to control and direct the use of the land of Great Britain.**

Changes in the franchise law would also be considered at an early stage.

In the debate on the Address in the House of Commons attention was concentrated to a preponderating extent on the part of the King's Speech dealing with post-war problems. Many speakers expressed disappointment that the Government had still so little to offer in the way of definite legislation, and seemed even yet not to have made up its mind on the most important points in the Uthwatt and Beveridge Reports. The first reply on behalf of the Government was made on November 30 by Mr. Lyttelton, the Minister of Production. As the chief subjects of post-war reconstruction he mentioned housing and town and country planning, social security, and the diversion of production to purposes of peace. With regard to the first, he announced that henceforth the Ministry of Works would be the authority to which the Ministry of Health and the Scottish Office would look on matters concerning plans, materials, costs, and so forth, while the local authorities, on their side, would look solely to the Ministry of Health and the Scottish Office. The Government envisaged the employment of labour forces up to a maximum of 1,250,000 on building of houses and schools over a period of twelve years, but further details could not be fixed until the scheme of demobilisation had been decided upon. He stated that there was a sufficient quantity of bricks and cement available, but there might be a shortage of timber. With regard to social security, he said that he appreciated the impatience of members over the Government's delay in producing its proposals, but the complexities of the subject had to be seen to be believed, and he could not even yet give any promise as to the date when they would be ready. As to the change-over from war to peace production, he warned members that the war against Japan was likely to go on long after that with Germany was finished, but there would probably be a partial demobilisation in this period. The experience they had had in transferring labour from one branch of production to another during the war would, he thought, stand them in good stead in transferring to peace production, and he was confident that the Government would be able to handle the problem.

The discontent of the House was not allayed by Mr. Lyttelton's speech, and expression was given to it in a Labour amendment on December 7 regretting the admission implicit in the King's Speech that the Government had not yet made up its mind on important parts of the Uthwatt and Beveridge Reports. A vigorous speech in support of the amendment was made by Viscount Hinchinbroke, a young Conservative who, in October, along with forty other members of the same party, had issued a pamphlet entitled, "Forward by the Right," calling for bold measures of social reform. In the course of the debate attacks

were made on Sir William Jowitt, the Minister without Portfolio, for not displaying more energy, but the Minister, in reply, pointed out that his work had always been preparatory, and it was no part of his task to announce decisions. The amendment was not carried to a division.

On December 8 Lord Woolton made his first speech as Minister of Reconstruction in the House of Lords. He, too, had no plans to announce, and the chief burden of his remarks was that the people should not expect too much of the Government. He pointed out that the foundation of social security was full employment—that this was the place where reconstruction started ; and this depended very largely on the people's own initiative and energy. Plans had to be prepared, but action must wait on events ; their first task was still to win the war. There was, indeed, a faith in the minds of the people that they could rebuild their enterprise, re-plan, and indeed beautify their cities, provide adequate homes for their people, and keep them at least as well fed in the days of peace as they had been in the days of war ; and he believed that faith was justified. Plans regarding all these matters would soon be brought forward by the responsible Ministers, and it would be his task to co-ordinate them and see that nothing was left undone.

One of the subjects discussed at some length in the debate on the Address was the military position in the Aegean. In enumerating the theatres of war in which the Allies had obtained major successes during 1943, neither Mr. Churchill in his Guildhall address nor the King's Speech mentioned the Mediterranean, though the reopening of that highway was for Britain one of the most important gains of the year. The truth was that for the moment the Mediterranean was the one dark spot in the picture. When Italy surrendered, and still more when the Italian Fleet came over, there was a general expectation in England that large-scale operations would be started in the Eastern Mediterranean with a view to attacking the Germans in the Balkans. On September 16 Allied forces actually landed on the islands of Samos, Leros, and Cos, in the Eastern Aegean, and joined the Italian garrisons there. The public were given to understand that this was a prelude to an attack on the Balkans, but in fact it was rather the reverse which happened. On October 3 the Germans invaded Cos in force, and two days later overcame the garrison and gained possession of the island. They then turned their attention to Leros. Here the British garrison put up a very stubborn fight, and kept them at bay for a considerable time. Failing, however, to receive adequate protection, it was forced to surrender on November 16. Samos was thereupon evacuated by the British.

In a statement which he made in Cairo on November 18, General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, the British Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East, put the best face he could on the affair

by pointing out that in order to attack the islands the enemy had had to divert from Italy, and perhaps also from Russia, large land, sea, and air forces which he badly needed in those quarters. His losses also had been severe. When Italy signed the armistice, the British had reckoned on being able to seize Rhodes, where the Italians greatly outnumbered the Germans. In spite of that the Italians surrendered to the Germans without a struggle. The loss of Rhodes rendered the British hold on Cos and Leros very precarious, as the Germans had numerous aerodromes in the neighbourhood, while the nearest British aerodrome was three hundred miles away. Nevertheless, by dint of bombing enemy aerodromes in Crete and Greece, and intercepting his convoys, it might have been possible to save Leros at any rate, had not the weather turned against them at a critical moment. A statement on the same lines was made in Parliament by Mr. Attlee in the debate on the Address.

In opening, on November 6, a new aerodrome which had been built by Americans for the R.A.F., Air Chief Marshal Sir A. Harris, Chief of Bomber Command, said that it was part of a plan to produce a vast army of highly skilled aircrews the power of which would be sufficient to overwhelm the enemy. Already, he said, their combined bomber offensive was retaining in Germany an army of able-bodied men 3,000,000 strong employed on fighters, ground installations, searchlights, and so forth, and in carrying out essential repairs to essential factories without which they could not prosecute the war. They proposed, he added, to emasculate every centre of enemy population, of which 40 were vital to his war effort, while 50 more could be termed considerably important; already they were well on their way to their destruction.

In pursuance of this policy Bomber Command, after inflicting heavy damage on Ludwigshafen in a raid in the middle of November, towards the end of the month began a sustained attack on Berlin, as one of the enemy's chief centres both of war production and of communications. In a concentrated raid on November 22, more than 2,300 tons of high-explosive and incendiary bombs were dropped in just over half an hour, with devastating effect. A raid on much the same scale was made on the next night, and these were followed by three more in the course of the next week, with similar effect, while the British losses were comparatively light. As a result of these raids Berlin became the most heavily bombed city in the world and Germany's fighting capacity suffered a severe blow. Altogether during November some 13,000 tons were dropped by Bomber Command on targets in Germany. During the same period the Luftwaffe dropped on Britain about **120** tons, killing 119 people and injuring 238; and the majority of these fell victims "to a single bomb which on November 7 **unluckily** struck a dance-hall full of people in the London area.

Towards the end of November the Prime Minister again left England in order to take part in a conference with President Roosevelt and General Chiang Kai-shek. The meeting place was in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and on his way out Mr. Churchill visited Malta, where he received a tremendous ovation. The conference, which was attended by a large number of military and diplomatic representatives, took place in the last week of November. It dealt with Japan much in the same way that the Casablanca Conference at the beginning of the year had dealt with Germany, concerting measures for the prosecution of the war against that country, and for its treatment after victory had been won.

From Egypt Mr. Churchill, in company with Mr. Roosevelt, went on to Teheran, where they were met by President Stalin. In a four-day conference ending on December 1 the three heads of State concerted plans for the destruction of the German forces and for joint action in reorganising Europe after the war, thus completing the work which had been begun at the Moscow Conference. While in Teheran Mr. Churchill took the opportunity of presenting to Marshal Stalin the sword of honour which had been offered by the British people to the city of Stalingrad in commemoration of its heroic defence. On November 30 a dinner was given at the British Legation in celebration of Mr. Churchill's sixty-ninth birthday, and his health was drunk by President Stalin with great enthusiasm. From Teheran Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt returned to Cairo, where they had a three-day meeting with President Inonu of Turkey.

A report on the Cairo and Teheran Conferences was given to the House of Commons on December 14 by Mr. Eden, who had himself been present at them, and who now filled in to a slight extent the bald outlines of the official *communiques*. He said that the greater part of the first two had been taken up with military matters, the first dealing with the Far East and the second with the war against Germany. Their result had been to bring about a state of complete and collective preparation far exceeding anything that had hitherto been realised in the war. Britain was still a principal in the Far Eastern war, Japan being as great a menace to the security of the British Commonwealth as she was to that of either the United States or China. They would therefore have to fight Japan to the bitter end whatever the cost and however long it took.

After the conference of Teheran he was even more confident than after that of Moscow that the foundation had been laid for enduring collaboration between Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The first result of the conference as he saw it was that the war would be shortened. Clearly they could do better when there was close interplay at every move, which they had not had till then. The next was that the possibility of

creating a genuine new order in Europe had been enormously strengthened. Six months ago he had been doubtful whether the foundations of such an order existed; now he was certain that they did. As for the second conference at Cairo, it was in the nature of a fuller and more complete development of the earlier meeting which he had had with the Turkish Foreign Secretary five weeks before, and he could only say at this stage that it was encouraging.

Mr. Eden went on to make a statement about British policy in the Balkans, which had become the subject of much public curiosity, on account of recent military and political developments in that region. He said that some time ago he had laid down three rules for dealing with the situation there. One was to give all the practical help in their power to those elements in these countries which were actively resisting the enemy. The second was to make clear that so far as they could exert any authority it should be used to ensure that those countries should be free to choose their own Governments when they should be liberated. The third was to work in the closest possible concert with their Allies. In pursuance of these principles they had for some months been doing all they could to supply with munitions and to support in other ways the Yugoslav partisans under Marshal Tito, who, according to all the reports received, were engaging and containing a large number of German divisions. They had sent out to Marshal Tito a military mission under Brigadier F. Maclean, a member of the House of Commons. The Soviet Government were about to follow their example, and the two missions would work in collaboration. On the other hand, they had not recognised the new Committee of Liberation which had recently been set up under Marshal Tito, nor had they been asked to do so; they still recognised King Peter, who on his side had also declared that it was for the Yugoslav people, as soon as they were liberated, to choose the form of government they preferred. With regard to Greece, Mr. Eden was not so explicit, but he gave it to be understood that the Government were still supporting King George.

In the course of the debate on the Address, the Government was "urged by a number of Unionist speakers, on December 2, to call an Imperial Conference to consider the closer cohesion of the Commonwealth after the war. The proposal was, however, coldly received by Mr. Attlee, and was not pressed. The discussion turned on the status of Newfoundland, and a statement was made on behalf of the Government that it accepted in principle the right of that territory to self-government, which it had not enjoyed since 1933. On December 16 Mr. Ammon, as leader of a parliamentary mission which had visited Newfoundland earlier in the year, moved a resolution welcoming this statement and urging the Government to give effect to it by taking the necessary

preliminary action as soon as possible. **He said they had found** opinion in Newfoundland practically unanimous **in not desiring** to return to the old regime, but greatly divided as **to what it did** desire. Mr. Maxton moved an amendment proposing **that the** preliminary action for the restoration of self-government should be taken forthwith. This was rejected, and the motion was thereupon agreed to.

On December 2 the Minister of Labour announced in the House of Commons that a scheme had been worked out for calling up men for the coal-mines in the same way as they were called up for the armed forces. The selection was to be made from men born on or after January 1, 1918, who would otherwise be called up for the armed forces—i.e. between the ages of 18 and 25—and were placed in medical grade I, or in grade II if their disability was foot defects only. To make the selection perfectly fair it would be by ballot, and it would commence almost immediately. The only classes exempted from the ballot would be men accepted for flying duties in the R.A.P. or Fleet Air Arm, men accepted as artificers in submarines, and men in a short list of highly skilled occupations. It was hoped that by the end of the "coal year" on April 30, some 30,000 men would have been transferred.

The House of Commons discussed the prospects of the mining industry at its last sitting before the Christmas recess on December 17, and for once without acrimony. It was pointed out that the introduction of a new type of worker under the ballot scheme offered opportunities of bringing into the industry a new spirit which was badly needed; and Mr. Bevin also declared that the industry could not stay where it was and survive. Nevertheless the Government proceeded only with great caution in making changes. It refused to accept any of the proposals made by the Miners' Federation in its memorandum in October (*vide* p. 78). Instead, the Minister of Fuel and Power drew up a scheme for organising mines in groups under a single manager of proved efficiency who should be responsible not to the colliery owners but to the Government. This was certainly a step in the direction of removing "dual control," and as such was gladly accepted by representatives of the Mineworkers' Federation on December 20, while the owners on their side also made no objection. Meanwhile unrest continued to be rife in the industry; on December 21 colliery managers in South Wales passed a resolution stating that "strikes, threats of strikes, deliberate acts of sabotage, and withholding of effort by the workmen were permitted with negligible disciplinary action by the Ministry/' and threatening to withdraw from pit production committees unless the Minister consented to discuss the matter with them.

On December 5 the Minister of Labour introduced in the House of Commons a Disabled Persons (Employment) Bill,

embodying suggestions made about a year before by an Inter-Departmental Committee for the compulsory employment of workers who had been disabled and had been rehabilitated sufficiently to take up some occupation, if not their former one. Owing to the progress of medical science, the number of such persons was now much larger than it had ever been before. The Bill placed on employers of more than twenty-five workpeople an obligation to employ a prescribed quota of persons who were enrolled as "persons handicapped by disablement." The employer would not be required to discharge workpeople already in his employment in order to find room for them, but only to engage registered persons as vacancies occurred. Registration was to be voluntary except in the case of those disabled in the last war and certain others, who would be registered automatically. The second reading was moved by Mr. Tomlinson, Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, on December 10, and the House gave the Bill a most favourable reception. Some speakers urged that ex-Service men should receive preference over civilian disabled, but the Minister refused to make any discrimination.

On December 7 Lord Vansittart, in the House of Lords, urged the Government to ensure that no German criminal should take refuge in any neutral country, and that punishment should be visited not only on the leaders who had instigated the atrocities, but also on the subordinates who had carried them out. The Lord Chancellor, in reply, stated that it was important to distinguish between the inner ring of political leaders who must take full responsibility for the barbarities of the war, and the much larger number of people who had acted as their agents. Though these also had no doubt been guilty of great brutality, yet the treatment appropriate in one case would not be appropriate in the other ; there must be no mass executions of nameless people because there had been mass executions on their side. He further stated that a communication had already been sent to neutrals warning them not to give refuge to war criminals.

On December 17 the text was published of the Government's new Education Bill. It embodied all the legislative changes proposed in the White Paper on educational reconstruction published in July, but with certain modifications and additions. The chief of these was that it proposed to repeal the Board of Education Act of 1899, and to set up a Minister and Ministry of Education. The Minister was, however, to retain the style and title of President of the Board of Education, and his department would continue to be known as the Board of Education. It would be his duty "to secure the effective execution by the local authorities of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area." The Minister would enter on his new powers as soon as the Bill was passed, so that he might have the new administrative structure ready by

April 1, 1945, when also the school-leaving age would be raised to 15. The financial allocation proposed in the Bill for technical and adult education was more than three times the sum mentioned in the White Paper.

On December 24 President Roosevelt announced the names of the men who had been chosen to direct the forthcoming invasion of the Continent of Europe. General Eisenhower was to be Commander-in-Chief, with General Montgomery commanding the British forces under him. General Alexander was to be in supreme command in Italy, and General Maitland-Wilson in the Mediterranean area. Shortly after it was announced that Air Vice-Marshal Tedder was to be deputy to General Eisenhower, and Admiral Ramsay, Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet.

During this time Mr. Churchill was lying on a sick bed in Cairo. Immediately after the Teheran Conference he had been struck down with an attack of pneumonia, similar to the one which he had suffered in February, after the Casablanca Conference. On this occasion the news was not concealed from the public, and naturally it aroused world-wide concern. Thanks largely to a new "M. and B." drug, the illness did not take a dangerous turn, and by Christmas the patient was well on the way to recovery.

During the closing weeks of the year the Eighth Army in Italy, by dint of hard and bitter fighting, made some further progress towards Rome at an average rate of half a mile a day. By the time that it came into contact with the enemy's new line of defence, about the middle of November, the weather had broken, and rain and snow brought floods in their train which rendered movement very difficult. Nevertheless, on November 25 a strong detachment managed, in the face of immense difficulties, to cross the River Sangro while in flood, and to establish a substantial bridgehead near its mouth on the northern side. Some days later another bridgehead was secured a few miles higher up the river. General Montgomery thereupon, on November 28, crossed the river in force and launched an attack from the two bridgeheads, which were soon united. By November 30 he had already broken deeply into the enemy's lines, and a couple of days later he announced that he was through. Once more, however, the Germans managed to retire in good order, putting up a stubborn resistance at many points, especially along the River Moro.

By December 7 the British had forced the Moro, only to find that the enemy were holding in strength the road from Ortona on the coast to Orsogna, 12 miles inland, at the foot of the Majella Mountains. Here some of the hardest fighting of the campaign took place, in most inclement weather, for about ten days, at the end of which the British finally gained control of the road. They then closed in on Ortona, but met with an equally stubborn resistance. They first entered the town on December 22, but

they had to reduce it street by street, and it was not till the 27th that the Germans were finally cleared out.

During all this time the Fifth Army had remained more or less stationary along the banks of the Garigliano. Thus at the end of the year the Allied Armies still found themselves separated from Rome by 80 miles of exceedingly difficult country, commanded by a strong and determined enemy. Outside of Italy, too, there had been no successes to record in the Mediterranean area since the occupation of Corsica in September. There could be no doubt that this slowing down of the Allied progress created a feeling of profound disappointment at home, and revived doubts about the competence of the strategic direction. In the debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Eden's statement on December 12, Mr. Aneurin Bevan had twitted the Government with trying to pierce through the hard backbone of the Axis instead of attacking its soft under-belly, as it had once promised. Mr. Eden had replied by quoting the well-known epigram of Quarles : " Judge not the play before the play be done . . . the last act crowns the play." To which Lord Winster, in a broadcast shortly afterwards, retorted that it would have to be a very good act indeed to make up for the feebleness of the preceding one. Impatient as the nation was for its commencement, the curtain had not yet rung up by the end of the year, though there was much sound of preparation behind the scenes.

At sea the Navy maintained its mastery over the U-boats to the end of the year. On three occasions in December the Admiralty announced successful action against U-boats threatening convoys. In the first of these actions six U-boats were sunk, in the second five were sunk and three damaged, and in the third two were sunk, while on each occasion the great bulk of the convoys reached their destination safely. Both in November and December more U-boats were sunk than merchant vessels. In addition to these successes two brilliant victories were gained over surface ships. On December 26 the great German battleship *Scharnhorst* was brought to action off the northern coast of Norway by units of the Home Fleet under the command of Admiral Sir Bruce Praser, which were escorting to Russia a convoy of exceptional importance. With great daring a number of destroyers approached the *Scharnhorst* close enough to obtain a number of hits with torpedoes which forced her to reduce speed, and the Admiral's flagship, H.M.S. *Duke of York*, thereupon closed with her and sank her. Almost at the same time two British cruisers put to flight a squadron of eleven German destroyers in the Bay of Biscay, destroying three of them without loss to themselves.

The aerial attack on Berlin was continued in December with a number of heavy raids ; by the end of the month no fewer than 12,000 tons of bombs had been dropped on the city since the assault commenced in November. Heavy raids were also made

during the month on Leipzig and Frankfort. On December 8 it was stated by an Air Force authority that of the German cities already attacked—and few except those in the far east and south-east had escaped—nearly 25 per cent, of the built-up area had been devastated. The German reply during December was again feeble.

In December increased wage rates for agricultural workers came into force, and the Government, in accordance with a pledge which it had given to the farmers in 1940, raised the prices of agricultural produce—not, however, sufficiently to cover the increase in wages. This proceeding was justified on the ground that the profits of the farmers in the past year or two had been higher than had been anticipated. The farmers did not deny this, but they maintained that even the enhanced profits did not compensate them for the many bad years they had suffered previously, and they therefore demanded that prices should be increased commensurately with wages. Mr. Hudson refused to give way, and while the farmers expressed their determination to go on producing their utmost in the national interest, they loudly accused the Government of bad faith, and announced their intention to press their demand by all means in their power.

The year 1943 saw the practical recovery by England of the freedom of the seas which she had largely lost in 1940 through the German occupation of the Atlantic submarine bases and the Italian entry into the war. Her vessels could now sail with little fear of molestation across the Atlantic and through the Mediterranean. So far, however, this increased liberty of movement had not led to any appreciable increase in the volume of imports for civilian needs, though of course it saved them from any decrease. Consequently living conditions in England did not alter much during the year either for better or for worse. Money became more plentiful as the year went on, and was freely spent, but the standard of living did not rise. The continuance of war-time discomforts did not in any way affect the determination of the people to see the war through to a successful conclusion. But it made them more impatient for the end, and was perhaps in part responsible for a certain moral deterioration which was causing grave concern to the religious leaders; in his New Year message the President of the Methodist Conference called attention to the spread of selfishness, pilfering, immorality, and drunkenness, and stigmatised these malignant growths as a menace to all planning for a better future in Britain.

While the nation was still bending all its energies to the prosecution of the war, the improvement in the military situation—due chiefly, of course, to the marvellous Russian successes—allowed its thoughts to take increasingly a wider range, and to busy themselves with the question of what was going to happen after the war, both in the political and the economic field. In

his New Year message Mr. Attlee indicated not obscurely that he would like the political coalition to continue, and a number of the younger Conservatives laboured hard to work out a programme on which all parties could agree. The idea, however, found little favour with the great mass, either of the Labour or the Liberal Party. A by-election at Darwen in December, in which a Liberal candidate, fighting in defiance of the party headquarters, all but wrested the seat from the Conservatives, was taken as an index of public opinion on the subject. The facade of national unity was preserved partly by the exigencies of the war, partly by the personal prestige of Mr. Churchill; if even one of these factors was removed, it seemed likely that the nation would split into a Right and a Left, ready at once to resume the political dog-fight.

IMPERIAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

IRELAND

NORTHERN IRELAND

A CHANGE of Premiership and a new Cabinet were the outstanding events in the year 1943 in Northern Ireland, Sir Basil Brooke becoming Prime Minister in place of Mr. J. M. Andrews.

This was the first occasion since the Northern Ireland Parliament was established that the chief Minister had resigned, but the change did not imply any alteration in the political policy of the State.

The New Year had scarcely dawned before some of the back bench members of the Northern Ireland Parliament were expressing the view somewhat pointedly that a more energetic effort should be made to assist in the vigorous prosecution of the war, and that there should be an infusion of young blood into the Executive. Mr. Andrews retained the confidence of the Ulster Unionist Council, of which he is still President, but the members of the Unionist Parliamentary Party were adamant on the need for change, and eventually Mr. Andrews placed his resignation in the hands of the Governor (the Duke of Abercorn), who sent for Sir Basil Brooke and asked him to form a Government.

When the new Premier announced the names of his Cabinet it was found that only one member of the former Government in addition to the Premier had been retained. This was the Minister of Public Security, Mr. William Grant, who took over the portfolio of Labour. A feature of the new Cabinet that caused some criticism was the fact that it contained two clergymen, the Rev. Professor Corkey becoming Minister of Education and Leader of the Senate, and the Rev. Robert Moore being chosen as Minister of Agriculture in place of Lord Glentoran. Sir Basil Brooke, in addition to performing his duties as head of the Government, decided to continue in his post as Minister of Commerce and Production, the Ministry mainly responsible for Ulster's industrial war effort.

One bold stroke by the new Premier was the introduction of Mr. H. C. Midgley as Minister of Public Security. Mr. Midgley, who was for many years chairman of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, and sat on the Opposition side of the House of Commons, had shown some concern at the growth of Republican tendencies in the Labour Party, and had established the Commonwealth Labour Party. The new party, while pursuing a Socialist policy

in matters concerning the welfare of the working classes, is wholly at one with the Government in the maintenance of the Union with Great Britain and the British Commonwealth, coupled with a determination to intensify the war effort.

On the whole the new Cabinet gave evidence of its ability to carry out its declared policy and the former Premier appealed for unity and support for his successor, while only recently he declared that the Old Guard joined with the New so that complete unity existed. The Vote of Confidence in the new Government introduced on May 11 was, after a two days' debate, agreed to.

There has been a feeling in Northern Ireland that the non-inclusion of the area in the conscription scheme may have caused misunderstanding in Britain, and that after the war another attempt at an Irish "settlement" may be expected, as happened after the last war. When Sir Basil Brooke gave an interview to the Press after he became Premier, he said that Ulster had always felt that their people should bear the same burden of responsibility as the people of Great Britain. That view had been strongly held by his two predecessors, the late Lord Craigavon and Mr. Andrews, and it was Sir Basil's own view also. The United Kingdom Government, however, had decided, after consultation with the Northern Ireland Government, that the enforcement of the Conscription Act here would be more trouble than it was worth. That decision, said Sir Basil, the Northern Ireland Government loyally accepted, as they were most anxious not to embarrass the United Kingdom Government in the prosecution of the war. Moreover, Mr. Churchill, in a letter to Mr. Andrews on his appointment as a Companion of Honour, said, "During your Premiership the bonds of affection between Great Britain and the people of Northern Ireland have been tempered by fire and are now, I believe, unbreakable." Mr. Churchill further referred to the value of the Ulster bridgehead when he stated that but for the loyalty of Northern Ireland and its devotion to the cause of thirty Governments or nations "we should have been confronted with slavery or death, and the light which now shines so strongly throughout the world would have been quenched." Mr. Herbert Morrison stated that Northern Ireland played a key part in the Battle of the Atlantic, and that her strategic position alone ensured that her contribution was a crucial one.

The menace of the "Irish Republican Army" continued throughout the year, and in the early part of the year there were a number of outrages in parts of the Province, and jail breaks from Belfast and Derry prisons. Most of the men who escaped were retaken, including Hugh McAteer, described as "Chief of Staff of the I.R.A.," and by the close of the year the police had the situation well in hand. Border smuggling again occupied the attention of the police and Customs authorities, and there

were large numbers of prosecutions, sentences of imprisonment and heavy fines being imposed by the Courts.

On the industrial front production showed a big increase, and new and extended factories employed large numbers of workers, including many who came from Eire. In this connexion a system of residence permits was introduced, and it is hoped that when the war is over and Ulster service men and women return, their posts will not be filled by people who have come from another part of the country.

Two by-elections for the Imperial Parliament were fought during the year, as the standstill agreement between the main political parties in Britain did not apply in Northern Ireland. In one of these elections—West Belfast—Labour, in February, represented by Mr. Jack Beattie, gained the seat from the Unionists. This constituency has always been a difficult one for the Unionists to hold, as there is a large Nationalist population in the Falls area, and these voters would give their votes to a Nationalist or Labour nominee. The position on this occasion was complicated by the intervention of an Independent Unionist, Mr. William Wilton, and it was claimed on behalf of the official candidate that if the 7,000 votes cast for Mr. Wilton had gone to Lieut. Knox Cunningham, Scots Guards, he would have secured the seat which was vacant by the death of Capt. Crawford Browne. In February another election was necessary owing to the death of Sir Joseph McConnell, one of the representatives of County Antrim at Westminster. Here the Unionist candidate, Mr. Dermott Campbell, son-in-law of the former member, gained an overwhelming victory over the Labour candidate, Mr. Robert Getgood. The Progressive Unionist candidate, Mr. R. H. Press, forfeited his deposit. One disturbing feature of the polling was that in the West Belfast election only 54 per cent, of the electorate voted, and in County Antrim only 44 per cent.

EIRE

The General Election on June 22 was the most important political event in Eire in 1943. This contest was not fought over any striking or fundamental issue, as all the parties accepted the *status quo* policy of neutrality, though Mr. James Dillon, who was returned for Monaghan as Independent, campaigned for Irish-American solidarity—as he put it—on war issues. Before the election there was much talk of a National Government on coalition lines, but the idea aroused little enthusiasm among politicians. General R. Mulcahy, speaking in the Dail before the election, favoured the idea, and Mr. Cosgrave's party pledged itself, if returned, to form a Ministry of all the talents drawn from different parties. However, neither Labour nor Fianna Fail gave any countenance to this.

There was a good deal of opposition to holding elections at that juncture. Mr. James Dillon, in the debate in the Dail on February 18 on a motion to postpone the elections, was perhaps the most vigorous speaker in favour of postponement.

If (said Mr. Dillon) there was nothing in the present situation so urgent as to justify the postponement of the election, he found himself in something of a quandary because they, the elected representatives of the Irish people, had found danger sufficiently urgent to justify the suspension of the Constitution, the suspension of *habeas corpus*, the suspension of trial by jury, the suspension of the law of evidence and the suspension of the freedom of the Press : every most treasured liberty of free men had been willingly sacrificed, in the period of the present emergency, on the ground of the community's danger.

Accordingly, argued Mr. Dillon, a time of stress was no time for a General Election. Mr. de Valera, however, held that as the life of Parliament had come to an end, no other course was open but to hold new elections.

As a result of the election, Fianna Fail's position in the Dail was weakened. Mr. de Valera came back with a total following of 67, being in a minority as against 71 other members. At the previous election of 1938 he had 77 members, giving him an overall majority of 18 seats. Mr. Cosgrave's party lost 13 seats, declining from 45 to 32. Labour increased its representation from 9 to 14, less than it expected. A new Farmers' group of 14 were elected, all except 1 being new to the Dail. The gains by Labour and the smaller groups at the expense of the two main parties may be taken partly as an expression of discontent with war-time stringencies—cost of living, "stand-still" wages, etc.—and, in the case of the farmers, a feeling that their interests were being neglected by the politicians. Yet it was common ground that the farmers were better off than any other section of the community. In the absence of any clear-cut policies at the election, the result cannot be interpreted as showing any decided swing. Mr. de Valera was accepted as the man who had made the best use of the neutrality policy. Mr. de Valera himself, at the annual conference of his party, declared that the party's failure to obtain an absolute majority was due to Proportional Representation,

On October 28 a Children's Allowances Bill was introduced by the Government. This was an entirely new departure in social legislation so far as Eire is concerned, and may have far-reaching consequences. Grants of 2s. 6rf. per week were to be given in respect of the third and further children under 16. There was to be no means test whatever. It was estimated that 150,000 families and 340,000 children would qualify at once. The scheme will cost the State 2,250,000J. per year, and the cost will be met from taxation, as was announced by Mr. Lemass, Minister for Industry, during the Dail debate on the second reading on November 23. It was proposed to offset the benefits by a reduction in children's allowances under the income tax code. **The**

Bill passed its final stage in the Dail just before Christmas, and was expected to be in operation from April 1, 1944. Government spokesmen stated that it was designed to help larger rather than normal families ; it was an experiment in social legislation that will be watched with keen interest.

Eire's written Constitution—which follows the rigid American pattern rather than the more elastic British model—was responsible for a curious turn in connexion with the School Attendance Bill discussed early in the year. Section 4 of the Bill gave power to the Minister of Education to object to parents sending their children to schools outside the State, if he refused to certify that the children were receiving adequate education. It might have happened that parents would be prosecuted for neglecting to ensure that their children were being taught Irish. The case was made that this section contravened Section 42 of the Constitution which defines the rights of parents in relation to their children's education. The issue was submitted by the President (Dr. Douglas Hyde) to the Supreme Court for its decision. On April 15 the Court announced that it sustained the objection and held that the measure was unconstitutional. Consequently the President refused to sign the Bill. Not only was the particular issue—that of safeguarding the rights of parents—of importance but a precedent was set for the Constitution overriding Dail legislation.

The transport situation occupied much attention throughout the year. In December 1942, the first experiment of a transport pooling scheme was tried out in the Mayo area. Goods transport by motor was placed entirely under the control of the Great Southern Railway's road section, which operated in the area under license. This scheme was extended during the year 1943 to Sligo, Roscommon, and Galway. The Minister of Supplies indicated in October that a National scheme was being prepared. He had already announced in the Dail, on September 1, that the number of road vehicles taken over by the G.S.R. was 633.

Since May, because of the scarcity of petrol, private motor-cars were practically cleared off the roads. The petrol crisis hit lorries, buses, and all forms of motor transport. In May the Government began to encourage the use of producer gas plants on motor vehicles by offering special concessions to those owners who had them fitted. By the end of October some 2,000 of these vehicles were in use. As the Government proceeded with its transport reorganisation plan it became evident that such vehicles would soon be the only private commercial cars allowed on the roads.

The complete transport scheme took shape towards the end of the year. The intention was to set up a new transport company to take over the rail and road traffic, goods and passenger, in Eire, on a co-ordinated plan. The Government guaranteed

capital and interest in Redeemable Debenture Stock to the extent of 16,000,000?l. and this, together with 4,000,000l. Common Stock, will form the basis for a 20,000,000?2. capital for the new company. G.S.R. shareholders were generously dealt with, and the Dublin United Transport Company, which controls the city buses, was also to be brought in under the general scheme. Government control of the new company will be exercised through the chairman. The intention was to transform the Eire railway system from its present largely obsolete and bankrupt condition to that of an up-to-date and prosperous carrying concern, the backbone of national transport, in post-war years. The whole scheme, in the re-planning of stations, goods yards, and rolling stock, fits in with large ideas of post-war development.

For the present, however, the plan is to make the best use of the restricted transport services, with reduced stocks of petrol and coal, by eliminating competition and working on a concerted central plan under unified direction. The Government decision to supersede the G.S.R. by the creation of a new company with guaranteed capital and interest, caused the G.S.R. stocks to rise sharply, even before the official announcement was made. It was generally known that some such move would be made, and the chairman of the G.S.R. had forecast development on these lines. Allegations that the rises in the Stock market had occurred through leakage of Government information caused the Government to set up a special Court of Enquiry to investigate and report on dealings in G.S.R. Stocks during the period from January to November 18, 1943. The decision to set up this tribunal was taken in the Dail on November 24. Three judges constituted the Court of Enquiry, and it was presided over by a High Court judge.

On December 13 white bread was restored. This was done by substituting an 85 per cent, wheat extraction in place of the former 100 per cent., and by the addition of from 5 to 7 per cent, barley to eke out the wheat supply. The return of white bread did not mean more wheat, for there was a decline in the wheat acreage in 1943 as compared with the previous year. The figures were 506,900 acres in 1943 against 574,700 in 1942. One acute difficulty was the absence of wheat offals for the feeding of poultry and stock. This position, it was thought, led farmers to feed wheat products to their livestock, and so helped to keep wheat off the market. The new system allowed a margin of offals and so removed the temptation to withhold wheat. As part of the " Grow More Wheat " campaign, a leading feature of Government activity, not only was the compulsory tillage area increased but, for the first time, compulsory wheat growing was introduced. The amount to be grown varied with different areas, the biggest demands were made in the richest wheat lands. The aim was

to make the country self-supporting so far as bread is concerned, and so save valuable shipping space for other necessities.

Throughout the year the Emergency Scientific Research Bureau was hard at work on substitutes, and on the home production of materials to keep Irish industry running. On November 11 Mr. de Valera moved a 10,850/. vote for this purpose, making a total provision of 32,850/., compared with 24,500/. last year. This increase was due chiefly to additional outlay connected with investigations in regard to fuel, iron, and steel, fertilisers, explosives, and adhesives.

During the year there was a marked rise in the cost of living, the index figure recording 284 for 1943, compared with 250 in 1942, and 173 in 1938. Eire's external trade showed a notable decline over the past twelve months both as regards imports and exports. Shortage of shipping and scarcity of goods meant that the Irish demand for clothing, for boots, for timber, for machinery, for all kinds of raw materials and finished goods, was not met. Depression was general; Mr. Lemass, the Minister of Supply, was only voicing the universal opinion when, on October 13, he said in a speech, "The main task now is to stay alive in a world where we have few friends."

On May 5 Mr. S. T. O'Kelly, the Minister of Finance, introduced the Budget of 1943-44 in the Dail. State expenditure, he said, continued to mount in a fashion that caused him not a little uneasiness. The realised deficit in the national accounts for the year ending March 31 was 2,145,000/. This was but the latest of a series of deficits, and they made the task of restoring budget equilibrium extremely difficult. The heavy expenditure on the Army and the Defence Services, continued Mr. O'Kelly, was mainly responsible for throwing the normal working of the financial mechanism out of gear. In the year just closed Exchequer issues for Army purposes were 8,395,000/., compared with 8,155,000/. in the preceding year. In the last complete year of peace—to March 31, 1939—Army issues were only 1,766,000/. The Estimates for the year 1933-34 provided for 35,195,000/. revenue and 40,696,000/. expenditure.

The feeling concerning the budget on the opposition side of the House was voiced by Mr. W. T. Cosgrave, who said :—

Times were difficult: nobody would deny that; but it did appear that responsibility for a good deal of the disturbance, for the lack of provision of essential commodities and the increase in the cost of living could be traced to the Government by their action or inaction during the last few years. With the amount of money available and at the disposal of Ministers there ought to have been better results.

In his reply the Minister of Finance declared that the budgetary **situation** in Eire was as sound and solid as any of the **small States of Europe**.

CHAPTER II

CANADA

IN Canada the year was one of historic achievement in several fields of the "total war" effort which marked the Dominion's growing status as a world-power. Political developments, however, particularly in Ontario and Quebec, showed a trend towards greater divergence and complexity, and the Federal Liberal Government, still holding a large majority, gained no new ground.

The Fourth Session of the Nineteenth Parliament was opened at Ottawa by the Governor-General, The Earl of Athlone, on January 28. In the Speech from the Throne the Governor-General reviewed Canada's part in the war and foreshadowed further efforts to be made for the expansion of her fighting forces, the development and financing of war supplies, the rehabilitation of soldiers and war-workers at the close of hostilities, the planning, on a nation-wide scale, of reconstruction, and the establishment of a comprehensive scheme of insurance which would constitute "a charter of social security for the whole of Canada."

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, in his first speech to the re-assembled Parliament, drew attention to the changes in the Opposition by which Mr. R. B. Hanson (York—Sunbury), who had resigned the leadership of the Progressive-Conservative Party in the House of Commons, had been succeeded by Mr. Gordon Graydon (Peel), to both of whom he paid tribute.

Although Mr. John Bracken, formerly Premier of Manitoba, had been elected national leader of the Progressive-Conservatives, he did not take his seat in the House of Commons during the year, but toured the Dominion on a mission of personal investigation and consultation.

The Debate on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne lasted for several weeks, and many members took part.

On February 1 Mr. Graydon referred to the aims and policies of the September (Port Hope) Conference of his party in relation to the more vigorous prosecution of the war, the need of greater co-ordination and confidence between industry and labour, the claims of farmers to a long-time agricultural production policy with fair prices for their products, and the adoption of a more comprehensive plan for the effective use of Canada's man- and woman-power, with a unified system of insurance and pensions under a Minister of Social Security and Reconstruction. Mr. Mackenzie King, in reply, referred to the danger of devoting too much time to discussing the merits of respective political platforms instead of "keeping our thoughts centred, above everything else, upon the fact that to-day we are in the thick of the greatest struggle **for survival** with **which any people have** ever been faced."

The Prime Minister added that " This war may be, and probably will be, very much longer than any one of us begins to comprehend." After referring to the conference at Casablanca, and the development of methods of consultation between the Allied Powers, Mr. King again referred to Canada's position in the shaping of war policies and expressed satisfaction with the current methods by which, through various and constant channels of direct communication between the Governments, as well as the services of the High Commissioner in London, there was in operation " a continuous conference between Cabinets of the British Commonwealth." The Premier then referred to manpower problems, and reviewed the growth of volunteers for the fighting Services, the expansion of the Canadian Navy, the completion of the formation of two Army Corps overseas in addition to troops in Newfoundland, Labrador, the West Indies, and Alaska, and the threefold activities of the Royal Canadian Air Force in air training, territorial and coastal defence, and active combat against the enemy in all parts of the world. Dealing with Canada's war production, Mr. King gave statistics of the output of ships and aircraft, machines, weapons, and ammunition, apart from primary production of aluminium, nickel, copper, steel, and timber. Shipments to Britain of Canadian agricultural products had also greatly increased. Canadian implements and munitions had found their way to all the fighting Allies and had been used on almost every front, and although the munitions programme had reached full capacity within the limits of available man-power and material, it was expected that the output for 1943 would substantially exceed that of 1942. " The only limiting factor on supplies or men going to Britain to-day is the ships to take them." Mr. King defended the Government's policy of wage stabilisation and price control, and justified the method of framing social security measures based on the investigations of a Special Committee of the House of Commons which would be appointed to give the problems involved the careful study they demanded, with access to the fullest data and expert advice. Mr. M. J. Coldwell (Rosetown—Biggar), Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Party, advocated the immediate increase of payments to old-age pensioners, veterans of the last war and their widows, dependants of those who had lost their lives in the present war, and more generous treatment of men discharged from the forces. Mr. Coldwell did not believe that even the most comprehensive plan of social services would solve post-war problems and urged, first, the pledge of appropriate funds sufficient to undertake immediate national social development—projects of housing, electrification, irrigation, reforestation, road-building, and second, plans for the conversion, after the war, of publicly-owned war industries and machines for the production of peace-time goods and services. "These, together

with monopolistic industries and financial institutions, which must be socialised, and the development of co-operative institutions, would provide us with the means for the long-term planning of our economic life for the benefit of all."

Subsequently, the main motion was carried on division.

- On February 8 Mr. J. L. Ilsley, Minister of Finance, announced in the House that he would introduce a Bill providing for the setting aside, with effect from April 1, of one billion dollars for the purpose of making war supplies available to any of the United Nations. At the same time, Canada would take over control and ownership of all United Kingdom interests in war plants and equipment in Canada provided under the joint Canada-United Kingdom capital assistance programme, realised at over 200,000,000 dollars. A War Supplies Allocation Board would be set up, consisting of five Ministers, to administer the scheme, the distribution being made according to the strategic requirements of the general pool of the United Nations war supplies. Mr. Ilsley explained that under the Bill ("The United Nations Mutual Aid Bill") all war supplies and raw materials could be made directly available to any of the Allied Governments to be used for joint and effective prosecution of the war. The billion dollar gift to Britain made in 1942 had been exhausted in December, and the transfer of the British interests would help to meet, during the remainder of the fiscal year, the cost of those war supplies which had since gone forward. In addition, Britain would be assisted in that Canada would in future bear the entire cost of all Royal Canadian Air Force personnel with the Royal Air Force, and would expand the R.C.A.F. squadrons overseas, thereby providing additional Canadian dollars to Britain.

Mr. Graydon and Mr. Coldwell assured the Minister that they would assist the Government in implementing the new proposals.

The Budget was introduced by the Finance Minister on March 2. Its main feature was the proposal to place the income-tax system on a "pay-as-you-earn" basis. By this method it was proposed that half of the tax liability on the earned income of individuals (not on that of Corporations) and on income from investment up to 3,000 dollars, for 1942, would be "forgiven," it was also proposed that, of the amount remaining one-third should be paid by June 30 and two-thirds on December 31, 1943.

Rates of income tax were maintained with minor amendments directed to the removal of anomalies that might appear in the process of transfer. Farmers were given special consideration, as well as officers of the armed forces serving outside Canada.

Revenues for the fiscal year 1943-44 were estimated to reach 2,752,000,000 dollars, with total expenditure at 5,500,000,000 dollars, showing a deficit of 2,748,000,000 dollars, which would be covered by borrowing according to the Government's policy of meeting half the expenses from taxes and half from loans. Colonel

C. W. Gibson, the Minister of National Revenue, paid a visit to England later in the year to discuss with Treasury officials the British and Canadian methods of income-tax collection, particularly in relation to the "pay-as-you-earn" system. At a Press Conference in London Colonel Gibson elaborated the Canadian method, and as evidence of the financial stability of the Dominion stated that not only had the four Canadian War Loans been over-subscribed, but the number of subscribers had increased as each new Loan was launched.

Wide interest was shown in a national social security scheme submitted (March 17) by Dr. Leonard C. Marsh to the newly appointed Parliamentary Committee on Social Insurance. The scheme, known as "Canada's Beveridge Report" or "The Marsh Plan," aimed at ensuring a basic minimum income for every Canadian, irrespective of occupation, sex, or age. The estimated cost would be about 225,000,000 dollars a year, and Dr. Marsh's report suggested an outlay of at least that sum during the first year after the war on works projects to fill the gap between demobilisation and the restoration of the national economy to a peace basis.

Mr. Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, visited Ottawa on March 30 after conferences with President Roosevelt in Washington. Mr. Eden was warmly received, and became the guest of the Governor-General and the Countess of Athlone at Government House. He exchanged views with Mr. Mackenzie King, and attended a meeting of the Canadian War Cabinet (March 31). As in Washington, the subjects discussed included urgent war problems, particularly those relating to shipping, political, and economic issues, and post-war relief for liberated peoples. On April 1 the British Foreign Secretary addressed a joint Session of the Canadian Parliament. In the course of his speech he said that the conception of "the United Nations" was assuming a specific form through a process of gradual development based on mutual understanding. He interpreted the British Commonwealth as an institution with component but diverse units working in collaboration, and advocated a wide co-operative internationalism.

As for the Axis Powers, Mr. Eden declared that there was only one security for mankind in respect of them all; to ensure that they were totally disarmed and in no position ever to try their strength again. Mr. Eden referred to the arrival in England of Canada's first contingent, which he had welcomed as Secretary of State for the Dominions, the achievements of the Canadian forces on land, sea, and air, and the epic of the Battle of the Atlantic, then raging, in which the Dominion was playing a distinctive part. Speaking in French, the Foreign Secretary addressed the French Canadian members on the hope of the regeneration of France and, after victory, the beginning of a new and glorious

chapter in her history. In his closing sentences he said that the conversations he had **had in** Moscow and in Washington **had** been an inspiration to him. " Admittedly there will be differences and divergences among us. They are not insurmountable because at heart we want the same things—international security so that all our peoples may live and develop their lives in freedom and peace."

Post-war air plans came before the House of Commons (April 2) when the Prime Minister said that the Government strongly favoured a policy of international collaboration in air transport and was prepared to take part in international negotiations for that purpose. He said that the Canadian Government saw no good reason for changing its policy, that the Trans-Canada Air Lines was the sole Canadian agency to operate the international services of the country ; he made it clear that all concessions and privileges granted by Canada to other countries as part of the war effort would terminate at the end of the war. Concerning international policy, the Prime Minister said that the Canadian Government was in complete agreement with the British Government that some form of international co-operation would be essential if the air were to be developed in the interests of mankind as a whole ; if trade were to be served, international understanding fostered, and international security gained.

Labour difficulties and wage conditions gave rise to strikes or stoppages from time to time, and a public inquiry by the National War Labour Board was announced on April 9. The Board reviewed the provisions of the control of war-time wages, and the relations of the Board with affiliated regional boards, and also investigated means of promoting the more effective organisation of industry and labour for furthering the war effort. In the same month the National Selective Service regulations were amended to provide for men in the age groups designated under the mobilisation regulations, to be transferred compulsorily to more essential war employment, including farm labour. Commenting on this regulation, Mr. Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labour, said that with the intensification of Canada's industrial output, and the urgent need for farm production, the time had arrived when all men of military age who were still employed on non-essential work must be transferred to employment where their services would contribute directly in the war effort.

In an address to mark the inauguration of the Dominion's Fourth Victory Loan, Mr. Mackenzie King, speaking before the Canadian Club of Toronto (April 19), again gave a survey of the Canadian war effort. After detailing the expansion and strength of the various arms of the defence Services, Mr. King referred to the Canadian Army of two Corps in Great Britain, explaining that their continuance at " the heart of the citadel of freedom " was **not because of any restriction imposed by the Government of**

Canada, but because Canada was content, for sound strategical reasons, that Canadian forces in whole or in part should be used when and where they could make the best contribution to the winning of the war. The Prime Minister disclosed that in round numbers the total strength of the Canadian armed Services was then over 700,000. Of these, the Army accounted for 435,000, of which 190,000 were in Britain; the Air Force totalled 200,000, and 22,000 women were also in uniform. Mr. King laid stress on the fact that the supreme effort of the war, involving much sacrifice, had yet to be made. This Loan, which was launched with public ceremonies and demonstrations throughout the Dominion, aimed at a total of 1,100,000,000 dollars, and was designed not only to assist in financing the war, but to divert spending power into savings, to avoid inflation and to place Government securities in the hands of as many Canadians as possible. This was achieved in subscriptions which reached over 1,200,000,000 dollars, representing more than two million subscribers.

At the invitation of the Canadian Government General Penaranda, President of Bolivia, arrived in Canada for a short visit (May 12), after consultation with President Roosevelt. The Bolivian President's visit, during which he held discussions with Mr. Mackenzie King and inspected Empire Air-training Centres, was of particular interest as being the first from a South American President during his term of office.

On May 17 Mr. Mackenzie King left Ottawa for Washington to join in the discussions taking place between Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Premier, and President Roosevelt.

On June 16 Madame Chiang Kai-shek, wife of the leader of the Republic of China, addressed Members of the Senate and the House of Commons in joint Session. She referred to the sacrifices of her country which "for six years has hung like a millstone around the neck of the Japanese military," and appealed for the continuance of Canada's efforts in common with the United Nations to see that "every worthy doctrine is fully developed and practised."

Newfoundland's status came before Parliament when the Prime Minister replied (July 16) to a suggestion that Newfoundland should be invited to enter the Dominion as its tenth Province. "Any discussions," he said, "in respect of the possible bringing of Newfoundland into the confederation ought to be initiated on the part of Newfoundland people rather than by members of this House. Canadians like and admire the Newfoundland people. They are attached by bonds of sentiment and the memory of dangers shared and victories won together. Canadians are interested in the defence of Newfoundland, and hope the people will find some wholly satisfactory solution of the political and economic problems confronting them. They will be happy if they can contribute to the solution of these problems. If the

to take part in the conference. **He was followed on** August 17 by Mr. Eden, Mr. Brendon **Bracken** (Minister of Information), and Sir Alexander Cadogan (Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Office), who had all flown from England. Mr. Cordell Hull also arrived at Quebec on August 20 with Mr. Henry L. Stimson (United States Secretary for War). Dr. T. V. Soong (Chinese Foreign Minister) came two days later to join the delegates. Mr. Stimson had been on a visit to the United States forces in Britain, Iceland, and North Africa, and Dr. Soong on an official visit to Britain.

On August 23 a meeting, described by Mr. Brendon Bracken as "of very great importance" in connexion with Pacific war strategy, was held at the Citadel, attended by Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt, Dr. Soong, and Mr. Hopkins. The same day Mr. Churchill, accompanied by Mr. Mackenzie King, made a tour of Quebec City by open car, receiving a great reception from the crowds which gathered from many points of the Dominion to see him.

Mr. Eden had discussions with Mr. Cordell Hull on August 24, and the same evening the termination of the Quebec Conference was announced in a statement signed jointly by President Roosevelt*and Mr. Churchill:—

" " The Anglo-American War Conference, which opened at Quebec on August 11 under the hospitable auspices of the Canadian Government, has now concluded its work. The whole field of world operations has been surveyed in the light of the many gratifying events which have taken place since the meeting of the President and the Prime Minister in Washington at the end of May, and the necessary decisions have been taken to provide for the forward actions of the Fleet, the Army, and the Air Forces of the two nations. Considering that these forces are intermingled in continuous action against the enemy in several quarters of the globe, it is indispensable that entire unity of aim and method should be maintained at the summit of the war direction. Further conferences will be needed, probably at shorter intervals than before, as the war effort of the United Nations and the British Commonwealth and Empire against the enemy spreads and deepens.

" It would not be helpful to the fighting troops to make any announcements of decisions which have been reached. These can only emerge in action. It may, however, be stated that the military discussions of the Chiefs-of-Staff turned very largely on the war against Japan and the bringing of effective aid to China. Dr. T. V. Soong, representing Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was party to the discussions. In this field, as in the European, the President and the Prime Minister were able to receive and approve the unanimous recommendations of the Combined Chiefs-of-Staff. Agreement was also reached upon the political issues underlying all or arising out of military operations.

" It was resolved to hold another conference by the end of the year between British and American authorities in addition to any tripartite meetings which it may be possible to arrange with Soviet Russia. Full reports of the decisions, so far as they affect the war against Germany and Italy, will be furnished to the Soviet Government. Consideration has been given during the conference to the question of relations with the French Committee of Liberation, and it is understood that an announcement by a number of Governments will be made in the latter part of the week."

The absence of Soviet representatives from this conference aroused comment in the British, American, and Soviet Press. It was, however, pointed out in London, Washington, and Moscow that the Soviet Government had been fully informed of the scope and nature of the Quebec discussions, and that Marshal Stalin knew in advance the problems that would be handled; furthermore, it was explained that a distinction existed between a tripartite Anglo-American-Soviet Conference (such as was foreshadowed in the official statement by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill) which would broadly cover all fields of strategy in the war against Germany and her European Allies, and the scope of the Quebec Conference which to a large extent concerned the war in the Far East and Pacific, in which the Soviet Union were not a belligerent.

After the ending of the conference President Roosevelt left for Ottawa, where he was again warmly received on his arrival on August 25. The President toured Ottawa in an open car, and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the Governor-General acting in his capacity as Chancellor of London University. On the same day he addressed a joint session of the Canadian Parliament. The President, after speaking of the origins of the war which "we did not choose," and the recent successes in Sicily, referred to the work of the conference.

"During the past few days in Quebec the Combined Staffs have been sitting around the tables talking things over, discussing ways and means in the manner of friends, in the manner of partners, and may I even say in the manner of members of the same family. We have talked constructively of our common purposes in this war, of our determination to achieve victory in the shortest possible time, and of our essential co-operation with our great and brave fighting Allies, and we have arrived harmoniously at certain definite conclusions. Of course, I am not at liberty to disclose just what these conclusions are, but in due time we shall communicate the secret information of the Quebec Conference to Germany, Italy, and Japan. We shall communicate this information to our enemies in the only language that their twisted minds seem capable of understanding. Sometimes I wish that that greater master of intuition, the Nazi leader, could have been present in spirit at the Quebec Conference. I am thoroughly glad that he was not there in person. If he and his fellow-generals had known our plans they would have realised that discretion was still the better part of valour, and that surrender would pay them better now than later. . . .

"Every one of the United Nations believes in real and lasting peace and justifies the sacrifices we are making, and our unanimity is as confident in seeking that goal. It is no secret that at Quebec there was much talk of the post-war world. That discussion was doubtless duplicated simultaneously in dozens of nations and hundreds of cities and among millions of people. There is a longing in the air. It is not a longing to go back to what they call 'the good old days.' I have distinct reservations as to how good 'the good old days' were. I would rather believe that we can achieve new and better days."

President Roosevelt's visit ended the same evening when he returned by train to the United States.

Meanwhile, Mr. Churchill, who had been spending a few days in the Laurentian Mountains, returned on August 31 to attend

people of Newfoundland ever decide that they wish to enter the Canadian Federation, and should make that decision clear beyond all possibility of misunderstanding, Canada would give the most sympathetic consideration to the proposal."

The Federal Parliament was prorogued on July 24. Legislation of the Session included various measures for war finance (including several Appropriation Acts, Income Tax and Excess Profits Tax), Farmers' Creditors' arrangements, National Physical Fitness, Canada-United States Tax Convention, also amendments to the Customs Tariff, Wheat Acreage Reduction Act, and the Unemployment Insurance Act.

In the Province of Ontario the political situation, which was closely followed in other parts of Canada as indicating the trend of public opinion in Federal as well as Provincial affairs, came to a climax with the holding of the Provincial General Election on August 3, following the dissolution of the Ontario Legislature on June 30. Representatives of the three main parties contested nearly every seat, the Liberals seeking return to power with a reorganised Cabinet led by Mr. Harry C. Nixon, who had in April succeeded Mr. Mitchell Hepburn after a period of some dissension. The Progressive-Conservatives tested the electorate on a provincial scale for the first time since the party chose its new Federal leader and remoulded its policy, and the Co-operative Commonwealth (Labour) Federation made its first real bid for power in Eastern Canada.

The election resulted in the decisive defeat of the Liberal Government, three of whose Ministers lost their seats. Progressive Conservatives headed the poll with 39 seats, Co-operative Commonwealth gained 33, and Liberals 15, others 3. Colonel George Drew, who later in the year paid a visit to London, became the new Premier, and at once formed his Progressive-Conservative Cabinet.

The emergence of a new party in Quebec, known as the "Bloc Populaire Canadien," formed in October, 1942, by Mr. Maxime Raymond (Beauharnois-Laprarie), to "protect Canada's interests first" and to oppose the "centralisation of Ottawa" was a feature in two of the four Federal by-elections which were held on August 9 in Quebec, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, resulting in the loss of all seats by the Liberals. In Stanstead, Quebec, Mr. Armand Choquette gained a seat for the newly-formed "Bloc Populaire Canadien"; in Cartier, Quebec, the Labour-Progressive candidate, Mr. Fred Rose, with a small majority over the "Bloc Populaire" candidate, won the seat, which was also contested by Liberal, Co-operative Commonwealth, and Independent candidates; in Selkirk, Manitoba, Mr. William Price, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation candidate, defeated his Liberal and

¹ Following these by-elections, party strength in the House of Commons were : Liberals 170; Progressive-Conservatives 39, Co-operative Commonwealth 11; Social Credit 10; Bloc Populaire 4; Independents and others 11.

Social Credit opponents, and in Humboldt, Saskatchewan, another Co-operative Commonwealth Federation representative, Mr. Joseph W. Burton, was returned by a large majority over Liberal and Social Credit candidates.

In the same month a Federal by-election at The Pas, Manitoba, in a constituency represented by Mr. John Bracken as a Liberal Progressive for over twenty years before his election as Federal Progressive-Conservative Leader, resulted in the election of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation candidate, Mr. B. F. Richards, increasing the strength of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in the Manitoba Legislature to 4, and of the Opposition to 8 as against a Government Coalition (under the leadership of Mr. Stuart Garson) of 24 Liberal Progressive, 13 Progressive Conservatives, 6 Independents, and 3 Social Credit.

The outstanding event of the year was the Quebec Conference. On August 10 the British Premier, Mr. Winston Churchill, accompanied by Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport, and the British Chiefs-of-Staff, arrived in Canada to hold discussion with Mr. Mackenzie King. Mrs. Churchill and Miss Mary Churchill also joined the delegates. A joint Session of the British and War Cabinets was held at the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City, on August 11, those taking part being, for Britain, Mr. Churchill and Sir John Anderson (who had arrived from Washington, where he had been on a scientific mission on behalf of the War Cabinet), and for Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, Colonel J. L. Ralston (Minister of National Defence), Major C. G. Power (Air Minister), Mr. J. L. Ilsley (Finance Minister), Mr. Clarence D. Howe (Minister of Munitions and Supply), Mr. J. E. Michaud (Minister of Transport), Mr. Angus Macdonald (Naval Minister), Mr. Louis St. Laurent (Minister of Justice), and Mr. T. A. Crerar (Minister of Mines and Natural Resources).

It was officially stated that " the field of the war was surveyed and questions of special joint interest to the two Governments discussed in a three-hour Session."

From August 12 to 15 Mr. Churchill, after visiting Niagara Falls, was the guest of President Roosevelt at Hyde Park, N.Y., returning to Quebec on August 15. Meanwhile, military talks between British, United States, and Canadian Service chiefs continued at the Citadel at Quebec. Field-Marshal Sir John Dill came from Washington on August 15, and General Sir Alan Brooke (Chief of the Imperial General Staff), Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound (First Sea Lord), and Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal (Chief of Air Staff) conferred with their American " opposite numbers " on August 16.

On August 17 President Roosevelt, who some weeks earlier had taken what was described as a week's " fishing holiday " in Canada on the shores of Lake Huron, arrived at Quebec accompanied by Mr. Harry Hopkins, and was enthusiastically welcomed,

to take part in the **conference**. **He was followed on August 18** by Mr. Eden, Mr. Brendon Bracken (Minister of Information), and Sir Alexander Cadogan (Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Office), who had all flown from England. Mr. Cordell Hull also arrived at Quebec on August 20 with Mr. Henry L. Stimson (United States Secretary for War). Dr. T. V. Soong (Chinese Foreign Minister) came two days later to join the delegates. Mr. Stimson had been on a visit to the United States forces in Britain, Iceland, and North Africa, and Dr. Soong on an official visit to Britain.

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The absence of Soviet representatives from this conference aroused comment in the British, American, and Soviet Press. It was, however, pointed out in London, Washington, and Moscow that the Soviet Government had been fully informed of the scope and nature of the Quebec discussions, and that Marshal StaHn knew in advance the problems that would be handled ; furthermore, it was explained that a distinction existed between a tripartite Anglo-American-Soviet Conference (such as was foreshadowed in the official statement by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill) which would broadly cover all fields of strategy in the war against Germany and her European Allies, and the scope of the Quebec Conference which to a large extent concerned the war in the Far East and Pacific, in which the Soviet Union were not a belligerent.

After the ending of the conference President Roosevelt left for Ottawa, where he was again warmly received on his arrival on August 25. The President toured Ottawa in an open car, and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the Governor-General acting in his capacity as Chancellor of London University. On the same day he addressed a joint session of the Canadian Parliament. The President, after speaking of the origins of the war which "we did not choose," and the recent successes in Sicily, referred to the work of the conference.

" During the past few days in Quebec the Combined Staffs have been sitting around the tables talking things over, discussing ways and means in the manner of friends, in the manner of partners, and may I even say in the manner of members of the same family. We have talked constructively of our common purposes in this war, of our determination to achieve victory in the shortest possible time, and of our essential co-operation with our great and brave fighting Allies, and we have arrived harmoniously at certain definite conclusions. Of course, I am not at liberty to disclose just what these conclusions are, but in due time we shall communicate the secret information of the Quebec Conference to Germany, Italy, and Japan. We shall communicate this information to our enemies in the only language that their twisted minds seem capable of understanding. Sometimes I wish that that greater master of intuition, the Nazi leader, could have been present in spirit at the Quebec Conference. I am thoroughly glad that he was not there in person. If he and his fellow-generals had known our plans they would have realised that discretion was still the better part of valour, and that surrender would pay them better now than later. . . .

" Every one of the United Nations believes in real and lasting peace and justifies the sacrifices we are making, and our unanimity is as confident in seeking that goal. It is no secret that at Quebec there was much talk of the post-war world. That discussion was doubtless duplicated simultaneously in dozens of nations and hundreds of cities and among millions of people. There is a longing in the air. It is not a longing to go back to what they call ' the good old days.' I have distinct reservations as to how good ' the good old days ' were. I would rather believe that we can achieve new and better days."

President Roosevelt's visit ended the same evening when he returned by train to the United States.

Meanwhile, Mr. Churchill, who had been spending a few days in the Laurentian Mountains, returned on August 31 to attend

another meeting with Mr. Mackenzie King and the Canadian War Cabinet. The British Prime Minister later in the day delivered a characteristic broadcast speech on the significance of the Quebec meeting, and left Canada to rejoin President Roosevelt at Washington for further consultations.

Recognition by the Government of Canada of the French Committee on National Liberation as a collaborating Allied agency in the prosecution of the war, was announced by the Prime Minister in August, and later in the year General George P. Vanier, who had been Canadian Minister to the Allied Governments in London, was appointed Canadian representative at Algiers with ambassadorial status.

During the first week in September one of the largest convoys of reinforcement troops for the Canadian Army overseas to leave Canada arrived in the United Kingdom. This contingent, representing many branches of Service, included the first detachment of Canadian "Wrens," who took up duties in London under the direction of the Senior Canadian Naval Officer. In the same month plans were approved for the reorganisation of the Canadian Army in Canada which the Minister of National Defence explained had been made possible by the favourable turn of military events that had improved the general strategic situation in respect of the eastern and western regions of the country. In conjunction with the disbandment of certain Infantry defence units the general effect of the reorganisation was to provide a reduced but efficient body of operational troops in Canada, to introduce more advanced training to overseas reinforcements, and to release men of lower category to take up civilian work to supplement the available man-power.

At Calgary, on September 6, the National Council of Co-operative Commonwealth Federation rejected an offer of affiliation made by the Labour-Progressive Party which had recently been organised in Toronto under Mr. Tim Buck, the former leader of the disbanded Canadian Communist Party. This decision reinforced the attitude of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation leaders, who asserted that the "Labour-Progressive" Party merely represented a change of name but not of policy.

In the Province of Prince Edward Island a General Election (September 16) resulted in the return of the Liberal Administration under the Premiership of Mr. Walter Jones, who had succeeded Mr. Thane Campbell, by a substantial but reduced majority. The Liberals obtained 20 out of the total of 30 seats, the Progressive-Conservatives gaining the remaining 10. Co-operative Commonwealth Federation candidates contested 9 seats and their defeat suggested that in Prince Edward Island the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation made less appeal to rural than to industrial voters.

At a caucus of the National Liberal Federation and supporters of the Government held at Ottawa (September 24-28) the position of the Liberal Party from the point of view of organisation was thoroughly examined. Plans for the educating of electors in the Government's policies were discussed, particularly in the light of changing party loyalties reflected in Provincial Elections and Federal By-elections. Mr. Mackenzie King said that should the war continue into 1945 it would be constitutionally necessary for the Government to hold an Election in that year. Other circumstances, said the Prime Minister, might arise at any time which may make it necessary for the Government to appeal to the electorate, but he believed that until the "terrible period" of fighting yet to come had been passed no one would wish for a General Election. After referring to the lack of co-operation by Mr. Bracken as leader of the Progressive-Conservatives in a united war effort, Mr. King admonished the exploitation by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Party of every grievance arising from necessary war-time controls. Of the new "Bloc Populaire" party in Quebec he said that this group deliberately sought to set Quebec against the rest of Canada.

Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply, led the Canadian delegation to the Empire Air Conference in London, which opened on October 11. The policy advocated by Canada's representative, based on Canada's extensive and rapidly developed peace-time systems and war accomplishments, was along the lines of the Prime Minister's declaration earlier in the year.

The Fifth Victory Loan was launched in October, and yielded 1,350,000,000 dollars, which included subscriptions totalling 1,000,000 dollars from Canadian troops fighting in Italy.

Maintenance of food supplies to the Allied countries was the subject of various visits and consultations during the year. Mr. W. Mabane, United Kingdom Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food, visited Washington and Ottawa (September) to discuss the co-ordination of plans of the United Nations with the Combined Food Board, and later Colonel Llewellyn, British Minister of Food, and Sir Henry French, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Food, also visited Ottawa to consult the Canadian Minister of Agriculture and other Cabinet Ministers. As Canada's contribution to the relief of famine in India, the Government supplied 100,000 tons of wheat as a gift (November 5). In the same month the Ottawa Conference on food consumption levels in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada, completed its work of designing and elaborating methods for estimating the supplies of food available for consumption in a form which would permit comparisons being made between different countries and between different periods for the same country. The results of **the** conference were submitted to the **Combined Food Board in the United States,**

In recognition of the closer and increasingly important relations between the United States and Canada, the diplomatic¹ status of the representatives was enhanced, and in November announcement was made of the raising to ambassadorial rank of Mr. Ray Atherton, the American Minister at Ottawa, and Mr. Leighton McCarthy, the Canadian Minister at Washington.

Before leaving for Washington (December 6) to confer with Mr. Cordell Hull, Mr. Mackenzie King, in a nation-wide broadcast, appealed to Canadians for an all-out effort to win the European War before the spring. He also outlined a new labour programme designed to retain wage "ceilings" and maintain an anti-inflation policy. The new programme would include compulsory collective bargaining for labour, subject to Government wage control, with a new labour code to deal with unfair labour practices, and the creation of a new war-time Labour Relations Board to administer collective bargaining.

On December 20 it was reported that the mobilisation of man-power in Canada had brought 70 per cent, of all males over 14 years of age into the war industries, essential civilian services, or the armed forces. Almost 2,000,000 persons had left their normal pursuits and more than 2,000,000 were engaged in agriculture or other essential civilian occupations. Man-power, capital, equipment, and other resources that were partly or wholly unemployed in peace-time had been put to work with the result that the demands on Canada for Army equipment had been met in full. The country's production programme was then at its peak. Labour resources had been overstrained, and some readjustment of the programme had been necessary on that account alone. The munition programme was expected to diminish slightly, although until the war ended all munition requirements would be met. The supply programme was being largely devoted to the replacement of wastage and to the development of new and more potent weapons. To meet the changing industrial demands, peace-time freedom to seek or give employment had been abolished, and in its stead is a system of placing operated by Government agencies with wide compulsory powers had been adopted.

¹ Other diplomatic developments were the appointment of Mr. L. D. Wilgress as first Canadian Minister to the U.S.S.R., who presented his credentials at Moscow on March 18; the establishment of the first Canadian Consulate General at New York under direction of Mr. Hugh D. Scully (May); the opening of a Swedish Legation in Canada to replace the Consulate General; and the announcement (Nov. 25) of the first Turkish Minister to Canada, M. Sevki Alhan, formerly Minister at the Turkish Embassy in Washington.

CHAPTER III

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA loomed large in the popular mind of the outside world during 1943 because of the important utterances of **Field-Marshal Smuts**. Tremendously significant as the implications of some of his speeches and political observations may have been, and despite the wide international attention they received, they must be considered against the background of what was undoubtedly one of the greatest years in the history of the Union of South Africa—a year in which his Government was given a vote of confidence at the General Election of July, 1943, which surprised and astonished even its most sanguine supporters. That vote of confidence was recorded after four years of war, and in the face of bitter and relentless opposition. Since the outbreak of war opposition forces have not scrupled to use unconstitutional as well as constitutional means to discredit, obstruct, and overthrow the administration.

Second in importance to the renaissance of political unity was the military, industrial, and economic contributions of South Africa to the war effort of the United Nations. In September, 1939, the Union forces were supposed to consist of 67,000 trained men plus a reserve of 100,000 men; actually the country had a maximum of 28,000, including the Active Citizen Force, and reserves of no consequence. The Air Force consisted of 2 high-speed bombers, 26 obsolete general purpose planes, and 40 trainers. Mechanised forces consisted of two antiquated tanks, two obsolete armoured cars, and two armoured trains. Not only was equipment lacking, but the Union's Navy was non-existent, and two of the principal ports, East London and Port Elizabeth, had no guns.

In an official statement issued from Pretoria in June, 1943, it was revealed that the Union Defence Force could now be credited with a total strength of 169,000 trained European men and women volunteers, mostly clothed and equipped from the Union's own resources. But that figure did not include 30,000 personnel discharged and released from service, 50,000 volunteers on part-time service, and 60,000 members of the Women's Auxiliary Service, working either part-time or full-time. When it is remembered that South Africa has only 570,000 males between the ages of twenty and sixty, and that the country has exceptional political difficulties, the number of 190,000 European males volunteering for service demonstrated a response unsurpassed by any of the Allied nations, namely, that about one **male in three in the** age group mentioned had at that date volunteered **for full-time** duty. Since the war started **approximately no fewer than**

86,000 European South Africans had served in the Union Defence Force in East Africa, the Middle East, and Madagascar, of whom some had served in more than one campaign. There is, of course, duplication, and even triplication of personnel in the total of 86,000. According to these published figures the strength of the non-European Army Service (Cape Coloured, Indians, Malays, and Natives) totalled 102,000, without including 15,000 discharged and released from service ; 39,000 served outside the Union. The total European and non-European volunteers showed that in 1943 the Union strength was more than 300,000 soldiers, or ten times the strength of the pre-war Army.

Supplies.—The production of war materials and food kept pace with military man-power ; indeed, the published statistics disclosed meritorious progress. It was apparent in June, 1940, that a good deal of what had formerly been imported would in future have to be manufactured in South Africa or done without. Later the Japanese drive in the East threw the country to an even greater extent upon her own resources. Nevertheless, despite difficulties of securing raw materials, and without outside help, production was stepped-up to a level not previously considered possible. During the three years ending December, 1942, the value of orders placed with war supplies, including those of the British and United Nations' Governments, exceeded 100,000,000l., and most of this sum was spent in the Union.

There were enormous increases in the output of certain munitions. Mass-produced armoured vehicles were used by South African forces in all campaigns, and also supplied to British and Fighting French units. Indeed, South African armoured cars formed a large proportion of armoured fighting vehicles used in all the African campaigns. The policy governing the production of guns had been first to meet domestic requirements, but ultimately batteries of South African-made field guns were shipped for use against the Japanese in the Burma campaign.

Because of its proximity to the war zones the Union played a vital role in the production and supply of spares for damaged tanks and aircraft. Moreover, in co-operation with the Palestine Government War Supplies Board, South African engineers organised production of similar spares to Palestinian workshops. Radio direction stations were built in the Union and dispatched to the Middle East and India. The instruments produced included those for gunfire control and signals.

The mass-production of clothing and foodstuffs was realised to be as important as the manufacture of arms. Canning companies in South Africa pursued a policy of increasing output, and during 1943 produced millions of containers of fruit, jams, vegetables, meats, syrup, cocoa, and milk to supply forces at home and abroad. South African farmers made priority supplies to the Defence Department of bacon, dried fruits, cheese, butter, fresh

milk, fresh fruits, onions, potatoes, and meat. More than 130 factories were fully employed making Army clothing and equipment.

General Election.—If any confirmation were required of the Union's determination to intensify its war effort, not only in the fields of military, industrial, and economic enterprise, but in its realisation of growing political unity, it was forthcoming in a manner both stimulating and surprising to the most optimistic of the nation's leaders. The General Election of 1943, the biggest in the history of the Union, provided it. Several problems of organisation had to be solved, not the least complicated of which was the registering of the soldiers' votes. Ballot papers, giving the voter a choice of no fewer than nine political groups, were distributed to Springbok troops both within and without the Union, and a great variety of transport ranging from bombers, armoured cars, ships, and even camels were used to convey soldiers' votes from North Africa and other theatres of war to the electoral centres in the Union. The date of polling for the general electorate within the Union was arranged for July 7, but the taking of votes outside had to be completed by July 3. Even so, it was not possible for votes cast by South African Service men so far afield as Great Britain, America, India, Iran, and the borders of Russia to reach the Union much earlier than the end of that month. When, after a tedious wait of some three weeks, the first returns were made known in Cape Town on July 28 it was clear that Field-Marshal Smuts' Government had triumphed and that a surprisingly substantial vote had been cast in its favour. In many constituencies Government candidates were returned by increased majorities. When, two days later, the detailed results were published it was seen that the strength of the Government parties in the new Parliament compared with the old were as follows :—

	New House	Old House
United Party	89	72
Labour	9	4
Dominion	7	8
Independents	2	
	107	84

Opposition.

Nationalists	43	41
New Order	—	17
Afrikaner Party	—	8
	43	66

The Government were now able to command a majority of 64, to which on most vital matters could be added the votes of three European representatives of the Natives.

Thus to the world South Africa proclaimed that it stood more solidly than ever behind its great leader, and moreover had unequivocally repudiated whatever Nationalists might have meant by the repeated charge that Smuts "had no mandate to lead the country into war." From first to last the General Election had been fought on a single issue—the issue which had disturbed and seriously threatened the political unity of the Union since the outbreak of hostilities in Europe. Therefore the election was in effect a referendum of the people on the clear-cut alternative of neutrality or war. That is indisputable, for at the very onset of the campaign the Opposition Leader, Dr. Malan, did not cloak his intentions but declared "our policy if we gain power is to cease active participation in the war and to withdraw our troops for our own defence within our own borders." Mr. Havenga showed that his Afrikaner Party was in agreement with the Reunited Nationalists. "I am," he announced, "as much against the war as I was in 1939."

When the votes were counted it was found that despite the insidious appeal of "Your boys will be brought home if we win," Mr. Havenga was among the defeated, and with him the Afrikaner Party had suffered total eclipse, many of its candidates having to forfeit their deposits. Among the defeated Nationalists was the Hon. E. G. Jansen, Speaker of the House of Assembly, defeated by a pro-war United Party candidate.

Apart from anything said during the heat of the election campaign, subversive activities in the Union were less in evidence in 1943 than at any time since the outbreak of war. Public opinion as much as Government action had discountenanced unconstitutional methods to overthrow the administration. The noisy, desperate, and truculent among the pro-Nazis had, as a result of the policy pursued by Dr. Colon Steyn, Minister of Justice, been reduced to pitiful impotence, and their defeat seems to have been finally signalled when Robey Liebbrandt, former South African heavy-weight boxing champion (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 128), was, on March 11, sentenced to death at Pretoria for high treason. Six associates were tried with him, two of whom were found guilty and each sentenced to five years imprisonment; four were acquitted. Liebbrandt appealed against his sentence, and when it was heard he conducted his own case. The appeal was dismissed, but on December 22 it was officially announced that the sentence of death had been commuted to imprisonment for life. Liebbrandt had not been guilty of sabotage or responsible for the death of any person dining his treasonable activities.

Provincial Council Elections.—Any suggestion that the fervour which had carried the Smuts Government to so great a triumph was a flash in the pan and could not be but short-lived was falsified four months after the General Election when early

in November the results of the Provincial Council elections were declared. Apart from the possibility of some noticeable, however slight swing of the pendulum of popular opinion, it was expected that coming so soon after the General Election there would be an inevitable lack of interest in the Provincial Council contests. Moreover, although fought on strictly party lines, the results usually reflected domestic rather than national issues. The popular interest was, however, greater than even expert observers had expected, and the results as a whole were as surprising to the Government parties as they were disappointing to those of the Opposition. Indeed, one Nationalist journal described the heavy defeat of the Nationalists in the Cape and Transvaal as "humiliating." The Government were certainly entitled to view the results of the Provincial Council elections as confirming the country's verdict of July, 1943. Out of a total of 170 seats the Government parties won no fewer than 118 in the four provinces, whilst the Nationalists secured only 48 and the Independents 4. Out of the whole country the United Party gained 19 seats and the Labour Party 6. The Dominion Party lost 5 seats. The Nationalists had a net loss of 2, and the Afrikaner Party and New Order lost altogether 15. The Nationalist loss, therefore, totalled 17. It was estimated that the combined Government parties secured 413,000 votes and the Nationalists 211,000.

These Provincial Council elections results were not only an endorsement of the mandate the country had given the Prime Minister in July, but they provided him also with a new one in his efforts to bring the two European peoples more closely together. The United Party had appealed for a far-reaching change in educational policy, and asked for authority to end the system of unilingual schools, whereunder a second language is taught merely as a subject, and to replace it by a bilingual system which provided that both languages be employed freely as media of instruction.

Finance.—Heavy all-round increases in taxation were announced on February 24 when the Minister of Finance, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, introduced in the Union House of Assembly the Budget which he described as a "challenge" to the people of South Africa, and one which he said he knew would be accepted as such. It was certainly the most drastic ever presented in the history of the Union. Among its more important features were the raising of the special contribution paid by the gold mines from 20 to 22½ per cent., yielding an estimated increase of an extra 910,000l.; the raising of the tax on companies, excluding mining, from 3s. 6d. to 4s. in the I.; an advance in Excess Profits Duty from 13s. 4d. to 15s. in the I.; a levy of 15 per cent. on both normal and super tax; an increase in special tax on dividends payable to foreign shareholders from 1s. to 1s. 6d. in the I.; the

raising of ordinary tax on diamond-mining companies from 4s. to 4s. 6d. in the *I.*; and an increase in the special contributions from those companies from 2s. to 3s. in the *I.*; a levy of 12½ per cent, on telephone accounts; the raising of postage, rate from 1½d. to 2d., and increases in the duties on beer, spirits, cigarettes, and tobacco. The Minister estimated that South African war expenditure would, during the coming financial year, amount to 96,000,000l. as against 72,000,000l. the previous year. Thus it was obvious from its commitments that the Union was rapidly approaching the spending of 2,000,000l. a week.

The Budget of 1943 reflected the sound financial condition of the country, and testified to its determination to finance the whole of its war effort out of its own resources. Obviously it was not being entirely done by the taxpayers, but such borrowing as was found necessary was only a modest proportion of the total expenditure. In the 1943 Budget only 45,000,000l. of the total estimated expenditure of 164,000,000l. was to be borrowed. The essential soundness of the Union's loan position was borne out by the figures which Mr. Hofmeyr quoted in his statement.

The Governor-General.—During the year the country mourned what Field-Marshal Smuts described as the "grievous loss of a great man" in the passing of the Rt. Hon. Sir Patrick Duncan, Governor-General of the Union who, apart from other claims on the memory of his countrymen, will always be remembered as the first South African citizen to be appointed by the King to represent the Crown in the Union of South Africa. Sir Patrick, who had suffered a serious illness nearly a year previously, died on July 17 at the age of 72. [See under Obituaries.] During his serious illness Mr. Justice N. J. de Wet acted for several months as Officer Administering the Union (the official title of the Acting-Governor-General), and it therefore came as no surprise when in August it was officially announced from Buckingham Palace that King George, on the recommendation of the Union Government, had approved the continuance in office of Mr. Justice de Wet, on his relinquishing the Chief Justiceship in September, and that he would act "during His Majesty's pleasure."

Political.—Almost all the political business of this eventful year was associated in some measure with the Union's war effort. Of primary importance was the decision taken early in February, when the House of Assembly and the Senate (the former by 75 votes to 49 and the latter by 21 to 6) approved the Prime Minister's motion to permit Union troops to serve outside the African continent, thus giving him the mandate he desired for the employment of South African military forces "on a basis of voluntary recruiting" outside Africa. It was a significant decision, and it demonstrated the logic and wisdom of Field-Marshal Smuts's policy formulated in the early days of the war.

In the sphere of wider international politics, touching not only the external interests of South Africa but those of the United Nations, the statesmanship of the South African Prime Minister was no less valuable in its courageousness and far-sightedness than it proved in the wise direction of affairs at home. This was evident during his second war-time visit to Great Britain, where he arrived early in October, on the invitation of the British Government, for the purpose of consultations and discussions. On his journey the Field-Marshal halted at Cairo and addressed South African and Rhodesian troops when he told them to remove from their minds any hope that the war was nearing its end, and declared " the hardest and bloodiest battles of the war lie ahead." On October 20 he delivered a " war commentary " to a distinguished assembly in Guildhall, London. The British people fully appreciated his utterances as those of a man of rare experience and unique prestige, and in consequence his address was given unusual publicity and widely discussed.

But the speech, which was generally acclaimed of even greater importance and provoked even wider discussion, was the one he made a few weeks later in the House of Commons to the Empire Parliamentary Association. Although as a general rule such addresses are " confidential," the E.P.A. some days later asked the Field-Marshal's permission to publish this historic and thought-provoking speech, with the result that it was given universal publicity and aroused some controversy. The address, or rather passages from it, were translated into many languages, and many commentators appeared to overlook or ignore that the South African Prime Minister intended, and clearly indicated, that his observations on post-war peace problems were offered as nothing more than " explosive ideas " to stimulate clear thinking.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Since the outbreak of war one of the most encouraging features of political and social life in the Union of South Africa and adjacent territories has been the growth in theory and practice of a " good-neighbour " policy. The dangers and necessities of the times have done more than anything to foster a spirit of cordiality and understanding in place of emphasis on separate identity. This was especially true of the Union and Rhodesia. A splendid example of real co-operation was the complete trust shown by the Rhodesian Government when, with the approval of the country, it confided command of Rhodesia's armed forces to Field-Marshal Smuts. This gesture was reflected in other departments of the war effort. How far-reaching the spirit of accommodation was, and the growing realisation of the need for fuller inter-territorial co-operation in Africa looming on the horizon, was indicated by some observations of Sir Godfrey

Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, when, early in October, 1943, he foreshadowed a possible Pan-African Council to co-ordinate problems common to African countries. In a Press interview Sir Godfrey said that he not only accepted the South African Prime Minister's suggestion that a Consultative Council should be set up on which all neighbouring States would be represented, but he went on to declare : "I think the first stage in bringing about the closer co-operation which General Smuts visualises would be confederation with a Consultative Council of all the countries concerned to plan to meet common problems. An important preliminary step should be the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia with Nyasaland in order to reduce the number of Governments taking part in such a conference."

Cabinet Changes.—Early in 1943 there was a reshuffle of the Rhodesian Cabinet following the appointment of Mr. R. C. Tredgold to the position of High Court judge. The Ministries of Justice and Defence had been held by Mr. Tredgold. Captain Harry Bertin, M.P., who had not previously served in the Cabinet, was appointed Minister of Justice, while the Prime Minister took over the Portfolio of Defence, thus following the example of the Prime Minister of the Union in shouldering that responsibility. Mr. Tredgold, who had always been a sincere believer in the need for co-operation between Rhodesia and the Union in matters of defence, carried into effect as Minister of Defence, the formation of the Southern African Command under Field-Marshal Smuts, which placed the two countries in close military relationship.

CHAPTER IV

AUSTRALASIA

AUSTRALIA

AT the beginning of 1943, Government and Opposition strength in the House of Representatives remained equal, so that Labour, after fifteen months of government, could still command a majority only with the support of the two Independent members, Mr. Wilson and Mr. A. W. Coles, whose votes had raised it to office. The difficulties of this position need no elaboration, so that, when the new Parliamentary session opened on January 27, members were uncertain whether they might not be faced with a sudden General Election, although such an event was still nominally some nine to twelve months distant. For on the last day of the old year, Mr. Fadden, Leader of the Opposition, had attacked the Prime Minister, Mr. Curtin, for persisting in his refusal to form a Coalition Government. Mr. Curtin then asserted that large sums were being spent on a campaign to wreck

the Government—a charge which evoked the ridicule of Mr. Hughes, Federal leader of the United Australia Party, who countered with the suggestion that Mr. Curtin appeared to fear intrigues within his own party so much that he would not risk absenting himself on a visit to Washington. Criticism also arose from various quarters concerning the large number of regulations and restrictions, the alleged failure of the Government to take a firm line with strikers, the danger of the financial policy bringing about increasing inflation and the possible intention of the Government to introduce Socialism. Dr. Evatt (Minister for External Affairs) maintained that persistence in these allegations only tended to hamper the war effort and obstruct co-operation. As the Opposition held the balance of power in the Senate, however, it could force the Government to go to the country by vetoing legislation sent up to it from the House of Representatives. Speculation as to the likelihood of an election increased, and indeed it is in the light of this contingency that many of the political developments in the next few months must be considered.

On June 22 Mr. Fadden moved a vote of no-confidence in the Government on the ground that it had failed to provide Australia with a policy for total war ; that man-power and food production had been badly organised; that the Prime Minister had uncompromisingly refused to form an all-Party Government; that bureaucratic control and Labour's socialistic policy were being introduced in the guise of war measures ; that strikes and absenteeism in war industry were allowed to go unchecked ; and that the Government was subject to the domination of the Trade Unions. In defence of his Government, Mr. Curtin replied that the war effort had been so greatly intensified that half of Australia's wealth was now devoted to it, and that " in spite of many difficulties and set-backs," Dr. Evatt had been able to obtain the approval of President Roosevelt for the rest of the aircraft required to complete the R.A.A.F. programme. This would represent a 60 per cent, increase in its present strength.

After an acrimonious debate lasting two days, the motion was defeated by 27 votes to 26, Mr. Coles (Independent) voting with the Government. Mr. Curtin then announced that he would advise the Governor-General to dissolve Parliament after the Supply Vote had been carried and the Bill extending the franchise to Service men and women under 21 had gone before the Senate.

Meanwhile Mr. Edward Ward (Minister of Labour) returned to the allegation that he had been repeating at intervals ever since October, 1942—that the Menzies and Fadden Ministries had planned, in the event of a Japanese invasion, to abandon the defence of Australia north of a line running from Brisbane to Adelaide. Mr. Ward now went further, and asserted that an important document bearing on this plan was missing from the files of the War Council. This was heatedly denied by the

Opposition members, who threatened to resign in a body unless the Prime Minister either repudiated the charge or ordered a judicial inquiry into it. Mr. Curtin declared that he knew nothing about any missing papers, and that Mr. Ward had now withdrawn the allegation. A heated Parliamentary debate ensued, coupled with lively public controversy, which culminated in Mr. Curtin's announcement that the Government would agree to the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the charges, and that meanwhile Mr. Ward would be suspended from his Ministerial duties until the report was presented. Mr. Ward pleaded Parliamentary privilege and could not therefore be questioned.

On July 13 the report of the Royal Commission was published. "The whole evidence before the Commission," it read, "was to the effect that the official files were intact, and no document relating to the Brisbane line was missing from them."

Parliament had meanwhile been dissolved, and a General Election fixed for August 21. At the time of dissolution, the state of the Parties was : Labour, 36 ; Opposition, 36 (United Australia Party, 23 ; Country Party, 13); Independent, 2. In the Senate, where the election involved only half of the 38 Senators, the position was very different. Labour was represented by 17 members; U.A.P.—U.C.P. by 19. Fourteen of the retiring Senators were Labour and five Opposition, so that in order to obtain a majority Labour must win the Senate seats in five out of the six States.

The campaign was characterised by acrimonious criticisms and by charges and counter-charges. There was also serious friction between Mr. Menzies and Mr. Fadden over the latter's revival of the post-war credit scheme which he proposed in his 1941 Budget, and which Mr. Menzies now denounced on the grounds of possible post-war inflation. Another interesting feature was the record nomination of 415 candidates—70 for the 19 vacancies in the Senate, and 345 for the 74 seats in the House of Representatives. These included 107 Independents, apart from the representatives of several new parties, such as the Liberal Democratic Party, the Monetary Reform Party, the One Parliament for Australia Party, the Liberal Christian Party, and the Australian Women's Party. Indeed, in all, fewer than half of the 415 candidates were nominees of either Government or Opposition. It should be emphasised, however, that the bitterness with which the campaign was fought over domestic issues did not mean that there was the slightest slackening in the war effort or even any difference of opinion regarding "all-out" participation in the struggle. Both the major antagonists made effectual prosecution of the war the first plank in their platform, and the question uppermost in the minds of the electors was which party would be most likely to succeed. It was generally felt that, whichever side was victorious, it was essential that the result

should be decisive enough to end the deadlock which had existed in the House of Representatives ever since the last election in 1940.

This election, said Mr. Curtin, was the most momentous in the history of Australia because the new Government would be responsible for organising the growing offensive against Japan, and probably also for representing the Commonwealth at the Peace Conference. Post-war reconstruction and the problems of demobilisation would also fall to its lot. Mr. Curtin gave an account of the work of his Government since he took office in October, 1941. Among other items, the strength of the fighting Services had been almost doubled ; that of the Air Force more than doubled ; manufacture of civilian goods had been heavily curtailed, while the numbers employed in war industry had risen a hundred per cent. ; in addition, the time lost through labour disputes had been very greatly reduced. Australia's contribution to the war effort would be governed primarily by General MacArthur's strategic plans. Labour pledged itself, if returned, to find all the money needed for peace-time, as it had been found in time of war, to provide employment for all. There would also be an order to prevent private banks from reaping a rich harvest out of war expenditure. Mr. Curtin promised that the Labour Government would not, during the war, socialise any industry, and repudiated Opposition suggestions that Labour was under the domination of the Communist Party, which was, in fact, running candidates in opposition to Labour nominees. He based his claim to re-election not on the unfitness of the Opposition to govern, but on the successful record of his own Administration. Labour did not claim to have saved Australia, but it did claim to have supplied it with leadership and direction.

The Opposition, which declared that the election represented a contest between individual freedom and complete socialisation, reiterated its previous charges against the Government. In addition, it proposed a comprehensive policy of social security, including a life insurance scheme for Service men ; an anti-inflationary financial plan including " pay-as-you-earn " taxation and post-war credits ; the prohibiting of strikes ; and the prosecution of a vigorous plan of post-war development. The Opposition was still convinced that the exigencies of war necessitated an all-Party Government and the merging of the Australian Forces into one army available for service anywhere in the world.

While it had been expected by many that Labour would be returned, the overwhelming nature of its victory came as a surprise. Winning all 19 vacant seats in the Senate, and 49 seats in the House of Representatives, Labour now controlled both Houses—the first time since Mr. Andrew Fisher's double majority in 1914. It also constituted a Labour record for the House of Representatives—a distinction previously held by Mr. Scullin, with 43 votes in 1929. This triumph signified a nation-wide

satisfaction with Labour's administration of the war and its conduct of affairs on the home front, as well as a vote of confidence in Mr. Curtin personally.

The strength of the other parties was : United Australia Party, 14; Country Party, 9; Independent, 2. This election was noteworthy also for the election of the first women representatives to Canberra—Dame Enid Lyons, widow of the former Prime Minister, Mr. Joseph Lyons, who was elected to the House of Representatives in the ranks of the U.A.P., and Miss Dorothy Tangney, a West Australian school teacher, elected to the Senate as a Labour member. Nearly 180 candidates forfeited their deposit of 251. for failing to poll one-fifth of the leading candidate's primary votes.

The new Ministry, selected by the Federal Parliamentary Labour caucus and sworn in on September 21, showed only minor changes in personnel and in allocation of portfolios, a fact which aroused some disappointment and not a little criticism. Mr. Calwell was, in fact, the only new Minister. The distribution of portfolios was as follows :—

Mr. J. CURTIN	Prime Minister and Minister for Defence.
Mr. F. M. FORDE	Army.
Mr. J. B. CHIFLEY	Treasurer and Minister for Post-War Reconstruction.
Dr. H. V. EVATT, K.C.	Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs.
Mr. JOHN BEASLEY	Supply and Shipping.
Mr. N. J. MAKIN	Navy and Munitions.
Mr. A. S. DRAKEFORD	Air and Civil Aviation.
Senator J. S. COLLINGS	Interior.
Mr. E. J. HOLLO WAY	Labour and National Service.
Senator R. V. KEANE	Trade and Customs.
Senator J. M. FRASER	Social Services and Health.
Mr. W. J. SCULLY	Commerce and Agriculture.
Senator W. P. ASHLEY	Postmaster-General and Vice-President of the Executive Council.
Mr. C. W. FROST	Repatriation and War Service Homes.
Mr. J. J. DEDMAN	War Organisation and Research.
Mr. H. P. LAZZARINI	Home Security.
Mr. A. A. CALWELL	Information.
Senator D. CAMERON	Aircraft Production.
Mr. E. J. WARD	Transport and External Territories.

The War Cabinet remained unchanged, consisting of Messrs. Curtin, Forde, Chifley, Evatt, Beasley, Makin, Drakeford and Dedman. Mr. J. S. Rosevear was re-elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. Senator Keane, Minister of Trade and Customs, assumed the Leadership of the Government in the Senate. Mr. Curtin was' unanimously re-elected Leader of the Labour Party, and Mr. Forde deputy-Leader. He gave an assurance that the Advisory War Council would be continued, and indicated that the Government representatives would remain unchanged. In the Opposition ranks, the U.A.P. and the Country Party decided

to end the merger between them and to function as separate entities. Thus Mr. Menzies, elected Leader of the U.A.P.—the larger party of the two—became Leader of the Opposition. Mr. Hughes, Leader of the party since October, 1941, did not seek re-election, but was unanimously elected deputy-Leader. Mr. Fadden, Leader of the joint Opposition in the last Parliament, was re-elected Leader of the Country Party.

The record of Australia's war effort during the year in men, materials, and money is a most impressive one. "No country is more fully geared to a total war effort than Australia," said Mr. Curtin on April 28. During the past three months, the number of men sworn into the fighting Services had risen from 750,000 to 800,000—a figure which represented one man out of less than every two of the male population between the ages of 18 and 40. During the same period, the strength of the women's auxiliary services had risen from 28,000 to 36,000. Munitions factories in operation had increased from 25 to 34, and the number of munitions annexes from 170 to 180. The value of the munitions output was now at the rate of 80,000,000Z. a year, whereas three months before it had been 52,000,000Z. Men on full-time war work, including members of the Forces, numbered 1,506,000. There were besides 140,000 women working in war factories.

War production included destroyers, corvettes, freighters, harbour defence vessels, naval mines, combat planes, including engines, cruiser tanks, armoured universal carriers, several types of guns, searchlights, and a variety of small arms and ammunition. On November 12 Mr. Curtin announced the Government's decision to build heavy bombers in Australia, adding that it would be a step towards construction of high-class transport planes, thus contributing to the development of civil aviation. Australia, he said, could not afford to repeat the risk already taken in this war of being dependent on overseas sources for the supply of aircraft. The latest decision was the final stage of a complete range of aircraft production in Australia.

An example of the effect produced by the war on the development of local industry is the production in the Commonwealth of sulphanilamide, which has proved so valuable in the New Guinea campaigns. Intricate surgical instruments, formerly imported, are now made in Australia, and the Commonwealth is sending ether to Russia, and surgical catgut and hypodermic syringes to India and New Zealand, as well as serums to the whole Pacific area.

By the end of November 18,000 men were serving with the R.A.A.F. in the United Kingdom, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, and other theatres of war, apart from the squadrons serving in the South-West Pacific. Australian airmen had fought in every theatre of war, and since activities spread to the Far East, they had flown 325,000,000 miles in operations and training in the South-West Pacific. Expenditure on the R.A.A.F. was

223,823,0002., of which **68,779,0001.** was spent on the Empire Training Scheme. Casualties at the end of August totalled 61,564 for the three Services, of whom 13,908 were killed in action or died of wounds or illness ; 14,702 wounded ; 20,823 prisoners, and 12,131 missing. They had won 4,084 awards and decorations, including eleven V.C.s.

Introducing his third Budget in the House of Representatives at the end of September, the Treasurer (Mr. Chifley) estimated the war expenditure for the financial year ending June 30, 1944, at 570,000,0002., an increase of 8,000,0002. over last year's figure. Total expenditure was estimated at 715,000,0001., a record for Australia, representing more than half the national income. Taxes were expected to yield 273,000,0001., but 300,000,0001. would be required from internal loans, with 100,000,0002. to be raised by Central Bank credit. Taxation, which had already been increased by 44,000,0002. in March, was not increased further. The cost to Australia of reciprocal aid to the United States under the Lend-Lease programme was estimated at 100,000,0002.

Two War Loans were launched during the year. The first, for 100,000,0002., was over-subscribed by more than 1,000,0002. The second, for 125,000,0002., the largest loan effort ever made in Australia, closed on November 9, having reached 126,000,0002., with a record number of 560,000 subscribers.

The effects of the war have been increasingly severe on the Home Front as a result of the heavy drain by the Services on man-power previously engaged in primary production. In order to ease this situation, a complete man-power overhaul was planned, while a considerable number of Army personnel have been released for agricultural work. Nevertheless, Australia has undertaken to send to Britain in the coming year 35 per cent, of her total butter production, and 22 per cent, of her egg output. Meat is to be rationed in January, 1944. Mr. Coles, chairman of the Rationing Committee, said that this was only a part of the additional restrictions which would have to be imposed in the New Year. Butter, tea, and sugar are already rationed. Mr. Scully, Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, revealed in November that Australia was increasing the production of many commodities, not only to meet heavy war-time demands, but also to build up supplies to assist the people of devastated areas. President Roosevelt stated at the end of October that under reverse Lend-Lease, enough beef and veal had been received from Australia practically to feed all the American troops based in that country. Moreover, the total amount thus received was the same as the quantity of beef and veal which the United States was sending to the European theatre of war for the use of troops other than Americans. These items, therefore, cancelled each other out, and provided a remarkable saving in transport.

The year 1943 saw the threat of Japanese invasion gradually recede from Australia, and the Allies swing more and more to the offensive. The heavy raid on Sourabaya in July, which seems to have taken the Japanese completely by surprise, was only one indication of the growing air power which, in conjunction with the slow but steady progress of the land forces in New Guinea and the Solomons, has compelled the enemy to begin his retreat in the South-West Pacific. This Allied ascendancy in the air and the heavy losses inflicted on Japanese sea-power in such encounters as the Battle of the Bismarck Sea in March, when a large convoy carrying reinforcements and supplies was shattered, have paved the way for the successful operations in which the Australians swept up the coast of New Guinea and captured Salamaua (Sept. 14), Lae (Sept. 16), and Finschhafen (Oct. 2). The failure of the Japanese Navy to intervene in these operations is not the least significant feature of the campaign. The fall of Finschhafen after eleven days' fighting, to troops of the Australian Ninth Division, of El Alamein fame, was described by Brig.-Gen. Charles Willoughby, Chief of Intelligence to General MacArthur, as completing the "great historical pattern which provides the answer to the mechanics of combined operations for the next six to twelve months if we are given the means to carry them out." In a review of the campaign, General MacArthur, Allied Commander in the South-West Pacific, said that the capture of this important base had eliminated all the defensive value of Japanese-held centres to the north and west as far as Madang. It had given the Allies complete control of the Huon Gulf and had obliged the Japanese to withdraw towards their rear bases on the north shore of New Guinea. Allied casualties, compared with the heavy Japanese losses, were light. Moreover, General MacArthur now holds a string of airfields with considerable striking range.

Australian successes in New Guinea are inextricably bound up with the American offensive in the Solomons and on other fronts, and the support received by the Australians from American dive-bombers, landing-craft, and engineers. Americans and Australians have planned and fought together in a harmony to which tribute has been paid on many occasions. In March, Mr. Curtin told the House of Representatives that General MacArthur, had he been Australian born, and had he served all his life in Australia, could have done no more for the defence of Australia than he had done as an American-born citizen and an officer of the United States Army.

In the first half of the year, Dr. Evatt paid his second visit to London and Washington, to discuss problems of supply and Pacific policy in relation to world strategy; to convey his Government's views and suggestions; to bring the Australian War Council and the War Cabinet up-to-date on the trend of Allied policy; and to strengthen his Government's contacts with

Mr. Bruce in London and with Sir Owen Dixon, the Australian Minister in Washington. On August 25 an American War Mission, headed by the United States Under-Secretary for War, Judge Robert Patterson, visited Australia. Judge Patterson declared that no country in the United Nations had organised its resources for war more effectively than Australia. On September 3 Mrs. Roosevelt arrived at Canberra, where she met with a most enthusiastic reception. The primary reasons for her journey were to visit American soldiers, inspect American Red Cross facilities, and see the work women were doing in Australia.

In order that the Australian militia might be used in an extended sphere of operations in the South-West Pacific, Mr. Curtin proposed to amend the Defence Act to allow more troops to be used in any territory in that area which might be proclaimed by the Governor-General to be associated with the defence of Australia. For while Australian volunteers might be sent to combat zones anywhere in the world, the militia, recruited by conscription, were liable for service only within the Commonwealth. Mr. Curtin pointed out that the defence of Australia depended as much on the expulsion of the Japanese from Timor and adjoining islands of the Netherlands East Indies as on their elimination from Papua and New Guinea. In such circumstances, it was an intolerable anomaly that the militia should be available for service in New Guinea and not in Timor. However, Australia's preference for voluntary rather than compulsory service is traditional. It will be recalled that during the war 1914-18, the question of conscription was twice submitted to the people by referendum and rejected on both occasions.

The Defence Act Amendment Bill, introduced by the Prime Minister on January 29, defined the area to which the amendment would apply. "In this Act the South-West Pacific Zone means the area bounded on the west by the 110th meridian east longitude, on the north by the Equator, and on the east by the 159th meridian east longitude." This includes New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, Timor, and part of the Solomon Islands; but excludes the Philippines, Malaya, Sumatra, parts of Java and Borneo, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and New Zealand. The limited scope of the measure evoked strong criticism from the Opposition and considerable disappointment throughout Australia. Mr. Curtin, however, defended the restrictions, partly on the score of Australia's limited man-power resources and the maximum forces she could maintain in the field of tropical warfare. The basic idea of defeating Germany before Japan also restricted the numbers of the forces immediately available in the Pacific. The ultimate defeat of Japan, moreover, would depend on naval and air strength, supported by land forces, so that there would be no need for great armies. The Opposition very reluctantly decided not to oppose the passage of the Bill, although it fell far short of

what they thought desirable. As a result of this decision, Mr. Menzies resigned from the Opposition Executive and Mr. Percy Spender (former Minister for the Army) from the party. On February 18 the Senate, which had at first intended to introduce an amendment to secure a wider operational area for the militia, passed the Bill unamended. It is interesting to note that by the middle of November, Mr. Curtin was able to announce that more than 40 per cent, of the Australian troops engaged in operations in New Guinea were members of the militia.

In October Senator Keane, Minister for Trade and Customs, told the Senate that Australia's needs were now fully recognised in London and Washington, and with due regard to the demands of the other theatres, they would be met to the greatest possible extent. Early in December, Mr. Beasley, Minister for Shipping, said that for the first time since Japan entered the war, Australia had attained some degree of security in her shipping position. An addition to the Commonwealth Navy was the cruiser *Shropshire*, the gift of the United Kingdom Government, to replace H.M.A.S. *Canberra*, which was lost off the Solomons in August, 1942. Mr. Curtin, in a statement announcing the arrival of the vessel, said in October : " The *Shropshire* stands for the unbreakable unity between Australia and the Motherland, and between the men of the Royal Navy and the men of the R.A.N., who have the will to continue the fight side by side under the White Ensign." During the same month, Dr. Evatt announced that, at Mr. Churchill's direction, Australia would be provided with additional Spitfires of the latest type, manned by British crews. Mr. Churchill had told him that this reinforcement might be regarded as a further earnest of his determination to bring about the defeat of Japan at the earliest possible moment. President Roosevelt had also directed a considerable number of fighter aircraft to the South-West Pacific, to be allotted to the R.A.A.F. On December 13 the first ship given to Australia under the Mutual Aid programme—the 4,700 ton cargo vessel *Taronqa*—was launched at St. John, New Brunswick. She was to be manned by an Australian crew, and loaded with materials allocated under the same scheme.

In his foreign policy speech before the House of Representatives in October, Dr. Evatt advocated the placing of New Caledonia, Timor, Papua, New Guinea, and other islands north of Australia and New Zealand in a great security zone within a new international security system. It was essential that these islands must never again become stepping-stones for an Asiatic aggressor. Permanent collaboration between Australia and New Zealand, Dr. Evatt said, was " pivotal to a sound post-war Pacific policy," adding that other authorities specially concerned in the " Australian defence zone " were the British Colonial Administration, the Netherlands and Portuguese Governments, and the

French National Committee of Liberation. It was also certain that collaboration with the United States in the Pacific would remain extremely close.

Careful thought had been given throughout the year to post-war problems and their solution. Within the framework of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction, there had already been established a series of Advisory Committees to deal with the various aspects of reconstruction after the war. To these, a Rural Reconstruction Commission was added on January 1, to report on the best post-war use of country lands and the rehabilitation of rural industries. In July a National Works Council was set up to plan a reservoir of employment for the immediate post-war period. On October 29 a Secondary Industries Commission was appointed to review war-time development, with special reference to Government factories. Extensive plans have been made for the rehabilitation of ex-Service men. On October 20 Mr. Curtin announced the appointment of a Departmental Committee to furnish a report on the question of immigration after the war. Information was required on the possibility of absorbing some of Britain's industrial workers and ex-Service men and their dependants. On November 19 Senator Collings, Minister for the Interior, announced that a conference of Commonwealth departmental representatives would be held within a short time to consider the subject, and to determine the maximum post-war influx of population which Australia might expect to carry, and the countries from which the most suitable types of immigrants might be obtained.

In a statement to the House of Representatives on October 14, Dr. Evatt declared that Australia must have a voice in the solving of Europe's post-war problems. She had done her fair share towards winning the war and had earned a right to a full and active part in planning the peace. Australia could not safely limit her interests to the Pacific. Neither could her concern with Europe be restricted to the waging of wars. She must have some share in the course taken to prevent wars, and in changing conditions which were likely to cause them. Australia could not "contract out of Europe," because the centre of the British Commonwealth and Empire is in Europe.

"From Europe have come all our immigrants," said Dr. Evatt. "In peacetime much of our trade was with Europe, our culture is European, European colonies are our neighbours in the Pacific, and one of the three great continental Powers, namely Russia, is also a world Power, and will be a great force in the Pacific of to-morrow. Therefore the peace, order, and good government of Europe are vital to us."

In order to invest the Australian Government with special powers in matters considered vital for post-war reconstruction, a Constitutional Convention of representatives of the States and the Federal Government was held at Canberra towards the end

of 1942, and agreed that the necessary powers should be transferred from the States to the Federal Government. Accordingly, fourteen specific powers were drawn up, and a draft Bill agreed upon (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 136). These powers, which included rehabilitation, employment, marketing, and the control of profiteering, were only to come into operation after the Bill had been passed by all the States, and were to be retained only until five years after the cessation of hostilities. Only New South Wales and Queensland passed the Bill unconditionally. South Australia and Western Australia passed Bills, but in each case the powers granted were less than those agreed upon by the Convention. Victoria's ratification carried the proviso that it should not operate until the other five States passed similar measures. In Tasmania, on February 4, the Legislative Council rejected the Bill, which had already been passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Premier, Mr. Cosgrove, therefore, indicated the possibility of the British Parliament being asked to amend the Tasmanian Constitution so that a restriction similar to the British Parliament Act of 1911 would be laid on the Upper House. In a statement in the House of Representatives on October 15, Mr. Curtin said that, unless the substance of the Convention's recommendation could be carried into effect in all six States, a referendum would be necessary.

The triennial conference of the Australian Labour Party was opened on December 13. This conference, which is attended by six delegates from each State, is the governing organisation of the party, and its decisions are binding on all members. Unusual importance was attached to this year's meeting, since it was recalled that last June Mr. Curtin had told the N.S.W. Labour Conference of his belief that the party's platform of twenty years ago would not meet the problems of to-day or to-morrow. The main feature of the conference was the unanimous adoption of a resolution moved by Mr. Curtin that Australia should collaborate with other peace-loving nations in accordance with the provisions of the Atlantic Charter to establish a peace affording the assurance that all should live their lives free from want and fear. Mr. Curtin also suggested improvements in the machinery for co-operation and consultation within the Empire. For this purpose, nothing could be more satisfactory than the periodic conferences of Empire Prime Ministers, not necessarily, however, in London. Such conferences should be supplemented by arrangements for continuous consultation. The High Commissioners in London and the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs should, therefore, constitute a standing Sub-Committee of the Imperial Conference. The Dominion Governments should have full knowledge of all the essential facts and trends of policy; and they should obtain this knowledge in time to express their views before decisions are taken. The Labour Party's acceptance of this new charter of

Empire and international relationship is regarded as marking Labour's final abandonment of any tendency towards isolationism. Mr. Ourtin has since stated that he will probably visit London himself early in the New Year.

In October Mr. Curtin announced the re-appointment of Mr. Bruce as High Commissioner in London for a further year. He would also remain Australia's representative in the British War Cabinet and Minister to the Netherlands Government in London. On November 1 the appointments were announced of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Iven Mackay and Mr. Thomas D'Alton as the first High Commissioners for Australia in India and New Zealand respectively. A few days later, Mr. James Maloney was appointed Australian Minister to Russia in succession to Mr. William Slater who had resigned owing to ill-health.

The King approved the appointment of the Duke of Gloucester as Governor-General of Australia in succession to Lord Gowrie, whose extended term of office expires on July 21, 1944.

On December 23 it was announced that Mr. R. G. Casey, Minister of State Resident in the Middle East and a member of the War Cabinet, had been appointed Governor of Bengal. He is the first Dominions statesman to be elevated to such a position by the Government of the United Kingdom.

In State politics, Victoria returned the Country Party to power in June under the leadership of Mr. Dunstan. In September, however, after nearly eight and a half years in office, the Government was defeated on a no-confidence motion. Mr. Cain, Leader of the Labour Party, was invited to form a Government and was sworn in on September 14. It was soon clear, however, that, while the Country Party and the United Australia Party had failed to achieve a coalition, they were ready to form a composite Opposition. This would mean that Labour, even with the help of three Independents, could muster only 26 members as against 35 on the Opposition benches. The Labour Government, therefore, within forty-eight hours of assuming office, was defeated, without a chance of laying its programme before the House. Mr. Dunstan then regained office at the head of a Country Party—United Australia Party Coalition Government.

In an election in November, the Labour Government was returned to power in Western Australia. The Premier, Mr. Willcock, and all the Ministers were re-elected.

It was announced on December 22 that Australia would pay off in cash the outstanding 4.5l. millions of the Commonwealth 3½ per cent. Loan maturing on January 1. This announcement followed on the heels of the repayment six or seven weeks before of the 12,000,000l. advanced to the Commonwealth by the United Kingdom Government in 1940, to assist her in meeting her war commitments in Great Britain.

DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

In New Zealand, as in Australia, the political high-light of the year 1943 was the General Election, held on September 25. In both countries, the contest was fought on purely domestic issues, the war effort of neither Government nor Opposition being in question at any time. As in Australia, too, a Labour Government was seeking re-election; but with an important difference. For whereas the Curtin Government had enjoyed a comparatively short regime, and had depended for its majority on the votes of two Independents, the New Zealand Labour Government had held office for eight years, and had maintained an impressive majority. As in Australia, the Opposition believed that the exigencies of war necessitated an All-Party Government on the British model. The Dominion's attempt to place the conduct of the war in the hands of a coalition War Cabinet had, however, broken down in 1942 when the Opposition withdrew its representatives as a protest against the Government's handling of the Waikato coal-miners' strike (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 139).

An election was due in 1941, but was postponed for a year by common consent in view of the critical state of the war. In 1942 it was again deferred. But this year the Prime Minister, Mr. Peter Fraser, expressed the strong conviction that the time had come for the country to give its verdict on the Labour administration. He believed, moreover, that an election could now be held without detriment to the common cause. As the normal life of Parliament is three years, the result would almost certainly determine the trend of New Zealand's social and economic policy during the immediate post-war period.

A record number of 291 candidates were nominated for the 80 seats in the House of Representatives. Apart from the two main parties—Labour and National, which were each running 77 candidates—the nominations were spread over the Democratic Soldier-Labour Party, led by Mr. J. A. Lee, who left the Labour Party a few years ago, the People's Movement, the Real Democracy Movement, and various categories of Independent. None of these lesser groups had any prospect of gaining office, but they inevitably caused a certain amount of vote-splitting, mainly at the expense of official Labour. At dissolution, the state of the parties was: Labour, 49; National, 23; Independent, 5. There were also three vacant seats.

The election campaign was described by many as the quietest ever held in New Zealand. All parties made the prosecution of the war their main objective. Throughout his campaign Mr. Fraser based his claim to re-election on the Government's record in office, both as to the conduct of the war and to social legislation. Opposition criticism centred round the alleged chaotic man-power

situation, resulting from an inequitable distribution between the Forces and industry; the unnecessary interference with the liberty of the individual by the large number of war-time restrictions resulting in bureaucratic control, and the fear that these would be retained after the war ; domination of the Government by the caucus of the Labour Party ; and certain anomalies in the Government's social legislation. The National Party, under the leadership of Mr. S. G. Holland, had a constructive programme of social legislation of its own, including a housing scheme and the prevention of unemployment.

The result of the voting was a victory for Labour, but with a reduced majority. As in Australia, the electors confined their attention to the two main parties, sweeping away the Independents and minor groups ruthlessly. The results were : Labour, 45 ; National, 33 ; Independent, 2. The Minister for Agriculture, Mr. J. G. Barclay, and the Speaker, Mr. E. J. Barnard (Independent) were defeated. Sir Apirana Ngata (National), the senior Maori member and " father " of the House, also lost his seat. The leader of the Democratic Labour Party, Mr. Lee, was beaten by a Labour adherent, and none of his numerous candidates was elected. The polling revealed a swing against Labour in rural and suburban areas, but in the cities the Government maintained its position. Many doubtful seats were saved for Labour by the soldiers' vote. The Opposition Press maintained that the troops, having been absent from the Dominion for years, frequently in circumstances which made it practically impossible to keep abreast of internal developments, had based their verdict on past and not present conditions.

The result of the National Licensing Poll, which was held at the same time, showed that the Dominion was still of the same opinion on the broad question of Continuance v. Prohibition, but there was a material increase in the support for State Control.

In the new Government, the principal portfolios were allocated as follows :—

Mr. PETER FRASER	. Prime Minister ; External Affairs.
Mr. WALTER NASH	. Finance.
Mr. D. G. SULLIVAN	. Supply and Munitions ; Industries and Commerce.
Mr. H. G. R. MASON	. Attorney-General; Education ; Justice ; Native Affairs.
Mr. ROBERT SEMPLE	. Railways ; Public Works.
Mr. W. E. PARRY	. Internal Affairs ; Social Security.
Mr. P. C. WEBB	. Labour ; Mines ; Postmaster-General.
Mr. FREDERICK JONES	. Defence ; War Pensions.
Mr. JAMES O'BRIEN	. Transport; Marine.
Mr. A. H. NORDMEYER	. Health.
Mr. BEN ROBERTS	. Agriculture ; Marketing.
Mr. A. MCLAGAN	. National Service and Industrial Man-power.
Mr. DAVID WILSON	. Immigration ; Civil Defence.
Major C. F. SKINNER	. Lands ; Rehabilitation.
Mr. E. T. TIRIKATENE	. Minister Representing the Native Race.

The War Cabinet consisted of Messrs. Fraser, Nash, Sullivan, Jones, Hamilton and Parry. The two last-named were members of the National Party.

Two prominent figures were absent from the Opposition ranks — Mr. J. G. Coates, a former Premier, and member of the War Cabinet, who died suddenly on May 27 [see under Obituaries]; and Mr. G. W. Forbes, another ex-Premier, and Leader of the Liberal Party, who, after thirty-six years of Parliamentary life, retired when the House rose prior to the election.

Figures released at the beginning of September revealed that 189,000 men had been enrolled in the three Services, of whom 95,340 had been sent overseas. The Air Force alone had grown from a strength of 1,800 in 1939 to 42,000. The Home Guard totalled 124,000, while 160,000 men and 100,000 women had been enrolled in the Civil Defence Services. The Women's Services had reached a total of nearly 8,500. Honours won in this war by the New Zealand Armed Forces numbered 2,050, including six Victoria Crosses. Of these, 1,293 had been won by the Army, 609 by the Air Force, and 148 by the Navy. The casualties of the present war had up to that date shown a considerable decrease as compared with those of the last war. The total number of deaths was 6,104; missing 926; prisoners 7,934; wounded, 10,886.

War production ranged from ammunition to mine-sweepers and escort ships. In addition, food production was maintained at a high level, and included an impressive amount of foodstuffs supplied to the United States Forces under reciprocal Lend-Lease agreements.

During the year, however, the strain on the nation's manpower resources became so serious that on September 8 the Prime Minister announced that the whole question of allocation between the Army and industry would have to be reviewed, with the object of releasing every possible man from the Forces. In December, Mr. Nash (Minister for Finance) stated that during the last seven months 15,000 soldiers had been released from the home forces to return to production, mainly rural. The re-adjustment would continue, as the Dominion was determined to do everything she could to help Britain by supplying her with the maximum amount of food. There were also indications that the serious shortage of civilian commodities, especially textiles, clothing and shoes, would be alleviated by a more generous allocation of skilled personnel. This hope received further encouragement from an announcement made in the middle of December that the Home Guard was to be placed on reserve as from January 1, 1944.

The possibility of certain staple primary products being rationed "in the interests of the war effort, and in support of the Mother Country" had already been mentioned by Mr. Fraser in August, so that no great surprise was evoked by the announcement

at the end of October that butter was to be added to the list of foodstuffs already rationed. The allowance would be 8 oz. per person. As a further means of reducing the consumption of butter-fat, cream was to be available only on production of a medical certificate. The use of cooking fats was also restricted. The general reaction of the public was satisfaction at any measure that would help their kinsfolk in Britain.

The determination to concentrate all efforts on the war was evident from the increase in war expenditure allowed for in the Budget presented in the House of Representatives by Mr. Nash (Minister of Finance) on June 3. Further recourse to short-term borrowing was rejected in favour of larger internal War Loans. The two main features were the absence of any increase in taxation and the raising of disabled Service men's pensions. War expenditure for the year 1943-44 was estimated at 148,000,000l., including 10,000,000l. for the Navy, 68,000,000l. for the Army, and 34,000,000l. for the Air Force. Reverse Lend-Lease was estimated at 20,000,000l. Compared with last year's results, the War Expenses estimate was 4,000,000l. higher. A reduction of nearly 21,000,000l. in expenditure on the Army was more than offset by increases amounting to 25,000,000l. in other items. This reduction in Army expenditure was in the main due to the tapering-off of capital expenditure on camps and equipment, and a reduction in the personnel required for home defence. In addition, last year's overseas expenditure included a non-recurring item to meet the cost of initial equipment supplied to the Middle East Forces. The estimate for the Navy was 1,500,000l. more than last year, and that for the Air Force 9,700,000l. more. Of the total war account of 148,000,000l., it was intended that 40,000,000l. would be raised by taxation, 20,000,000l. net from Lend-Lease, 35,000,000l. from internal loan, and 12,000,000l. from the British Government. In addition to war expenditure, there was an estimate of 65,500,000l. for civil expenditure—an increase of 6,346,000l. over last year's figure.

New Zealand's Third Liberty Loan, which opened on June 8, was for 35,000,000l., the Dominion's most ambitious loan to date. It was over-subscribed by 4,276,740l., the number of contributors reaching the record figure of 431,839—a remarkable achievement for a population of only a little over 1,600,000. Mr. Nash explained that he hoped, after consulting the Cabinet, to use the over-subscription to reduce the amount advanced by Britain for the maintenance of the New Zealand Forces who had been fighting in the Middle East.

The year 1943 saw the threat of Japanese aggression gradually diminish, as the enemy was forced steadily back in New Guinea and the Solomons, and American reinforcements and equipment arrived in ever-increasing strength. In May, Rear-Admiral T. S. Wilkinson, Deputy-Commander South Pacific, was able to

say : " I hope and believe that New Zealand, so long as combat action in other parts of the Pacific does not require the withdrawal of some of our forces, is fully insured against any attack except possibly sniping by submarines."

Some idea of the part New Zealand played in the Pacific War may be gathered from the fact that New Zealand troops are stationed in New Caledonia; others participated in the defence of Fiji and Samoa ; at Tonga, a United States naval establishment is under the command of a New Zealand officer; cruisers and corvettes of the Royal New Zealand Navy operated with Allied forces in Solomons waters; during the latter part of the year, New Zealand airmen were engaged in active operations against the Japanese in the Solomons, where their work met with highly favourable comment from the Allied commanders in that area.

The increasing importance of the part played by the R.N.Z.A.F. in the Pacific led to the appointment of one of its senior officers—Air Commodore J. L. Findlay—as head of the New Zealand jointstaff mission in Washington in the place of Brigadier Williams, who returned to the Dominion. Air Commodore Findlay also became R.N.Z.A.F. representative with the combined Chiefs-of-Staff in Washington. Announcing this change in October, the Defence Minister (Mr. Jones) said that the equipment of the New Zealand Forces and bases with American aircraft tended to throw the balance of military negotiations with the United States on to the Air Force. During the past year the New Zealand Air Force in the Pacific had been greatly strengthened. Before long, New Zealand squadrons in action would include bombers, patrol and reconnaissance aircraft, torpedo-bombers, dive-bombers, and fighters, as well as all essential services.

But New Zealand's participation in the war in the Pacific did not mean the withdrawal of her forces from other combat zones. Contingents of airmen from the Dominion continued to arrive at British ports, a considerable number of them having been trained in Canada under the Empire Air Training Scheme, Replying to a message from Mr. Fraser on the anniversary of the outbreak of war, Mr. Churchill said : " Everyone in Great Britain has watched with admiration and pride the splendid part the New Zealand Forces played in the famous march of the Eighth Army." The final stages of the New Zealand Division's operations in North Africa were reviewed by Lieutenant-General Sir Bernard Freyberg, V.C., Officer Commanding the 2nd Division, New Zealand Expeditionary Force, in a report' to Mr. Fraser :—

At the conclusion of this campaign, I want to place on record the deep admiration I feel for the magnificent qualities and the great work done by all ranks under my command. We have been fighting, continuously for almost a year, battle after battle, with little respite, on hard rations and short supplies of indifferent water. The endurance and courage of all ranks, under conditions of great discomfort and peril, has been beyond praise. ... No commander has ever been better served.

In June, at the request of the War Cabinet, General Freyberg paid a short visit to New Zealand for consultations on the welfare and future operations of the Division. A State luncheon was given in his honour at Parliament House, where he was accorded an enthusiastic reception.

July 12 saw the return of the first large party of fit officers, men, and nurses of the New Zealand Division on extended furlough. Many of them were men who had fought in all the campaigns from Greece to Tunisia. Their arrival, which could not, of course, be announced to the public beforehand, evoked considerable excitement and patriotic pride.

The end of the year saw troops of the New Zealand Division, rested and back with the Eighth Army, taking part in the operations in Italy. Their share in the campaign leading up to the crossing of the Sangro River earned for the Division the congratulation of General Montgomery.

The contribution of the Maori people, both on the field of battle and on the home front, won frequent praise from Military and Government spokesmen alike. On January 29 the Minister in charge of the Maori War Effort (Mr. Paikea) stated that the total number in the Defence forces was 16,759, while another 10,825 were employed in essential industries. It should be remembered, moreover, that conscription of any kind did not apply to the Dominion's Maori population. The exploit of Second-Lieutenant Ngarimu, at Tebaga Gap, in Tunisia, on March 26, filled Maori hearts of whatever tribe with pride; and indeed the Victoria Cross, posthumously awarded to him, might well be regarded as an indirect tribute to the whole Maori Battalion. One of the greatest Maori gatherings of the century assembled at Ruatoria, where, in the presence of a crowd of some 7,000 Maoris and pakehas, the Governor-General, Sir Cyril Newall, presented to Lieutenant Ngarimu's parents this first Victoria Cross to be won by one of their race.

On July 21 the appointment was announced of Air Commodore L. M. Isitt to the post of Chief of the Air Staff and Air Officer Commanding the New Zealand Air Force, in succession to Air Vice-Marshal R. V. Goddard, who reverted to the R.A.F. on the expiry of the term for which he was seconded to New Zealand. Air Commodore Isitt was at the same time promoted to the temporary rank of Air Vice-Marshal. This was the first time that a New Zealand officer had held the post of Chief of the Air Staff.

On August 27 Mrs. Roosevelt arrived in New Zealand, where she received a warmly enthusiastic welcome. Her main object was to carry a message of encouragement to American troops, and to inspect the American Red Cross facilities, but she was also able to see a good deal of New Zealand's war effort during her short stay.

An earnest of Britain's determination to co-operate to the full with the United States in the Pacific was seen in the arrival in

New Zealand in October of a special British Military, Naval, and Air Mission to study problems of supply, transport, communications, and medical services in the war against Japan. The Mission, under the leadership of Major-General J. S. Lethbridge, was accompanied by two United States military officers. They had already spent several weeks in the United States, and intended going on to Australia, New Guinea, and India.

In the field of diplomatic relations, the appointment of Mr. C. A. Berendsen, Secretary of External Affairs, as the Dominion's first High Commissioner to Australia was announced on February 27. Both the step and the choice were approved by all sections of the New Zealand public. The Government's action in selecting, not a politician, but a trained official with direct qualifications based on long experience with the type of work to be done, was warmly applauded.

On December 27 it was announced that conversations would take place at Canberra early in the New Year on post-war security zones, the welfare of native peoples, the administration of island territories, communications, and the possibilities of closer collaboration between Australia and New Zealand, both of whom are vitally interested in the peace, welfare, and good government of the Pacific zone. The New Zealand delegation will be headed by Mr. Peter Fraser, the Prime Minister.

The Dominion's comprehensive programme for the rehabilitation of ex-Service men after the war included the right of the soldier to be reinstated in his job ; vocational training for those with no work to return to ; University courses with financial assistance ; generous disablement pensions ; and provision for the settlement of returned soldiers on the land. With the purpose of furthering this last objective, the Serviceman's Settlement and Land Sales Bill was passed at the end of the Parliamentary session prior to the election, to operate from October 18, after which all transactions involving the sale or lease of land were to be subject to the approval of District Land Committees and a Land Sales Court appointed under the Act. The object was to check undue increases in land prices, so as to prevent a recurrence of the speculation which raised property prices after the last war to the detriment of returned soldiers. While it was generally agreed that the purpose of the Bill was unexceptionable, a storm of criticism arose over the methods by which it would be implemented, especially in regard to the selection of the committees. The New Zealand Farmers' Union described the Act as the first step to nationalisation of the land ; land agents condemned it as cumbrous and unworkable ; and the New Zealand Law Society regarded it as contravening established British legal principles by setting up special courts and removing from the Supreme Court the jurisdiction over disputes dealing with land property. From the date of the passing of the Act until October 18, on which it came into operation, there was a record rush of land transactions.

CHAPTER V

INDIA AND BURMA

NEITHER the flowing tide of war in favour of the United Nations nor the arrival in the autumn of the new Viceroy, Lord Wavell, brought any marked change in the obstinate Indian political situation. In the absence of renunciation of the policy of mass civil disobedience (though it had become inoperative in fact), Mr. Gandhi and his Congress Party associates in the leadership remained under detention. The Moslem League showed unswerving adherence to separatism, and the Hindu Mahasabha continued in opposition to both these major parties. Lord Wavell turned his immediate attention, with good effect, to the dark shadow of famine over Bengal. India's magnificent war effort was pursued with unabated zeal and, with the growth of Indian, British, and American forces for the coming South-East Asia offensive, the danger of invasion from Burma receded into the background.

Early in the year Mr. Gandhi brought himself into the limelight by staging another fast for political purposes. From his palatial detention quarters in Poona he wrote a New Year's letter to the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, stating that he had been freely partaking of creature comforts "as a matter of duty," in the hope that some day the Government of India would realise that they had wronged innocent men. The period of six months he had given himself "is drawing to a close : so is my patience." Unless the Viceroy could convince him that he was in the wrong he would resort once again, but only as a last resort, to the weapon of fasting.

In the ensuing correspondence Lord Linlithgow, with patient argument, urged Mr. Gandhi to obtain freedom by dissociation from a policy which he had himself described as one of "open rebellion." The Viceroy repudiated the suggestion that the blame for the serious disturbances and sabotage of the previous autumn rested on the Government. He added expressions of deep regret that the Mahatma was contemplating a fast, having regard to his health and his age (73) ; *he* would much welcome a decision otherwise, "not only because of my own natural reluctance to see you risk your life, but because I regard the use of a fast for political purposes as a form of political blackmail (*himsa*) for which there can be no moral justification."

The Viceroy's Executive Council gave the fullest support to this refusal, and made their position clear when, on February 10, six months after his arrest, Mr. Gandhi began a 21 days' fast "according to capacity" and with the intention to "survive the ordeal." The Government stated that they could take no responsibility for the consequences on Mr. Gandhi's health. Their offer

to release him for the purpose of the fast had been met by **the** demand to be set free unconditionally as the price of **abandonment** of the ordeal.

The abstention from nourishment was avowedly not complete, for the Mahatma added juices of citrus to the water he drank. He was attended by six doctors, mostly of his own choosing, but with Major-General R. H. Candy, Surgeon-General, Bombay, at their head. The condition of the patient soon caused anxiety, and on February 21 a crisis was reached, but thereafter he rallied and took regular nourishment. Public tension was at its height when three of the eleven Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council—Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. N. R. Sarker, and Sir Homi Mody—resigned, on the ground of certain differences as to the action to be taken in respect to the fast. On March 3 the 21 days of mortification of the flesh ended, and Mr. Gandhi again came under the rules generally applying to the Congress Party *detenus*. Applications from former political associates and others to be allowed to visit him (some of them for the declared purpose of seeking to end the deadlock) were refused by the Viceroy. Similarly, he gave a negative answer to a request made by Mr. W. Phillips, then President Roosevelt's personal representative in India, to be allowed to have a talk with the Mahatma.

In reply to the repeated assertions of the latter that no evidence had been produced of his responsibility, and that of the Congress Party for the disturbances of the autumn of 1942, a detailed statement of the position was issued in India at the time of the fast and afterwards presented to Parliament as a White Paper (Cmd. 6430). A prefatory note stated that the Government possessed a large body of further evidence which, in the interests of security, it was then undesirable to publish. The White Paper showed that Mr. Gandhi had made the grave miscalculation of assuming that the cause of the United Nations was lost, and that nothing could halt the victorious march of the Japanese. The entire phraseology of his writings in connexion with the so-called "non-violent" mass civil disobedience movement was "of a type associated in the ordinary man's mind with violence." The White Paper gave details of concerted attacks on communications and Government offices in Eastern India at a time when invasion from Burma might be conjectured. The *persoAB* still under detention in December numbered 5,600, a figure rather less than one-third of the maximum reached in the latter part of 1942.

Though the menace of disorder waned to small proportions, the existence of elements of unreasoning hatred of British authority was evidenced by information as to enemy Fifth Column activities. The Japanese spared no effort to subvert Indians who had fallen under their control, to train them for purposes of sabotage, espionage, and political agitation, and to get them through to

India. Subhas C. Bose, the notorious Indian quisling, after transfer from Berlin to Tokyo, moved to Singapore, and on October 21 formally announced his headship of a provisional Government of "Free India," with himself in command of "the Indian National Army."

Served by a puppet Burmese Government, the Japanese adopted a policy of mingled blandishment and brutality. On August 1 Burma was granted "independence," but with a separate Ministry of Co-operation "based upon the spirit of sharing life and death with Japan." In the educational field much energy was devoted to forcing the use of the Japanese language. Magazines and periodicals in that tongue, with sub-titles in Burmese, were widely circulated.

British and American reinforcements continued to arrive in India and though, owing to more immediately pressing commitments, Allied strategy could not pass to any grand assault on Burma, its temporary masters were not left in undisturbed possession, nor did they acquire control of the great mountainous regions to the north, where the hill tribes rendered valuable help to the British officials still in tenuous charge. In the early months fighting continued in the Arakan area of West Burma. Amid physical obstacles of jungle-covered hills and swamps, described as "some of the most formidable in the world," British and Indian columns were in contact with the enemy on both sides of the Mayu River, and for five months held Maungdaw, 30 miles from the Indian border. In May the Japanese, who had been reinforced, threatened our communications, and on the 11th the Arakan force, which had been skilfully led, retired almost to its starting-point. Soon after, the rains closed the campaign which was renewed in the late autumn.

A specially trained commando force, led by Brigadier O. C. Wingate, crossed the Chindwin on February 16, and, with the assistance of supplies dropped from service planes, operated in enemy territory as far as the Shan States. Lightly equipped and undergoing great hardships, they lived on the country, did much damage to enemy communications, and kept far stronger Japanese forces occupied. The exploits of this "jungle commando," which returned to base on May 20, were held to be of high military value. As late as November 15 the Commander-in-Chief in India (General Sir Claude Auchinleck) was able to report that on the Burma front Indian and Gurkha troops, with British and Burman comrades, had maintained heartening patrol ascendancy over the enemy. The offensive patrol had been continued in the monsoon, and indeed through all weathers.

There were frequent attacks by British and American aircraft on communications and camps in all parts of Occupied Burma, and shipping off its coast. Towards the close of the year pressure was increased by Spitfires being sent out to the fighter squadrons of the R.A.F. Japanese counter raids on Assam and Chittagong

were generally ineffective, but on December 5 in the first daylight raid on Calcutta, there were some 500 casualties. Allied air superiority was demonstrated not least by the outstanding services of the India-China wing of the civilian American Air Transport Command. With the co-operation of the R.A.F. and the I.A.F., large quantities of vital supplies were flown across the Himalayan "Hump." Deliveries were so stepped up that by the end of the year the quantity of sorely needed supplies crossing "the roof of the world" to Chungking was far in excess of any traffic borne along the Burma Road before it was closed to Allied use. To the north-east in the rugged Hukawng Valley, Chinese troops were covering the American builders of the new Ledo road that was being pushed towards China.

India's great and increasing contribution to the war effort was the more impressive from Mr. Churchill's reminder, in his Guildhall speech on June 30, that the Indian Army and other fighting Services (unlike those of any other of the great belligerents) were entirely composed of volunteers: "no one has been conscripted or compelled." An authoritative review of India's part given to the East India Association by Major-General G. N. Molesworth, late D.C.G.S., New Delhi, in October, showed that this voluntary Army numbered more than two million men, and that since the outbreak of war more than half a million had served oversea. The Royal Indian Navy had grown from 5 small vessels to a fleet of 90 ships, and with a personnel of some 30,000. The number of members of the I.A.F. had multiplied 50 times, while that of aircraft had risen by some 600 per cent. He also gave impressive figures of what he termed the "prodigious" supply effort of the country. Not only China, as already indicated, but also Russia, had benefited in her marvellous victories, by this great industrial growth. Many supplies of Indian manufacture and produce reached the Soviet authorities by the East Persia route—the new road, originally an old caravan way, made by hand, and largely by Indian labour, in eight months.

Lord Linlithgow's unremitting and resourceful leadership of the war effort was recognised to entitle him to the gratitude and admiration of the United Nations. The Commander-in-Chief with whom he had co-operated, Sir Archibald Wavell, came home in the late spring, and was with the Prime Minister in his consultations with President Roosevelt at Washington. On June 19 came the announcement of the appointment of the Field-Marshal to succeed Lord Linlithgow on his retirement from the Viceroyalty after 7½ years' tenure, in October, and that General Sir Claude Auchinleck would be the new Commander-in-Chief, but would be relieved of responsibility for the conduct of external operations against Japan by the creation of a separate South-East Asia Command. A few weeks later Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten was appointed to this Command, and he established his headquarters

at New Delhi early in October. The Viceroy-designate's farewell speeches were calculated to remove misgivings which might be entertained by some critics on the selection of an eminent professional soldier, for the first time since assumption of the rule by the Crown, to take civilian charge of India. He made clear that there was no intention to set up anything like military rule, or to withdraw or weaken in any way the pledges and offers to India of H.M. Government. He was raised to the peerage as Viscount Wavell of Winchester and Cyrenaica, and was sworn in at New Delhi on October 20.

During Lord Wavell's absence from India the gaps in the Viceroy's Executive had been filled by the appointment, on May 1, of three new members—Sir Azizul Huque (Commerce), Sir Asoka Kumar Roy (Law), and Dr. N. B. Khare (Indians Overseas). Later Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar returned from his deputation to the War Cabinet in London to take over the Supply portfolio. In the month of May Sir George Cunningham, Governor of the North-West Frontier Province, was able to revoke the long-standing proclamation of his assumption of full authority in place of the resigned Congress Party Government, and thereupon entrusted the formation of a new Ministry to Sardar Aurengzeb Khan, a supporter of the Moslem League. A very brief interregnum in provincial autonomy in Bengal early in the year, when the Premier, Mr. Fazul Huq, resigned, was closed by the formation of a new Ministry under Sir K. Nazimuddin, who is an adherent of the Moslem League. Hence, for the first time since the early days of war the majority of the Governors' provinces—six of the eleven—were under normal autonomous administration, as provided for by the Act of 1935.

Soon after the new Ministry was formed Bengal came into unenviable prominence. The anxieties of the previous year as to the nutrition of India's rapidly growing population owing in the main to the impact of war on a precariously balanced economic structure, were greatly increased, and unexpectedly they applied mainly, though by no means exclusively, to Bengal. At a food conference of provincial Ministers at Delhi in December, 1942, the Premier of Bengal had declared that the province could look after itself, and in the light of the estimated figures of the rice crop that forecast was not unjustified. Unfortunately, the crop proved a grievous failure, and the most populous Indian province, with its 60 million inhabitants, was faced with a shortage of over a million tons of the staple food of its people. In the late summer for the first time since the early years of the century, famine conditions arose.

A detailed statement of the causes was made in the Central Legislative Assembly on August 9 by Sir Azizul Huque, the then holder of the Food portfolio. In October his speech, with other information, was laid before Parliament in a White Paper (Cmd.

6479). The various measures taken by the Central Government to meet the situation were outlined, but in the debate in the House of Commons on November 4 doubts were expressed as to their timeliness and adequacy. Distressing accounts were being given by press correspondents of the condition of the most stricken areas of Bengal and of the high mortality in Calcutta, the second city of the Empire, whither great destitute throngs from the districts had migrated to seek relief at food kitchens or by begging. Attempts to control the phenomenal rise in prices of food-grains and regulate distribution met with limited success. The situation was aggravated by the general monetary inflation, the inelasticity of transport, and the tendency, even in regions of plenty, for the cultivator to sell a rather smaller proportion than usual of his marketable surplus. Amid much criticism of authority in the Commons' debate, warm approval was given to various recommendations for long-term planning made by the Food-grains Policy Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Theodore Gregory, Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

In less than a week after being sworn in at New Delhi, Lord Wavell accompanied by Lady Wavell and a small staff, visited Calcutta to see conditions and confer with the provincial authorities. He also toured the most distressed districts. With the concurrence of the Commander-in-Chief he directed that the Army should assist in the distribution of food and other necessities in the most distressed areas, in restoring destitute immigrants into Calcutta to their village homes, and in other ameliorative measures. Substantial deliveries of grain into Bengal were planned, and medical supplies and nutrition tablets were sent in large quantities from Britain, while help in various forms was provided from other parts of the Empire. The new rice harvest was exceptionally good, and the price of the staple diet of that part of India fell rapidly. In food supply and distribution the corner was turned, but malnutrition and inadequacy brought in their train high mortality from cholera, malaria, dysentery, pneumonia, and other diseases. Schemes of medical assistance on an adequate scale were hampered by a dearth of medical personnel.

In his first important speech as Viceroy, made in Calcutta on December 20, Lord Wavell intimated that he was prepared to take the most drastic action in support of an all-India policy of control of food prices and rationing in the large cities. (The system had long been working successfully in Bombay, Bangalore, and other centres, but the authorities in Calcutta had held back.) The solution of Bengal's problem, said the Viceroy, lay in Bengal hands. The Central Government could not continue indefinitely to "carry" a province to which Nature had given so generous a crop, if through administrative inefficiency its Government failed to secure that it was properly procured and distributed. Three

days later it was intimated that the Bengal Government had decided to carry out, although under protest, a "direction" of the Central Government to establish food rationing in Calcutta. The Sind Government was still less complaisant under a "direction" from the Centre not to allow a rise in the price of food-grains without the consent of the Governor. On the other hand, Lord Wavell's insistence on the need for an all-India food policy was increasingly accepted throughout the country as essential. It was officially estimated in the absence of reliable figures that to the end of the year the deaths due to inadequate nutrition and the resulting diseases did not exceed a million persons.

The importance of Bengal, both on economic grounds and as a springboard for attacking the enemy in Burma, was reflected by the appointment, announced on December 24, of the Australian statesman, Mr. Richard G. Casey, who had been Minister of State and Resident in the Middle East since March, 1942, to be Governor, in succession to Sir John Herbert, who had died in Calcutta on December 11 after a long illness leading to his resignation. Mr. Casey is the first Dominion statesman to be appointed to an Indian governorship, and the Nationalist Press attacked the selection on grounds of India not having reached Dominion status and of the "White Australia" policy.

In his Calcutta speech on December 20 Lord Wavell rejected the contention that progress towards Indian self-government was impossible while the war continued, but he equally rejected the comforting theory that the end of the war would itself show the constitutional way forward. The immediate tasks—the winning of the war and the organisation of the economic home front—called for use of all the resources which India had in determination, energy, and intelligence. His appeal for co-operation "in the achievement of the great administrative aims which should be common to all when the country is in peril" elicited no encouraging response at the Christmas week sessions of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Moslem League. In his presidential address to the latter body at Karachi, Mr. Jinnah coined a new slogan by declaring that "Divide and quit" was the only honest way out for the British Government. Distorting the Calcutta speech, he expressed astonishment that the Viceroy should think that the war could be won while he remained "indifferent" to the Indian political situation.

FOREIGN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

AGAINST a significant and revealing background of international conferences and discussions, held under the auspices of the United Nations, the League of Nations in 1943 continued not only to survive but to render services to the world in a large number of spheres within the limits of present possibilities. It was a year in which, side by side with the enhanced prospects of victory for the Allies, increasing attention was devoted in political and official circles to the post-war forms of international organisation. In all pronouncements by responsible statesmen of Great Britain, the Commonwealth, and the United States, the necessity for an International Authority was taken for granted. Naturally, with the war not yet won and the Peace Conference still distant, none of the spokesmen committed themselves to hard-and-fast schemes or definite constitutions. Nevertheless, signs were not wanting that the lessons of the twenty years between the two wars and the experience of the League of Nations during that period were being seriously taken into account for the future. On more than one occasion the British Prime Minister made no secret of the moral which he himself drew from events. "I hope," he told the nation in a broadcast on March 21, "we shall not lightly cast aside all the immense work which was accomplished by the creation of the League of Nations. Certainly we must take as our foundation the lofty conception of freedom, law, and morality which was the spirit of the League." And again, speaking on September 6 at Harvard University, Mr. Churchill said: "We have all seen the fine work which was done a quarter of a century ago by those who devised and tried to make effective the League of Nations after the last war. It is said that the League of Nations failed. If so, that is largely because it was abandoned and later on betrayed. . . . We have learned from hard experience that stronger, more efficient, and more rigorous world institutions must be created to preserve peace and to forestall the causes of future wars."

One fundamental point on which general agreement seemed to crystallise out was that the League of Nations of to-morrow, whatever it might be called, must be able to rely upon ascertain and predetermined backing of armed force to resist aggression. As Mr. Cordell Hull, U.S. Secretary of State, put the matter in a speech on September 12: "It is abundantly clear that a system of organised international co-operation for the maintenance of

peace must be based upon the willingness of the co-operating nations to use force, if necessary, to keep the peace. There must be certainty that adequate and appropriate means are available and will be used for this purpose."

In due course came the meeting between M. Molotov, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Cordell Hull in Moscow. Among the decisions reached was one of supreme importance from the point of view of future peace. This was the Four Power Declaration of November 1, in which the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and China jointly asserted that :

They recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security. [See under Public Documents.]

This Declaration foreshadowed a tighter form of co-operative organisation broadly along the lines of the League. For practical reasons, the more ambitious schemes of Federation, the merits of which had been canvassed in many quarters, were tacitly rejected. The Four Great Powers further gave the guarantee that they would "consult with each other and, as occasion requires, with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations."

League Machinery and Resources.—Such was the political setting of the League's work in 1943. Forty-five States retained their membership. These included certain Occupied countries with Governments abroad carrying on the struggle against Nazism. It is interesting to note that, in April, General de Gaulle and General Giraud sent identical telegrams to the Acting Secretary-General at Geneva, denouncing Admiral Darlan's notification of withdrawal from the League. "That notification," ran the twin telegrams, "was made without the French people, then deprived of the exercise of its sovereignty, being able to pronounce through the organ of legitimate representatives on the position of France in regard to the League of Nations. In consequence I ask you to be good enough to consider that that notification, made under foreign pressure, cannot have effect and that, in consequence, France continues to form part of the League of Nations."

Although, in the circumstances, it was clearly impossible for some of the Occupied countries to make more than token payments towards the upkeep of the League, inveterate opponents of the Geneva system were not slow to avail themselves of this weapon. Towards the end of the year a small but vocal band of critics became actively antagonistic in the House of Commons. Mr. Richard Law, on behalf of H. M. Government, had to remind them : "The Government have made it clear on more than one occasion that we do attach considerable importance to the technical

services of the League and that it would be a great pity if we allowed it to lapse now."

In point of fact, not only the British but many other Governments continued to demonstrate their confidence in the present and future value of the three main international organisations composing the League system. Certain States not members of the League itself contributed financially towards various technical activities, as well as towards the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organisation.

As in the previous two years, much of the League's work was decentralised. In one wing of the League building at Geneva, some 100 members of the Secretariat kept alive an international centre concerned with such matters as economics, finance, social questions, international hygiene, the drug traffic, and so on. They collected and co-ordinated information, prepared studies and reports, and dealt with innumerable requests for information from Governments. In spite of the difficulties of the time the League Library, constantly enlarged and brought up to date, remained a unique centre of study and reference. Meanwhile, the closest contacts were maintained with the League missions and war-time centres oversea. Chief of these were the Economic, Financial, and Transit Department at Princeton, the Treasurer's Department in London, and the Drug Traffic Section in Washington.

Owing to many calls by the Governments upon the services of the League and its associated bodies, the budget for 1943 had to be increased. The total of 11,388,376 Swiss francs was some 15 per cent, higher than in 1942—but still some 64 per cent, below the last peace-time (1939) budget. The expansion of the work of the International Labour Organisation accounted for a large part of the increase.

Economic and Financial Questions.—Among the organs of the League proper, the Economic, Financial, and Transit Department was conspicuous both for the volume and for the quality of its research work during the year under survey. Despite the difficulty which the League experienced in arranging meetings of Committees whose members would have had to travel from distant continents under war-time conditions, two joint sessions of the Economic and the Financial Committees took place, one in London in the spring and the other at Princeton in the autumn. At the London meeting Sir Frederick Leith-Ross (United Kingdom) presided; at Princeton the Hon. Henry F. Grady (U.S.A.). In addition to reviewing the current activities of the Department, the Committees gave close and detailed consideration to a programme of studies concerning post-war problems. It was fully agreed that the organs of the League must provide all the specialist aid possible to help Governments to give effect to the principles

of the Atlantic Charter. The Secretary-General was given discretion to modify the plan of studies and to enlarge the field of inquiries in the light of developments in the international situation. The latter meeting had before it the resolution of the Atlantic City Conference, providing for close co-operation between U.N.R.R.A. and the League's technical services. It was resolved that League help should be placed at the disposal of the U.N.R.R.A. interim commission on food and agriculture and such other inter-governmental agencies as might be created.

Following a meeting in April of the delegation charged with the study of economic depressions, one of the most important reports which the League has ever issued—"The Transition from War to Peace Economy"—was published. This was the ripe fruit of more than five years' intensive study of the intricate history and background of economics and economic policies between the two wars, and the harsh impact of the present war. With its clear definition of objectives, it should be an invaluable guide to all who are concerned with devising policies in advance for lessening the risk of post-war depression and unemployment. A companion volume, covering the lessons of the past, was "Commercial Policy in the Inter-War Period."

League assistance contributed materially to the success of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, attended by 44 nations at Hot Springs in May and June. Preparatory to the Conference, the Director of the League's Economic, Financial, and Transit Department was invited by the Executive Committee to furnish complete information regarding the activities of the Economic Section and the Health Section in the field of nutrition. A survey of the League's spadework was accordingly embodied in a memorandum which engaged the attention of the first Section of the Hot Springs Conference, that on Consumption Levels and Requirements. This, according to Mr. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Storting, "proved to be the documentary backbone of the conference." The secretary of this section of the conference, it is interesting to note, was Dr. Frank Boudreau, formerly of the League Secretariat.

In response to repeated requests from Latin-American States, the League organised a second conference on international fiscal problems, which was held in Mexico during July. Experts from 14 American States participated. Three model conventions were adopted to serve as a basis for bilateral negotiations between States on fiscal matters. A general plan of study of post-war fiscal problems was also drafted.

In addition to special reports, the most important of which have already been indicated above, the Economic Intelligence Service maintained the publication of its "World Economic Survey," the "Statistical Year-Book," and the "Monthly Bulletin of Statistics." Another useful study was on "War-time Rationing and Consumption."

The League's Social Services.—During the fourth year of war the League's Health Organisation was again the most active of the technical and social organs. As it was the only international centre for the collection and co-ordination of certain types of information urgently needed by Governments, health administrations and voluntary organisations, the demands upon its services were consistently heavy. Already the major problems confronting health administrations were clear—the present food scarcity with malnutrition in Europe, and the danger of epidemic outbreaks in Europe. From the medical journals and statistical returns which the Health Section received from nearly all European countries, it was able to make exhaustive studies of the trend of morbidity and mortality in their relation to food shortage. This research work had a profound bearing upon plans for post-war food relief. The Health Section set out to supply the responsible authorities with accurate, impartial, and objective data, to enable them to decide upon probable requirements and to settle priority claims. Not only was it necessary to know the aggregate amount of food that would be needed by the populations of the various European countries when liberated, but also which of the food elements were most acutely lacking in their present dietary. A request from the British authorities that the League should determine the latter as far as was practicable entailed a vast volume of detailed research and statistical comparisons.

The member of the League Secretariat who had been mainly responsible for the surveys of the nutritional situation in Europe was called in as expert adviser by the Technical and Advisory Committee on Medical Supplies and Services and the Sub-committees of the Allied Post-War Requirements Organisation in London. At the invitation of the State Department he subsequently served as adviser to the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations and its Health Committee in Washington. He took part in the work of technical Sub-committees on tropical diseases, nutrition, child welfare, and sanitary engineering. Later he acted as adviser on food and drug relief to the Lend-Lease Organisation.

The Epidemiological Service, with its twenty years' experience in gauging the significance of epidemic events, kept constant watch on the epidemic situation, in collaboration with the majority of national health administrations. Unfortunately, as a result of Japanese control of so much of the East and the restriction of movements to military traffic in other areas, the Eastern Bureau of this Service had to suspend activities until the return of more promising conditions in the Orient.

Regular information on the trend and probable course of communicable diseases was published in the "Weekly Epidemiological Record." The International Red Cross availed itself of the information and experience of the Health Section in order to

determine the drugs needed for epidemic relief. Similar information and advice were furnished to the Allied Technical Advisory Committee on Medical Supplies and Services in London.

Requests for technical documentation or information in the course of the year came from 27 national health administrations and ministries of health, as well as from 14 international organisations such as the International Red Cross Committee and the League of Red Cross Societies, from 21 scientific institutions, from 9 national welfare organisations, and from a score of other sources.

The Department of Standards of the National Institute for Medical Research at Hampstead and the State Serum Institute at Copenhagen continued, on behalf of *Jbhe* Health Organisation, to prepare biological standards and distribute them to the national institutes and laboratories entrusted with the control of drugs and sera.

In the matter of international control of the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, the League in 1943 did a good deal of preparatory work envisaging the confused situation which would inevitably arise at the end of the war. On the whole, the Governments in war-time had loyally collaborated with the League in upholding the drug conventions. But the legitimate demand for drugs for medical and scientific purposes had increased as a result of the war, side by side with considerable interruption of normal imports and exports. In consequence, there had been a tendency—perfectly understandable in the circumstances—to set up new centres of production in certain countries. It was therefore imperative that the appropriate organs of the League should begin to plan a post-war programme for the re-establishment of pre-war control.

With regard to other social questions, such as the traffic in women and the protection of children, the League was able to do very little on a depleted budget except keep the skeleton of its organisation in existence. Information received from the various Governments was co-ordinated, reports were published, and requests for information answered.

The general aspect of the refugee problem did not undergo any great change during the year, although events stressed the necessity of providing immediate help for certain classes of refugees. The new measures taken against Jews and others in many countries of Europe resulted in considerable clandestine emigration to Switzerland and Spain. At the beginning of the year it was estimated that some 15,000 illegal entrants had obtained asylum on Swiss territory. The Swiss Government, with whom the League High Commissioner maintained close contact, was supported by public opinion in a liberal policy. In March there was a similar number of fugitives in Spain. In co-operation with the British and American Governments, the High

Commissioner took steps to ensure the safety of those who had thus escaped and to relieve the Spanish Government of the burden of maintaining them. After the Allied landing in French North Africa, living conditions among thousands of refugees improved considerably.

Owing to breakdown of communications, the High Commissioner was able to do less than he would have liked for the Nansen refugees remaining in occupied countries. Assistance had to be limited to a few cases of re-emigration for which transit facilities were provided, and to grants out of the humanitarian fund for Nansen refugees in Switzerland and Turkey.

Early in the year the High Commissioner took up with the British and American Governments the question of the post-war handling of the refugee problem. Hitherto the United Nations had concerned themselves mainly with immediate relief measures. Sir Herbert Emerson strongly urged that more attention should be paid to the long-term problems of Stateless persons.

The International Labour Organisation.—Working steadily from its two main centres in Geneva and Montreal, and with its branch offices and correspondents in twenty countries, the International Labour Organisation continued to enjoy the enthusiastic support of nearly every nation in the world except those of the Axis. Throughout the year research work of the highest quality, notably in connexion with the industrial side of reconstruction, was pressed forward ; while a unique clearing-house for industrial information of every kind was maintained. The smoothness of the I.L.O.'s activity was in some respects deceptive. Much of the work which it was doing, being of a highly technical character and involving continuous research, did not lend itself to day-to-day publicity. This led to a fear in some quarters that the I.L.O. was being side-tracked in the preparations of the United Nations for reconstruction. In response to searching questions in the British House of Commons during October, Mr. Richard Law emphasised that it was the desire of H.M. Government to associate the I.L.O. wherever practicable with post-war reconstruction work.

Meanwhile, for the purpose of giving impetus and direction to work already proceeding, preparations had been going on for a meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. The session took place in London from December 16 to 20, under the chairmanship of Mr. Carter Goodrich (U.S.A.). The members, after being received in audience by H.M. the King, were officially welcomed by Mr. Ernest Bevin, the Minister of Labour and National Service. Better preparation was being made for peace, he said, than in the last war. The transition from war to peace was going on while the actual battles were being fought. The International Labour Office was performing a great

service in preparing to assist the liberated peoples to return to their democratic way of life. Victory, when it came, would be a victory Won by all the people, and peace when it came must be a peace of the peoples. "I believe," added Mr. Bevin, "that the essential need for the future is not a financial budget but a human one." He then announced the British Government's ratification of the maritime convention relating to sickness insurance.

On the final day of the session Mr. Anthony Eden, as Foreign Secretary, came to clarify the British Government's attitude towards the post-war role of the I.L.O. If the I.L.O. did not already exist, said Mr. Eden, we should have had to try to create it now, because it was only such a tripartite organisation, representing Governments, employers, and workers, which could give effect to the social objective of the Atlantic Charter—improved labour standards, economic adjustments, and social security. The I.L.O., he continued, was now actively preparing to play its part in rebuilding a shattered world. In it they had a tried instrument ready to hand through which, by consultation with Governments, managements, and operatives, a comprehensive programme of labour and industrial reconstruction could be worked out. It had unrivalled expert experience and knowledge. What was still required was the good-will of Governments and a determination to make co-operation with the I.L.O. a reality. "Without waiting for the end of the war," he said, "we have now begun to establish machinery through which international co-operation can achieve that aim."

The main business of the Governing Body was to make arrangements for the holding of an International Labour Conference in the spring of 1944. The place finally chosen was Philadelphia, and the time April. A comprehensive agenda was drafted, covering the future policy, programme, and status of the I.L.O., a series of resolutions on present and post-war policy for the consideration of the United Nations, and the I.L.O.'s own work in various spheres.

Two of the I.L.O.'s Reports published in 1943 deserve mention—"The Displacement of Population in Europe," a study of the means necessary to resettle 40 million Europeans who have been uprooted as a result of the war; and "The Health of Children in Occupied Europe," an account of the physical, mental, and moral deterioration of child life in Europe as a result of Germany's deliberate policy in Occupied Europe.

In his "Annual Report," published towards the end of the year, the Acting Secretary-General (Mr. Sean Lester) devoted his Introduction to assessing the present position of the League of Nations and its future prospects. Generally speaking, was his conclusion, the evolution of ideas in the past twelve months regarding the problems of world reconstruction had been highly

encouraging to those countries which had not faltered in their faith in the principles of the League. Not only in theory but in practice it was being seen that a nation's standard of existence, even for the greatest, was bound up with the organisation of international co-operation in the economic, social, and political spheres. That was the fundamental principle of the League.

CHAPTER II

FRANCE AND ITALY

FRANCE

AT the end of 1942 the spirit of resistance, stimulated by new Allied successes and by renewed hope of even stronger offensives of the United Nations, had grown to such an extent that in the early weeks of January, the Germans and their French accomplices tightened their grip in every sphere. The collaborators, feeling more than ever the need for protection, reconstituted the "Service d'Ordre Legionnaire" (largely recruited from gangster elements, and regarded as "the militant vanguard" of Petain's legion) as a "milice nationale" under the sole control of Laval. Marshal Petain, addressing delegates of the legion, announced the new status of the S.O.L. and declared that, with the police, it remained the only organised force capable of maintaining order . . . "so as to bar the way to the evil occult forces seeking to destroy us." The "milice nationale," whose strength is estimated at 10,000, and whose members are armed, is designed, acting in a capacity of a French S.S., to track down elements of resistance.

The next month, Laval, eager to give evidence of greater pro-Nazi zeal, decided that the "Legion des Volontaires Français contre le Bolchevisme" was to be recognised "d'utilité publique," and its statutes were approved by the Government on February 12.

Under German pressure the Vichy Council of Ministers, meeting on February 15, under the presidency of Marshal Petain, decided to institute compulsory labour service for all young men born between January 1, 1920, and December 31, 1922; the period of service to be for two years, the Labour mobilisation to be carried out by a "Commissariat Général du Travail Obligatoire," headed by a "Commissaire Général" responsible to Laval and assisted by a "Conseil Supérieur" presided over by the Minister of Education and consisting of 5 to 10 members appointed by Laval, to examine all questions concerning labour mobilisation. To make sure that young people would not avoid mobilisation, it was decided that each man who had answered the call-up should receive a "recipisse," or work certificate, to be produced at the time of delivery of ration cards. Anybody trying to "sabotage"

labour conscription was to be condemned up to five years' imprisonment.

At last, after four months of total occupation, the German authorities, on February 22, agreed to permit free passage, as from March 1, to individuals (except "Jews and other undesirable elements") across the former demarcation line between the Occupied and Unoccupied zones. The former travel permits would be suspended, though the police control of identity cards would remain; the formal postal service would in consequence be resumed throughout France, including the Departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais; freedom of movement would be unrestricted, except in coastal areas and zones of military importance.

By March the Germans were no longer confining themselves to the forcible recruitment of French workers for German war factories, but were proceeding to wholesale deportations, with the aim of denuding France of the most active section of her population. "The determined resistance of the French people grew proportionately stiffer. On March 10 the text of the *communiqués* from the "Quartier General des Francs-Tireurs et Partisans Français" reached London; it described in detail over 300 separate operations by guerrilla forces, consisting of part-time fighters pursuing normal occupations during the day, and of whole-time fighters, those organised in disciplined groups, operating on a military basis. A particularly serious situation arose in Haute Savoie, in mid-March, when large numbers of young Frenchmen in the Annemasse and Chamonix district, refusing to obey German orders for labour conscription, took to the hills. South of the Lake of Geneva, they organised into guerrilla formations, with rifles and machine-guns. Strong forces of Gardes-Mobiles were sent by Vichy to the affected area. A week after, Vichy claimed that only a few dozen organisers remained in the hills, but from Swiss sources it was reported that at the end of the month several hundred guerrillas continued in their mountain fastnesses.

Soon afterwards a "Conseil de la Résistance" was set up in Occupied France to co-ordinate the movements for liberation, both on the political and military sides. It comprised delegates from the main underground organisations—Liberation Nord, Liberation Sud, Combat, Franc-Tireur, Ceux de la Libération, Ceux de la Résistance, Organisation Cadre Militaire, Quartier General des Partisans et Francs-Tireurs—as well as delegates from the Socialist, Radical, Popular Democratic, and Communist Parties, the C.&T. and the Christian Trade Unions. The French Headquarters announced that a delegate of Fighting France was nominated by General de Gaulle to the Council of Resistance, with the title of National Commissioner serving in France. Especially important was the publication of clandestine papers which,

despite ferocious repression, were more widely read than ever before. *Combat* and *Franc-Tireur*, for instance, had a circulation of 100,000.

The Supreme Court in Riom, created by decree on July 29, 1940, was dissolved by a Vichy decree on June 13, 1943.

At the beginning of 1943 there was still a confused situation in French North Africa. There existed a regime, an administration, an organisation, headed by a French soldier with a fine record. This regime was completely opposed to the aims and aspirations of the majority of the French people. The remedy could only come through the union of the French Empire and all French forces outside and inside France directed against the invader and his accomplices.

The first step in this direction took the form of the meeting between General de Gaulle and General Giraud near Casablanca on January 27. The problem which had arisen in French North Africa was discussed. With a view to assuring the unification of the war efforts, it was decided that the necessary liaisons should be established immediately, to take the form of Missions, which would be exchanged between General de Gaulle and General Giraud. Nevertheless confusion remained because of the maintenance of Vichy personnel, e.g. General Nogues, General Resident of Morocco, M. Boisson, Governor-General of West Africa, and even the recent nomination of the former Vichy Minister of the Interior, M. Peyrouton, as Governor-General of Algeria. Previously Vichy's Ambassador to the Argentine, M. Peyrouton resigned his post to join North Africa on January 19, 1943. On February 2, at an extraordinary meeting of the "Conseil d'Empire" presided over by General Giraud and attended by Generals Bergeret and Nogues, and MM. Boisson and Peyrouton, it had been decided to dissolve the "Conseil d'Empire" and replace it by a "Comité de Guerre" assisting General Giraud in a consultative capacity. General Giraud himself received the new title of French Military and Civil Commander-in-Chief.

The National Committee, in its desire to make clear its intention with regard to the Union of the French Empire and of the French forces in the war, issued a memorandum, handed to General Giraud at the time of the arrival of the Fighting French Mission to Algiers on February 23, 1943. The memorandum was officially published on March 15. After negotiations lasting several weeks, it was arranged that General de Gaulle and General Giraud should meet in Algiers, where the former arrived on May 30, accompanied by MM. René Massigli and André Philip. They were met by General Giraud, General Catroux, and French Staff Officers, and were given a most enthusiastic welcome by the population. Talks were immediately started with a view of establishing a French Central Authority. On June 3, 1943, the French Committee of National Liberation came into being. It

comprised Generals de Gaulle and Giraud as Presidents, General Catroux, General Georges, MM. Rene Massigli, Jean Monnet, and Andre Philip. General Catroux was appointed Governor-General of Algeria and Commissioner for the Co-ordination of Moslem affairs ; and General Bouscat, who was head of the Giraud Mission to London, was to command French Air Forces in North and West Africa, in place of General Mendigal, who was relieved of his command.

The Committee of National Liberation held its first session the same day. M. Peyrouton and General Nogues resigned their offices, the former on May 31 and the latter on June 5. On June 8 there was published in Algiers the official text of the ordinance, signed jointly by Generals de Gaulle and Giraud on June 3, setting up the National Committee of Liberation and defining its functions. At the same time the composition of the first French Cabinet was announced, having General Charles de Gaulle and General Henry Giraud as its Joint Presidents.

The formation of the Committee of National Liberation provoked widespread enthusiasm. The arrangements accepted before General de Gaulle's departure for Algiers envisaged the formation of the Committee first, and the settlement of outstanding problems afterwards. Among these the organisation of the Army was one of the foremost. The question of Army reform was under discussion during several days, and when a decision was about to be reached, and General de Gaulle was to be appointed Minister of National Defence, General Eisenhower intervened. As he was anxious that the acting Commander-in-Chief, General Giraud, should keep effective and proper control of the French forces in North Africa, General Eisenhower asked General de Gaulle and General Giraud, on June 19, for an assurance that there would be no important change in the French Command in North Africa at the present time. Two days later the following agreement was reached : the *status quo* was maintained, and a Permanent Military Committee was created to co-ordinate and prepare the fusion of the two armies.

On March 18 the French National Committee had received messages from M. Sophie, Maire of Cayenne, announcing the adherence of French Guiana to General de Gaulle, the flight of the Vichy Governor, M. Weber, from the colony, and the appointment of M. Collat, of the "Secretariat General," as acting Governor. The National Committee appointed M. Maurice Bertaux, Chief Colonial Administrator in place of M. Weber. Messages were also sent from the colony to General Giraud, informing him of the break with Vichy. Immediately General Giraud, on his own behalf, appointed Colonel Le Bel as Provisional Governor, in spite of the expressed wish of the colony for a De Gaullist Governor. Colonel Le Bel arrived at Cayenne before M. Bertaux was able to leave Brazzaville. On March 23 M. Rapenne was appointed

Governor of French Guiana, where he arrived on March 26, to take over from Colonel Le Bel.

In regard to military operations, one of the most heartening stories was that of General Leclerc's march from Tchad, in the heart of Africa, across 2,000 miles of mountain and desert. He wrested the whole of the Fezzan from the Italians, reached Tripoli, and joined with General Montgomery's forces. English and French troops entered Gabes on March 31, Sfax on April 10, and occupied Sousse on the 12th, while Americans and the units of the French Army from Algeria took possession of Kairouan.

In the North, the "Corps Franc," formed immediately after the landing, and consisting of about 8,000 volunteers, notable for their bravery in recent battles, and General Giraud's troops, co-operated fully with the English and American armies. On May 7 Tunis and Bizerta fell. Pockets of resistance still remained in the Djebel Zaghouan. It was the F.F.C. who won the honour of eliminating them. The number of prisoners made by the French was 30,000, including four Generals and their staffs.

With the adhesion, on July 7, of Martinique and Gaudeloupe to the French Committee of National Liberation, the entire French Empire, with the exception of Indo-China (which was in Japanese occupation), entered the war on the side of the Allies. The French warships at Martinique (the 22,000 ton aircraft-carrier *Beam* and the light cruisers *Emile Bertier* and *Jeanne d'Arc*), 12 tankers and cargo-ships in the harbour all became available for the United Nations. Moreover, it was reported on July 16, that the 250,000 dollars worth of gold sent to Martinique by the Banque de France prior to the French collapse in 1940 was intact.

In order to obtain equipment and ammunition for the Army under his command, General Giraud, on July 7, paid an official visit to Washington. On July 7 and 8 he had conferences with President Roosevelt, General Marshall, and Admiral Leahy. In a Press interview next day General Giraud declared that an expeditionary force about 300,000 strong would be formed in North Africa, comprising 125,000 French Europeans, 35,000 Senegalese, 50,000 Moroccans, and the rest Algerian and Tunisian troops equipped by the U.S.A. and, if possible, by Great Britain too.

On July 16 General Giraud arrived in Ottawa on a short visit, during which he saw Mr. Mackenzie King. On July 20 he arrived in London as the guest of His Majesty's Government, and on July 21 was received in audience by King George.

On July 24 General Giraud arrived back in Algiers, and on August 1 it was officially announced that the French Committee of National Liberation had taken important decisions for the unification of all the French armed forces, and for the division

of functions between the two co-presidents. These decisions were embodied in two decrees, the first laying it down that

In order to assure more complete unity in the deliberations and actions of the French Committee of National Liberation, the exercise of the Presidency is regulated as follows : General Giraud will preside when all matters concerning national defence are under discussion, and ensure their execution, while General de Gaulle will preside over all discussions of the Committee concerning other matters and general policy, and ensure their execution.

The second decree, concerning the organisation of the French High Command, contained the following articles :—

(1) The Committee of Liberation assumed the general direction of the war, disposing of all land, sea, and air forces ;

(2) General Giraud was appointed C.-in-C. of all French land, sea, and air forces, and while exercising operational duties he will cease to exercise the functions of President of the Committee;

(3) General Giraud, as C.-in-C, was to be responsible, under the direction of the Committee, for the organisation and equipment of the French armed forces and their distribution with the Inter-Allied High Command, on matters concerning operational plans;

(4) A Committee of National Defence was to replace the permanent military Committee comprising General de Gaulle as Chairman, General Giraud as C.-in-C, an Assistant Commissioner of National Defence, and the Chiefs-of-Staff of the French land, air, and sea forces.

On August 27 the Committee of Liberation set up by decree an " Office d'Approvisionnement Francais " charged with securing the necessary foodstuffs for reprovisioning France and with facilitating war operations in general.

Meanwhile, resistance within Metropolitan France was becoming rapidly organised. Monsieur de Menthon, in a statement made on September 7, revealed that the " Conseil de Resistance " set up in March, 1943, in Occupied France consisted of 16 members, 8 being delegates from the different resistance movements, 6 from various political parties, and 2 representatives of the Trade Unions. There were 150,000 to 200,000 militant members of the resistance movement, with their own intelligence service, paramilitary organisation, and underground publications with a circulation of at least 1,200,000 passing from hand to hand. The Council of Resistance sent to Algiers a message which was published on July 27, expressing confidence that the Committee of Liberation could " finish once for all with remaining traces of Vichy," and would uphold the principles embodied in the manifestos of General de Gaulle.

The French Committee of National Liberation, meeting on August 12 in Algiers, decided to set up a Commission de purification (" Purging Commission ") which would take " adequate sanctions " against all persons who, while holding positions of responsibility, had since June 16, 1940, " by their acts or their general personal attitude, favoured the enterprises of the enemy to the injury of the United Nations and the French resisters," acted against

constitutional institutions and fundamental public liberties, or sought to derive material benefit from the application of Vichy regulations.

September, 1943, brought the liberation of Corsica, which had been under Vichy control since 1940. An insurrection began at midnight on September 8, when a Combatant group of the Front Patriotique moved down from the "bush" to Ajaccio, where they seized the town-hall and prefecture, and in all the towns and villages the Vichy officials were turned out and new councillors elected by the people. These, with the police, administered the free parts of the island from September 10 to 14, when the new prefect, M. Luizet, appointed by the Committee of National Liberation, who arrived with the first French troops to land on the island, announced that the laws of the Republic were again to be applied to Corsica, and that the Vichy legislation was abolished.

An important step towards the re-establishment of a parliamentary regime was taken when, on September 12, it was announced in Algiers that a Provisional Consultative Assembly was to be convoked early in November. This Assembly was to comprise 84 members, viz. 40 representing the resistance organisation in Metropolitan France, 20 members of the Senate and Chamber, 12 representing organs of resistance outside France, and 12 representing the Conseils Generaux. The Consultative Assembly would speak for the nation in so far as that was possible in the present circumstances. The first meeting of the Consultative Assembly took place on November 3, under the presidency of Georges Buisson, Secretary of the C.G.T., and one of the representatives of the resistance movement in Occupied France.

The Consultative Assembly held its second meeting on November 7, when discussions took place relating to foreign policy. The first task of the Assembly was, according to Monsieur Gouin, elected president, to create in North Africa a political situation conforming with the desire of the French people, implying the total abolition of Vichy legislation and the restoration of the laws of the Republic. The second task was to press for the reorganisation of the Committee of National Liberation in conformity with the desires of the delegates, and in particular to subordinate the military to the civil authority in conformity with democratic principles.

By decree of November 6, the Committee of National Liberation unanimously adopted resolutions, signed by all its members, including General de Gaulle and General Giraud, providing for modification in its composition so as to allow of the participation of representatives of the chief political parties and of the resistance movements, and the separation of the military command from political authority. This action met demands inside the Consultative Assembly, particularly by members of resistance movements in Metropolitan France.

On November 9 Algiers radio announced that the National Committee of Liberation had been reconstituted as follows :—

GENBBAL DE GAULLE	President.
GENERAL CATROUX	} P Commissioners of State.
M. ANDRE P H I L	
M. HENRI QUEUILLE	
M. RENE MASSIGLI	Foreign Affairs.
M. EMMANUEL D'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE	Home Affairs.
M. FRANJOIS DE MENTHON . . .	Justice.
M. ANDRES LE TROQUER	War and Aviation.
M. LOUIS JACQUINOT	Navy.
M. RENE PLEVEN	Colonies.
M. PIERRE MENDES-FRANCE . . .	Finances.
M. HENRI BONNET	Information.
M. RENE MAYER	Communications and Merchant Marine.
M. HENRI FRESNAY	War Prisoners and Deported.
M. ADRIEN TIXIER	Social Affairs.
M. RENE CAPITANT	Education.
M. ANDRE DIETHELM	Food Supplies and Armaments.

As a result of this reshuffle, representatives of all the political parties and resistance movements were included in the French Committee of National Liberation.

On October 24 the Committee of National Liberation announced that the *Loi-Crdmieux* (abolished by Vichy in 1941) was considered as being in full force, thereby restoring French nationality to some 140,000 Algerian Jews.

Within Metropolitan France the second half of 1943 was marked by a tremendous increase in the spirit of resistance. Never before had the underground organisations been so numerous or so highly developed. Resistance groups which in 1941 were purely local in character had become organised on a more or less military basis with established contacts with London and Algiers. The puppet Government in Vichy no longer made any attempt at governing, its sole concern being to curb the activities of the resistance groups. Damage to crops intended for Germany, sabotage of railways and of plant used by German war industry became daily more numerous. On October 4 patriots were reported to have blown up the Creusot plant transformer station, the Chalons-sur-Saone power station, and the Germelles power station, a very high percentage of the power produced by the station being previously used by German war industry.

From June onwards the Germans met with growing opposition to their plans for the mobilisation of the 1942 and 1943 classes for labour in Germany. It was reported that approximately 200,000 young men were hiding in the "bush," where they had become highly organised and were able to oppose strong resistance to the German troops sent to arrest them. Their formations were scattered all over France; some districts such as Savoy, the Ardennes, and Brittany became famous. Towards the end of 1943

young men from the great towns, Paris, Bordeaux, and Toulouse, had formed bands in the Correze against which the Vichy police was powerless.

The sole-attempt at political activity on the part of the Vichy Government took place in November, when Petain, in a last endeavour to regain popularity with the people of France, went on "strike." This was the result of the intrigues of a number of politicians who, having supported Petain when they believed in a German victory, now began to realise their error, and tried to prepare a return to a mild form of democracy in the hope of retaining a semi-Fascist regime under Petain when France was liberated. In a broadcast timed for November 13, Petain was to announce the recall of the democratic National Assembly of France and to select his successor as Head of the State. The broadcast was banned by the German authorities, and the scheme planned to increase the popularity of Petain failed utterly.

ITALY

By the end of 1942, after the British advance through Tripolitania and the Anglo-American landing in Algeria, the Italian Government had already realised that an invasion of Italy was by no means a remote possibility, and early in 1943 steps were taken to provide against it. Much work was done to improve fortifications and coastal defences. The King inspected the fortifications in Sicily and Prince Umberto those in Sardinia. On January 20 Admiral Falangola was appointed Military Commissioner for the port of Naples, and took over all military and civilian powers in the port area. In April, Sicily and Sardinia were declared operational areas, and the civil population militarised. On January 21 the Chief of the Air Staff went to Germany to discuss the air defence of Italy, and German anti-aircraft units were sent to Northern Italy.

During the same time Mussolini, who on February 1 reaffirmed his determination to adhere unswervingly to Germany, took measures to purge both the Cabinet and the Fascist Party of unreliable elements, which were becoming more and more vocal in their complaints and criticisms. Members were constantly expelled from the Fascist Party for such reasons as profiteering, trafficking with Jews, defeatism, lukewarmness, or mere "unworthiness." On February 5 a reshuffle of the Cabinet took place by which several leading and senior members of the Fascist Party Government lost their posts, including Grandi, Minister of Justice, Bottai, Minister of Education, Host-Venturi, Minister of Communications, Thaon di Revel, Minister of Finance, and Riccardi (Foreign Currency). Their places were taken by public servants of no particular distinction. Count Ciano also left the Foreign Office to become Ambassador to the Vatican, Mussolini

himself again assumed five portfolios, including that of Foreign Affairs.

If war-weariness was spreading in the Fascist Party, the mass of the population were heartily tired both of the war and of the Fascist regime itself, both of which it held to blame for its miseries. Owing, it is true, to the mildness of the winter, the food supply was not so low as had been expected, and was said even to be better than in the previous year. But prices for many standard foodstuffs were extortionate, partly on account of Government mismanagement, partly of the disorganisation of transport caused by the frequent air raids. These also rendered more acute both the problems of evacuation and compensation for damage and the nerve strain on the people. Popular discontent with the regime found expression in mass strikes of the workers of Milan and Turin on March 6—an unheard-of event in the annals of Fascist Italy; nor were the strikes called off till the demands of the strikers for higher wages and better conditions had been granted.

The arrival of spring, along with news of German successes in the Ukraine and in the submarine war, brought a certain revival to the spirits of the Italian people, but they were soon again plunged into the depths of depression by the Axis defeat in Tunisia, which cost Italy about 200,000 men. This was soon followed by the loss of the island of Pantelleria, between Sicily and Tunis, with the loss of 15,000 men. Italian losses by sea had also been heavy in conveying troops and supplies to Tunisia. With the threat of invasion drawing every day nearer, the military leaders had to admit that the country was in little position to meet it. In a debate in the Senate, Admiral Riccardi, Under-Secretary of State for the Navy, declared that the Navy was unable to fulfil its task of defending the coasts, and was even finding difficulty in maintaining sea communications with the twenty Italian divisions stationed in the Balkans. General Fougier, Under-Secretary of State for Air, spoke with similar pessimism of the Air Force, which he said had lost 18,500 men in Africa. And on May 24 Prince Umberto made a speech in which he said that Italy was short of military equipment and was unable to supply it from her own resources.

Mussolini tried to stem the growing disaffection by tightening up discipline within the Fascist Party, a task in which he was ably assisted by the new Secretary-General, Scorza, one of the most ruthless members of the Old Guard of Fascism. None the less large-scale strikes again took place in the armament factories of Milan and Turin at the end of May, and twenty aircraft were destroyed by saboteurs on the aerodrome at Padua. On June 14 Mussolini himself, in a speech to the Directorate of the Fascist Party, painted the situation in the blackest colours, though he still maintained that Italy had no alternative but to fight on.

On July 10 the threatened invasion became a reality with the

landing of British and American troops on the south-east corner of Sicily. The Italian reaction revealed the complete rottenness of the Fascist regime. The mass of the population, both civilian and military, practically disclaimed responsibility for the defence of their country, leaving the task to the German forces, of which there were now a large number in the country. Italian troops in Sicily surrendered at the first opportunity, while the civilian population, after a brief hesitation, welcomed the invaders as liberators. The Italian Fleet also remained entirely passive.

Mussolini had an interview with Hitler at Feltre on July 19, and again at Verona on July 24. On the same evening he met the Fascist Grand Council and informed them that he had little prospect of obtaining adequate help from Germany. This brought matters to a head between him and his opponents. After a long and acrimonious debate, a resolution was proposed by Grandi calling on Mussolini to ask the King to resume his command of the armed forces. This was carried by 19 votes to 7, Grandi being supported by several of Mussolini's oldest colleagues—De Bono, De Vecchi, and Federzoni—while Scorza and Farinacci remained loyal to the Duce. When Mussolini went to see the King on the next morning he was informed that Marshal Badoglio had been appointed to succeed him as Head of the Government, and on leaving the Palace he was placed under arrest.

One of Badoglio's first steps was to take soundings secretly in neutral countries about the possibility of an armistice. He was afraid to do so openly, not being yet certain whether the Germans or the Allies would first arrive in Rome ; and he therefore in his first proclamation announced : " The war continues." His caution was justified, as the Germans managed to seize the airfields near Rome before the Allies could get their blow in. Internally he used his dictatorial powers to dissolve the Fascist Party, a step which was received by the people at large with every sign of joy and relief. His avowed determination to continue the war created some resentment among the workers, but he pacified them to some extent by releasing political prisoners and reducing the working week in armaments factories from 84 to 48 hours.

In the middle of August an Italian General, bearing letters of credence from Marshal Badoglio, went to Lisbon, and there got in touch with representatives of General Eisenhower through the medium of the British Minister in Lisbon. After some negotiation terms of armistice were agreed upon, but it was arranged that they should not be announced until the Allies had obtained a footing on the Italian mainland. To do this took them rather longer than they had anticipated, owing to the stiff resistance put up by the Germans round Mount Etna. It was not till September 3 that they crossed the Straits of Messina to Reggio, having in the meanwhile repeatedly bombed Naples, and also the neighbourhood of Rome on August 10. Meanwhile, too, the

Germans under Kesselring had occupied Rome and disarmed the Italian troops there, while Rommel had done the same in the principal cities in Northern Italy.

On September 8 an Allied expedition landed at Salerno in the Bay of Naples, and this was the day chosen by General Eisenhower for the coming into force of the armistice, the terms of which, however, were not published till the 13th. They provided for the immediate cessation of all hostile activity by Italian armed forces and the denial to the Germans of facilities which might be used against the United Nations ; for the immediate transfer of the Italian Fleet and Italian aircraft to such points as might be designated by the Allied Commander-in-Chief; the immediate surrender of Corsica and all Italian territory for use as operational bases ; a guarantee of free use by the Allies of airfields and naval ports in Italian territory, regardless of the rate of evacuation by German forces ; and the immediate withdrawal to Italy of Italian armed forces from whatever area they might be engaged in.

These terms were faithfully carried out so far as circumstances permitted. The large squadron of the Fleet stationed at Spezia sailed to Malta, braving an attack from German aircraft in which one battleship was sunk ; several Italian light vessels took refuge in the Spanish port of Palma, where they were interned. Italian hostility against the Allies ceased entirely ; on the other hand, the Italian troops in Northern Italy, in Rhodes, and in other places allowed themselves to be disarmed by the Germans with very little resistance. Marshal Badoglio and the King made their escape to the part of Italy in Allied occupation, and were allowed to set up their seat of government there. On October 11 they formally declared war on Germany.

On September 12 it was announced by German wireless that Mussolini had been rescued by German parachute troops from the hotel in the Abruzzi where he had been confined. On September 15 he broadcast a message announcing the formation of a new Republican Fascist Party, which he called upon all Italians to join. The response was very slight. On the other hand, the anti-Fascist parties began to organise themselves both in the German-occupied and the British-occupied parts of Italy. In the former, of course, they had to work underground, but in the latter also they obtained little encouragement from the military authorities, who looked with suspicion on all political activity, and continued to employ large numbers of former Fascist functionaries in the civil administration. Under the leadership of the well-known Liberals, Count Sforza and Benedetto Croce, a strong popular demand was raised for the abdication of King Victor Emmanuel, but he refused to take any notice of it, and he continued to be recognised by the British authorities, who, before the end of the year, handed over certain districts to the full control of the Badoglio Government.

After their landing at Salerno, the Allies soon obtained possession of Naples and Capua, and of the whole of Italy south of a line running from those points to Foggia on the Adriatic. By that time the Germans, in spite of Allied bombing and Italian sabotage of communications, had formed strong defensive positions in their path, and in spite of heavy fighting their subsequent progress was so slow that by the end of the year they had advanced only a few miles nearer to Rome [*vide* English History]. The Germans, in their retirement, devastated the country through which they passed, and though the British brought what relief they could, Sicily and Southern Italy were still suffering acutely from food shortage at the end of the year; Naples, also, was visited by an epidemic of typhus, owing to the destruction by the Germans of the water supply. Before leaving Naples, also, they burnt down the great University library, with all its books. On the whole, however, cultural and ancient monuments in Sicily and Southern Italy were found to have suffered less than had been feared.

CHAPTER III

GERMANY

FOB Germany 1943 was a black year. In the field she suffered unparalleled defeats, beginning with the disaster at Stalingrad, and at home conditions of life for the civil population deteriorated badly. German armies were driven from Africa with shattering losses; German towns were laid in ruins by attacks from the air; the German people were thrown into deep apathy. [For details of military events, see in this volume under English History and the U.S.S.R. respectively.] What continued unchanged was Nazi impudence, which showed itself at its worst in German propaganda.

Propaganda,—To state briefly the cross currents and subterfuges of Nazi propaganda during 1943 is more difficult than ever before. It was so tortuous.

The Russian campaign leading up to the disaster of Stalingrad found the powers that be in Germany unprepared. In January, 1943, a marked break could be noted in German propaganda; while military quarters talked of "easier conditions than in the previous winter," the Ministry of Propaganda took a pessimistic line, and Dr. Goebbels adopted a sad and melancholic outlook.

By the middle of January military quarters could no longer hide the seriousness of the situation. The imminent catastrophe of Stalingrad necessitated the preparation of the German people for a severe shock. The capitulation itself gave Dr. Goebbels the inspiration for a gigantic show. While the last remnants of

Germans were fighting on amidst the ruins of a factory in Stalingrad, relatives of soldiers were brought to the microphone to broadcast to their sons or husbands, who might long since have perished. Two days later the end of the 6th Army was announced, and public mourning was ordered for three days. Lies, legends, and cheap pomposity and bad taste covered up a military catastrophe unparalleled since the defeat of the Prussian Army in 1806. Promises, too, were showered in abundance; Field-Marshal Goering said that a German offensive would soon make good the losses sustained in Russia—and so Stalingrad was dismissed by German propaganda.

The second great catastrophe of 1943, the surrender of the German Africa Army in Tunisia, found the German people even less prepared than for the Stalingrad disaster. Nazi propaganda, by holding out false promises, had only itself to blame. When the news from Africa could no longer be kept back, its effect on the German public was shattering. Nazi propaganda profited by this experience when the Allied invasion of Sicily drew near. The German News Service from the middle of June onwards circulated alleged dates for the invasion. These dates were changed four times, but the real date was not given, and even the day before the attack on Sicily foreign correspondents in Berlin were officially informed that there were no signs of the attack. The afternoon after the landing, the German News Service announced the "expected" onslaught.

Before the attack on Sicily, every item of propaganda stressed the importance of Sicily as one of the strongest positions in the defence of Europe; ten days after the initial action the island was called an "unfortified outpost" of Europe, and a few days later it was described as "African" rather than European!

Early in July, Germany began to prepare for Italy's breakdown. A new "stab in the back" legend was put about, indicating that the reverses of the last twelve months were due to the inefficiency and lack of co-operation on the part of the Italians; by the end of the year this legend had assumed such proportions that Hitler had the temerity to say in his New Year's proclamation that Stalingrad had been due to the fall of Mussolini.

This event, certainly not unexpected by the Nazi leaders, threw the German propaganda machine into utter confusion. When the dissolution of the Fascist Party had already been proclaimed, Berlin maintained that nothing but a "change of government" had taken place, and that no alteration would occur in German-Italian relations. The repercussions of the overthrow of Fascism, however, made it necessary, after a few weeks, to find a new line of propaganda. Neutral correspondents reported that Mussolini's fall was the most discussed topic at that time in Germany. As the Fascist regime had been hailed as being as firmly established as a rock, something had to be done to

obliterate the bad impression created by the sudden and silent disappearance of the Duce.

The day after the Italian armistice, Hitler asserted in a broadcast that for a long time he had been fully aware of what was going on in Italy, and that the overthrow of Fascism was the work of a clique of traitors and conspirators. Thus the propaganda put out between Badoglio's entering office and the armistice was refuted.

The second propaganda move was Mussolini's liberation. Military considerations may have played a part in this, but first and foremost it was carried out for internal propaganda purposes. Its aim was to demonstrate the power of Germany and the faked survival of Fascist Italy. A temporary success may have been scored, but the shadow existence of Mussolini held less and less interest for the great body of Germans, who had become anxious and doubtful about the result of the war.

The main topic of home propaganda at the beginning of the year was "smart people," and later on, air raids and reprisals. Throughout the year the Nazi "bosses" thundered against grumblers, defeatists and doubters. The "smart people" were attacked at the time of total mobilisation, which was in itself part of the propaganda designed to divert public attention from the Stalingrad catastrophe. The "smart people," whom Dr. Goebbels estimated at "a few hundred," were given much prominence, and their luxurious life and their dodging of war work were denounced, probably to cover the extremely luxurious life of the Nazi leaders. This propaganda, which appealed to the lowest instincts of envy, did not appear to meet with much success.

From the Spring onward British, and later British and American, air raids provided sufficient material for Nazi propagandists. All false and deliberately misleading statements can be dismissed; noteworthy only was the talk about reprisals. It started in May, slowed down in the Summer, and went into full swing again in the Autumn. The result was obviously not too good, for people asked awkward questions after some time as to when the promised reprisals would take place.

It goes without saying that German propaganda pretended throughout the year that final victory was assured. But Hitler himself undid all the propaganda work of the year by his speech on the anniversary of his abortive beer cellar *Putsch* of November 8, 1923. He, too, dealt with the "few hundreds" who responded to enemy propaganda by spreading defeatism. The length at which he treated this subject gave good reason for assuming that their number must have been larger than the Nazis were prepared to admit. Two sentences from this speech revealed the Fuhrer at his best. He said that if the German people were to break down, he would not shed one tear. The boasted unity of Fuhrer and people could not have been refuted by hostile propaganda in

a more efficient way. Secondly, Hitler denied rumours about dissensions between Nazi leaders and Army commanders. He spoke at some length on this topic, and in dismissing it he said : " Everything is possible in Germany "—leaving it to the German people to fathom the meaning of this cryptic sentence.

Certainly, everything is possible in Germany, for it has always been a country full of surprises. The Nazis feel their doom approaching. Hitler's mock thunder could not conceal this feeling. Even more revealing was the remark of the Governor of Holland, the Austrian Seiss-Inquart, who on the same day confessed : " It does not matter in the least what happens when we are no more."

The Home Front,—News of the general discontent in Germany gradually leaked out. At the beginning of 1943 it became known that mass arrests had been made by the Gestapo of people who might play a leading part after the defeat and breakdown of the Nazi regime. In March two members of the Foreign Office were executed ; in the same month a revolt at the University of Munich was crushed, the principal victims being Professor Huber, the first professor under the Nazi regime to take up definite opposition, and a student named Hans Scholl. In September another high civil servant was executed in Mecklenburg. The reports about the deterioration of public morale, growing anxiety and apathy during the year were numerous. The Allied air offensive and its consequences—evacuation to order ; obstacles to voluntary evacuation ; crowding of reception areas which extended from Alsace to Poland, and from Norway to the southern edge of Austria ; excessive red-tape in connection with compensation for air-raid damage ; separation of families through evacuation—all these produced bitterness and depression which, in the long run, must have fatal results.

Economic Life.—An idea of everyday economic life in Germany may be obtained from the fact that empty shop windows presented a problem to the authorities. " General rules for the make-up of shop windows of closed retail shops " were laid down, forbidding the putting up of padlocked shutters. Instead, dummies and pictures were to be displayed in the windows. In Wurttemberg, however, shops not affected by the closing down order exhibited articles in their windows which were not for sale. The authorities countered this move by cancelling tariff duties on goods imported from Occupied countries by private travellers. This, of course, did not alter conditions for the general public, and the black market prices indicated the shortage of some commodities. According to an announcement by the Police President of Saarbrücken, 250 marks were paid for 2 pounds of coffee. A Swiss journalist reported from Vienna that 50 pfennig were given for one cigarette, the ration being four cigarettes per day. He was told by a workman that he, the workman, had

invested 250 marks in a goose. These may be taken as evidence of the growing inflation-like conditions which found further support, strangely enough, in the ever-rising prices for art treasures. Bombed-out people in towns in Western Germany invested their first payment of compensation in pictures and sculptures of the shoddiest quality ; the tendency became so widespread that an official warning was issued to put a stop to this kind of investment.

In May the population was surprised by the announcement of a cut in the meat ration from 350 to 250 grammes per week. At the same time the bread ration was raised by 75 grammes and the fat ration by 12½ grammes. In September the bread ration was further augmented by 100 grammes. The official announcement stressed the fact that after this rise consumers would be receiving 100 grammes more than in the first year of the war. But what was not mentioned was that the meat ration was half of what it was at the beginning of the war, and the fat ration 50 grammes below the level of September, 1939.

Before Christmas it was announced that 500 grammes of wheat flour, 250 grammes of sugar, 125 grammes of butter, 125 grammes of sweets or 100 grammes of sugar, and 50 grammes of coffee were to be shared among the adult population, and 250 grammes of sweets or 200 grammes of sugar among the children. Half a bottle of brandy was promised too ; in 1942, however, this promise was not kept.

Meat, fats, and potatoes were the weakest points of German food supply. At the end of 1942 it became evident that difficulties had arisen in the supply of potatoes, though official German figures indicated that the potato crop was 10 million tons higher than the year before. In April the weekly ration was cut down from 9 to 7 pounds.

In the Spring of 1943 it was announced that sugar beet would be used in increasing quantities for pig feeding, since the potato stocks did not cover the requirements of pig farming. From the Autumn of 1942 onwards farmers were warned that the drop to 60 per cent, of pre-war pig stocks must be replenished. In 1943, however, extraordinary slaughtering was ordered because the potato crisis made it necessary to reduce the number of pigs. In October, 1943, it was admitted that the pork supply had been diminished to such an extent that an additional slaughter of cattle became necessary.

The potato crisis produced another result. In December, 1943, it was announced that from the beginning of the new year chocolate production would cease altogether. The official reason given was the need to save sugar for manufacturing artificial honey; in reality, sugar beet was being saved as fodder, and for the same reason it was no longer being used for distilling.

Clothing conditions deteriorated in 1943. At the beginning of the year a new set of clothing coupons was distributed, but for the coupons to be valid for men's suits, an additional permit was needed. People possessing two or more suits had no chance of getting this permit, and it was left to the discretion of local authorities as to whether the owner of less than two suits was really in need of a new one. Older men without employment were considered to be well fitted -out if they had only one suit. In March the Reich Clothing Office was given the power to declare clothing factories and tailoring establishments to be repair shops ; the effect of this ordinance was that these firms were forbidden to produce new clothing. On August 1 clothing coupons were suspended until further notice for everyone except children, and it was only in November that one pair of socks or stockings per person was allowed. Repair work was extended to shirts, ladies' wear, and similar articles, but apparently the schemes operated unsatisfactorily. In June, as in previous years, a clothing collection " was carried out," and for the first time it included footwear.

The housing problem became more acute in 1943. The lodging of evacuees from bombed areas coupled with the standstill in the building trade resulted in restrictions for the owners of houses and flats. A score or so of towns were barred to newcomers, mainly in Saxony, Silesia, and the Rhine-Ruhr district, in addition to Berlin, Vienna, and Berchtesgaden.

The necessities of life were reduced to the bare minimum ; small wonder that bookselling was circumscribed. The exception was the occupied " Warthegau " of West Poland, where books were sold on clothing coupons, the sale being limited to two books every three months. Publishers of novels and poetry divided bookshops into various categories according to their previous turnover. Every bookseller, whether he wanted them or not, received a certain number of newly published books. Orders were no longer accepted. Not more than 5,000 copies of a novel might be printed, though books on political propaganda exceeded this to the extent of 30,000 to 40,000 copies. This indicated that the paper shortage was not the reason for the new arrangements, the more so as " important works of living writers " were said to be printed at the rate of 50,000 to 100,000 copies. More than half of the German publishing houses had to close down ; no doubt the executioner's axe killed all those firms regarded as " not entirely reliable." The Nazis' campaign was not confined to living authors. The public was told bluntly " books which owing to their subject-matter or for other reasons cannot claim the interest of present-day readers" are to be handed over for salvage. Hitherto undesirable books were forbidden or confiscated ; in 1943 they were sent to the paper mills.

Another heavy cut was made in newspapers and periodicals. The popular film weeklies disappeared as well as all fashion **and**

society journals, and many of the daily papers, which were not originally Nazi, and such highly respected economic and financial papers as *Die Bank*, *Der deutsche Volkswirt*, and *Der Wirtschaftsdienst*. Of the 2,500 periodicals left over from the original 4,000, 800 have had to cease publication. Party papers were not affected; Himmler, Speer and Backe were able to start three new periodicals for their respective purposes.

Labour.—On January 27 civil conscription was promulgated to include women between 17 and 45, and men between 16 and 65. Goebbels called this "the signal for total war," which was rendered necessary owing to the setbacks in Russia and North Africa; armament workers were needed at the front to make good the heavy losses, and their places had to be filled by civilian conscripts. As a matter of fact, this civil mobilisation was not entirely new, for in 1938 and 1939 proclamations for the same purpose had been published. Their effect was limited; the results of the much advertised "total mobilisation" of 1943 were no different. From the outset state officials, medical men, people employed in agriculture, certain categories of women, and all retail traders employing more than five persons were exempt from the order. For the rest, compulsory registration was introduced, not compulsory work. It soon became obvious that total mobilisation was aimed mainly at the middle class. Decrees were issued for the closing down of wholesale and retail trade, craftsmen's workshops, catering and entertainment establishments, banking and insurance firms. After two months some of the results of the new drive became known. In the Austrian district of Carinthia 1,100 men and 2,700 women registered by the middle of March for full-time work, 500 men and 3,600 women for part-time work. The head of the Hamburg Labour Exchange announced at the same time that the results of the registration of women between 17 and 30, and of men between 16 and 50 was as poor "as was to be expected." Reports from Berlin showed that only 50 per cent, of those who had registered were able to work in armament factories, and that women again and again wanted to do clerical work.

Even before all the women had registered there was no concealing the fact that, as far as women were concerned, the proposal had been a failure.

At the end of May it was reported that the catering industry had lost only 4 to 5 per cent, of its total personnel. Furthermore, the British air offensive hampered total mobilisation in several places. In Essen and Stettin registration cards were destroyed. Shops in evacuation centres which had previously been closed had to be re-opened owing to the increase in the population. On July 21 a sort of final balance sheet was issued, but no figures were published. As the middle class was comforted by the statement that their "heavy sacrifices" had been most

helpful, it may be assumed that the losses of this class were indeed grave.

The deadlock in labour supply was therefore not overcome by "total mobilisation." In November a new post was created by Herr Speer, that of "Reichsarbeitsinsatzingenieur" (Reich Labour Supply Engineer). He, in addition to the leader of the Labour Front, Herr Ley, and the dictator on the Labour Market, Herr Sauckel, was given the task of overcoming the shortage of manpower in war industry.

This problem was tackled mainly by increasing the forced labour from subjugated countries. At the beginning of 1943 the number of prisoners-of-war and deported workers in Germany was estimated at 5 to 6 millions; another 2 millions were aimed at during 1943. The means of acquiring this labour army were called by the Nazified Brussels paper *Le Soir* "real slave trade" methods, and it was said that the treatment the victims received in Germany was simply that of slaves. The appalling conditions were described by the Soviet Government in a note of protest in May, 1943.

The Catholic Church.—Nazi policy towards the Churches did not change in 1943. Persecution, though less visible than before, continued with the seizure of many more convents, particularly in Austria and Alsace. A pastoral letter, dated August 19, and emanating from the Fulda Conference of German Bishops, did not reveal any new acts of oppression, but it was couched in a vigorous style such as has never before been used by that assembly when addressing the authorities of the Third Reich. For the first time the Bishops protested against the suppression of the Roman Catholic Church in subjugated countries; they stated openly that the Roman Catholic Church in Western Poland had almost ceased to exist. Most significant was the Bishops' admonition to all those who no longer think of God or of His laws, who "in place of love have set hate, in place of justice have set force, in place of morality have set selfish interests." The condemnation of the Nazi creed was now outspoken.

Law and Legislations.—The Minister of Justice, Herr Thierack, and his Secretary of State, Herr Rothenberger, both appointed in 1942, set to work drafting and advertising schemes for the complete overhauling of the legal organisation of the country. The reforms were intended to do away with 10,000 out of 14,000 judges. However, only a small part of the published programme was carried out. A considerable number of parochial courts were closed for the duration, and the procedure of civil courts restricted to matters of war priority.

The "People's Civil Code" Committee published the "basic rules" for Civil Law, for the most part a collection of commonplaces, proverbs and Nazi-bred phrases. Some drastic changes were made in the existing civil and criminal codes, which for the

time being will probably widen the gulf between the civilised world and that lawless community into which Germany had been turned by the Nazis. Jews were removed from all legal provisions ; they lost the right to make a last will and testament, for on their death their property will be taken over by the State. Jews were also outside the rules of criminal procedure ; Jewish criminal acts are to be dealt with by the police, *i.e.* the Gestapo.

An important amendment was made in the divorce law. It was stated that widows of soldiers killed in the war often did not behave in accordance with their obligations as widows of " Greater German heroes." Where this occurred the family of the dead man may apply to deprive the widow of her married name and status. She must then assume her maiden name, and so lose any rights to a pension and, most important, any claim to her children. This unique measure was meant to bring pressure to bear on soldiers' widows to undertake war work ; refusal might be interpreted as an attitude " hostile to the State " and oblige the dead husband's family to enforce the new law, in which case the S.S. would get hold of the children, who would then be reared in the Nazi way of life.

An amendment to the Penal Code pointed in the same direction. Parents, particularly mothers, who opposed the evacuation of their children to different places were threatened with penal servitude, and sentences were actually enforced immediately after the promulgation of this provision.

The juvenile penal code was also revised. The main points were that prison terms might vary from 3 months to 10 years, or " unlimited punishment " might be imposed. Appeal is strictly limited. A youth who, while serving a sentence against which he cannot appeal, proved that he was " incorrigible," was to be handed over to the police and sent to a " Police Camp for the protection of youth," *i.e.* a concentration camp for juveniles.

A neutral source estimated that death sentences in Germany averaged ten a day, not counting executions in concentration camps, prisons and murder proper.

Foreign Policy.—The field of German foreign policy narrowed during 1943 by the collapse of Italy ; foreign policy was confined to Japan, Argentina, and the five neutral States of Europe. For the rest it was either propaganda or domination.

Propaganda still concentrated on Germany's leadership of Europe, but with less conviction. In March it was hinted that a " European Charter " as a counterblast to the Atlantic Charter was to be proclaimed, to concede equality to all European nations. Yet, this charter was not published, and there was no change in the German claims. Sometimes these even took on grotesque forms, as when the Nazi Party group in Stockholm sent out a

circular to Swedish citizens bagging for contributions to support Germany's fight for the future of Europe.

In the winter of 1941-42, after the first serious reverses in Russia, Nazi propaganda threw the limelight on Japanese successes, saying that these entirely compensated for the limited German setbacks. This consolation was lacking in 1943, and consequently Japan played a small role in the German Press and broadcasts. Occasionally, as on the anniversary of the defunct Three Power Pact, the close military co-operation was emphasised, though it was never stated how this was achieved. In his broadcast after the Italian armistice, Hitler did not even mention Japan. It may be assumed that Japan did not play any part worth mentioning in the German people's mind. On the other hand, it is significant that in a spy trial which took place in Tokyo a former Tokyo correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was one of several defendants. As this man was certainly not an agent of the United Nations, the trial which resulted in the passing of death sentences, threw a strange light on German-Japanese relations.

Neutral countries reacted towards Germany's defeats by voicing more and more open criticism of Germany, and by expressing confidence in an Allied victory. This particularly applied to Turkey and Switzerland. A significant incident occurred in Lisbon in February. An official of the German Legation had received permission from the Portuguese authorities to export two young pigs when he left for Germany on holiday. The Portuguese customs official, however, discovered three pigs instead of two. Asked to surrender the third pig, the German spat in the face of the Portuguese official, who immediately drew his revolver and shot the German dead. The Nazis made no protest to the Portuguese Government about the incident. Even more remarkable was that when the local Nazi paper was suppressed by the Government of the principality of Liechtenstein, the fact was not even mentioned in the German Press, and no retaliation was attempted against this defenceless miniature State.

Of particular interest was the change in Swedish-German relations. Since Germany's invasion of Norway, Sweden had been careful not to annoy Germany, and had succumbed to her demands, as, for instance, allowing the passage of military trains to Norway. This cautious attitude was entirely changed in 1943, and the Swedish public were greatly incensed by German sinking of a Swedish submarine and of several other naval vessels, and by the wanton destruction of a Swedish civil aircraft. The Government voiced Swedish public opinion and cancelled the agreement of 1940 in connection with military transport. This, the severest blow delivered by a neutral State to Germany during the war, was commented on with restraint in the German Press,

though other opportunities to denounce Sweden were not missed. These included the reception given by Sweden to the victims of German persecution who escaped from Denmark, and the Swedish Government's protests against the barbarities committed at Oslo University.

Hitler's vassal States may be divided into two groups : the entirely subservient States—Rumania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, and Croatia, the Governments of which depend on the Nazi Reich to such an extent that its downfall would seal their fate ; and the more independent satellites of Hungary and Finland. The former here and there obtained some small concessions from Germany, but in the main they are bound to obey the orders of Hitler and his commissioners. To control this group even more closely than before, Germany, in the autumn, launched the project of a Balkan Federation, but as the prospective members made it clear that they had no inclination to enter into a permanent union with a defeated Germany, the scheme was stillborn. As for Hungary and Finland, throughout the year both countries showed that their one pre-occupation was to rid themselves of the German incubus. Finland, indeed, when the year closed, was actually considering the possibility of peace terms.

The Occupied Territories.—The policy of brutal oppression towards the nations of Occupied Europe underwent little change during 1943. In some cases methods became even more barbarous than in previous years as a result of growing resistance, notably in Western Europe and Denmark. Details will be found in this volume under the various countries of German occupation; these are supplemented here by several special illustrations.

The " Germanisation " of territories claimed to be racially integral parts of the Reich continued. " Labour and Education Camps " were opened inside Germany proper for Czech children between the ages of 11 and 14. Since the Secretary of State to the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, K. H. Frank, had declared that Czech youth would never be " faithful workers of the Reich " as long as they grew up under the influence of Czech patriotism, it was obvious that deporting the children to these camps meant imbuing them with the spirit of Nazi education. In Luxemburg, Alsace, and the Departments of Moselle, Vosges, and Meurthe-et-Moselle wholesale deportation of " politically unreliable " families was carried out; thus from the little town of Altkirch in Upper Alsace no less than 1,800 people were deported. To some extent the threat uttered by the local leader of the Labour Front in Mulhouse has become true : should the Germans ever be forced to leave Alsace, the Alsatians would already have left. In Poland, likewise, increased efforts were made to consolidate the German hold there. An appeal was launched to farmers in Slesvig-Holstein to deliver cattle " voluntarily "

for the equipment of farms in Poland for German settlers ; in Eastern Holstein alone the farmers were expected to deliver 600 bulls. On the other hand, the hardest measures were meted out to the Poles. The Nazi Gauleiter of Polish Silesia declared it to be a " matter of honour " to do away mercilessly with all Poles criminally inclined. According to him it is a crime for Poles to marry early, and so he forbade Polish men under 25 and Polish women under 22 to marry. In other German occupied districts of Poland the last semblance of civilization disappeared. The entire population was cleared from eight districts of the Province of Lublin; the greater part was killed on the spot, the rest deported.

Austria, the first country occupied by the Nazis, provided her oppressors with difficult tasks in 1943. Everywhere it was evident that the Austrians had become sick of the war. Austrian soldiers of the German Army in Northern Finland were the first to be sent to the newly opened concentration camp in Kirkenes (Northern Norway). The Commander of the 297th (Vienna) Infantry Division stated after his capture at Stalingrad that most of his men had made for the Russian front several days before.

The attitude of the Austrian population in general was no less anti-German. It would perhaps be an exaggeration to assume that there was a determined or well-organised opposition, but everything indicated that there was widespread aversion to German institutions and policy. Sabotage in agriculture was a prominent feature in Austria during 1943 ; Nazi officials' unceasing appeals to farmers and rural mayors revealed the futility of their efforts to deal with this kind of sabotage. Next came the opposition shown by industrial workers, who suffered heavy losses at the hands of the execution squads. At the beginning of May big strikes and riots occurred in St. Poelten, which became so serious that Himmler's personal intervention was needed.

Austria became Germany's main air-raid shelter. Many well-to-do people evacuated their families from Germany to Austria even before the wholesale and official evacuations took place from the Ruhr and Rhine to the Alpine districts. Consequently Austria suffered from a shortage of houses and a worsening of the food situation. The population of Austria in April, 1943, was estimated at 10 millions, compared with 7 millions in 1938; the pressure of population and the arrogant and overbearing attitude of the unwanted guests resulted in producing a deep hatred of the Germans.

Personalia.—The most important change in personnel in Germany in 1943 was Himmler's appointment as Reich Minister of the Interior in place of Dr. Frick, who had held that office since the Nazis first came to power. Himmler, who although

previously subordinate to Frick, had been a very powerful figure in Germany from 1933 onwards ; after the influence of the storm troopers (S.A.) was virtually crushed on June 30, 1934, he had to an ever-increasing extent held a dominating position as Germany's first policeman. Leader of the S.S., Supreme Chief of Police, including the Gestapo, special Commissioner for German settlement in annexed territories, all Himmler lacked was the title of Minister of the Interior.

Next in importance to Himmler's appointment was that of Ernst Kaltenbrunner as Head of the Gestapo ; he was selected on January 30, 1943, to fill the gap caused by Heydrich's death. Kaltenbrunner is an Austrian by birth. A Nazi since the middle 'twenties, he was involved in all the illegal activities of the Austrian Nazis and was Police Chief of Austria since Hitler's occupation. Responsible for all the atrocities committed in Austria, Kaltenbrunner disposed of all the prerequisites needed for the Head of the Gestapo.

On September 3 armament production was reorganised. Full power was given to the Minister of Armaments and Ammunition, Herr Speer, Hitler's personal architect, who was put in charge of all war production. This appointment meant the virtual end of the Reich Minister of Economics, Herr Funk, who had for some time yielded ground piecemeal to Speer. Speer reorganised and extended his Ministry within two months to such an extent that even some of the few tasks left to Funk's Ministry of Economics seemed to be swallowed up by Speer. Six central departments, with hosts of special commissions and three departments for co-ordination, indicated that a state of over-organisation had been attained which was not far distant from disorganisation.

In the military sphere the most important event of 1943 was the transfer of Field-Marshal Rommel to the European theatre of war. This Nazi war-lord, despite his defeats in North Africa, was given more publicity than any other general. After his retirement from Africa, at the end of 1943 he reappeared as supreme commander of all the German forces in the West, North-West and Northern Europe.

In January there was also a change in the naval supreme command which passed from Admiral Raeder to Admiral Doenitz. The former recalling the unfulfilled expectations of the U-boat warfare in the first World War was not likely to be enthusiastic about again building hopes on this naval weapon. But Doenitz was a submarine specialist and therefore encouraged Hitler's expectations. By the end of the year there was no hopeful harvest to reap from these activities.

CHAPTER IV

SOVIET UNION—THE BALTIC STATES—POLAND—CZECHOSLOVAKIA—
HUNGARY—ROMANIA—YUGOSLAVIA — TURKEY — GREECE—
BULGARIA—ALBANIA

THE SOVIET UNION

NINETEEN FORTY-THREE was a significant year in the development of the war on the Russian Front. It was also during this period that the Soviet Union made progress in establishing the closest contact with the British Commonwealth and Empire, the United States, and Czechoslovakia.

In the internal life of the Union powerful processes of reconstruction and consolidation began during 1943 ; the Union gave much attention to the affairs of the Russian Nation and removed the seat of the Communist International from Moscow. It was even decided that the famous Communist Anthem, the Internationale, should cease to be the National Anthem of the Soviet Union. Significant changes were introduced into the Soviet Army ; an important educational reform was inaugurated ; and the Patriarchate was re-established, giving the Orthodox Church of Russia more freedom in its development. On March 7 Comrade Stalin became Marshal Stalin

The War.—In the January review of the position on the Russian Front the Russian High Command estimated that out of the 240 Axis divisions in Russia, 59 were described as " routed," including the 22 surrounded to the west of Stalingrad. Of those 59 divisions 16 were Rumanian and 8 Italian.

By January 18 Soviet troops had smashed the German ring round Leningrad by the capture of Schluesselburg and two other forts, and raised the siege of that city. The advance on the Don Front continued rapidly, eliminating all chances of relieving the surrounded German Army, and considerable advances on the Caucasian Front liberated most of the Caucasian larger cities, including Cherkessk, the capital of Kuban.

On January 25 the Germans announced that the Soviet Armies had smashed the German positions south-west of Stalingrad. Actually, on January 30, the whole German Army surrounded west of Stalingrad was either taken prisoner or wiped out—a force of some 330,000 men. Their Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal von Paulus, and 15 other generals, including 5 Rumanians, were taken prisoner. The war material captured included 744 aircraft, 1,517 tanks, and 6,523 guns.

After Stalingrad, victories followed in quick succession, with captures of towns, large numbers of prisoners, and masses of war material. The most important of the triumphs were at Salsk (Jan. 22), Voronezh (Jan. 25), Novy Oskol and Kropotkin (Jan. 29),

Tikhoretsk (Jan. 30), and Kupiansk (Feb. 3). On February 8 the Soviet Armies took Kursk ; Rostov fell on February 14, and Kharkov on the 16th. The advance continued until the thaw set in and made movements of troops and supplies almost impossible. Rzhev was taken on March 3, Viasma on the 12th. The Soviet Armies also moved west of Kharkov and came very near to Dnepropetrovsk. By March 9 the Germans had concentrated strong forces in the Kharkov area. On March 15 the Red Army was compelled to evacuate Kharkov. By the beginning of April the winter campaign was more or less over, and, giving an estimate* of German losses, the Soviet Information Bureau stated that between November 10 and March 31 the Soviet Armies liberated 480,000 square kilometres of territory, captured 1,490 planes, 4,670 tanks, 15,860 guns, 9,835 mortars, 30,705 machine-guns, 500,000 rifles, 17,000,000 shells, and 123,000 lorries, 890 railway engines, 22,000 wagons. Large quantities of war material were destroyed, 343,525 officers and men were taken prisoner, and the number of killed was estimated at 850,000.

The offensive, which had been going on for four months and twenty days at a very strenuous pace, was costly to the Russian Armies, and the question of the Second Front in Europe again became acute. Even Mr. Stalin himself, in the Order of the Day marking the 25th anniversary of the Soviet Army, alluded to the absence of the Second Front. On January 14 President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill commenced the Casablanca Conference, and it was stated that the prime object of the labours of the two leaders was " to draw as much of the weight as possible off* the Russian Armies by engaging the enemy as heavily as possible at the best selected points." Mr. Stalin was invited to go to Casablanca, but " was unable to attend on account of the offensive he was directing."

On February 21 the Red Army celebrated its 25th anniversary, and King George sent a message to Mr. Kalinin in which he announced his intention of presenting to Stalingrad a " sword of honour " as " a token of admiration not only of the British people, but of the whole civilised world." This sword was eventually handed to Marshal Stalin, in Teheran, early in December, by Mr. Churchill himself, in the presence of President Roosevelt.

From the middle of April the fighting on the Russian Front was in the main limited to a number of small though hard local actions, and to air bombardment behind the enemy lines. The Germans began to concentrate a large force for a spring offensive, and to break this up the Russian Air Force maintained day and night attacks on Railway centres and concentration points behind the German lines, including Kiev, Orel, Bryansk, Poltava, Dnepropetrovsk, Kharkov, and a number of other important localities. Pressure was continued in the Kuban bridgehead. It was probably due to this ceaseless bombardment that the German

spring offensive was delayed and only began on July 5. At first the Germans made some progress, but by July 23 the offensive was not only halted, but the Soviet Armies began their counter-offensive and started the long series of victories that continued to the end of the year. By August 5 the Russians pushed the Germans out of Orel and Byelgorod. On August 23 Kharkov was retaken ; on August 27 Sevsk fell. Taganrog in the south was recaptured on August 30. Briansk was successfully stormed on September 14, Nezhin on September 15, Novorossisk on the 16th, Yartsevo on the 19th, Chernigov on the 20th, Poltava on the 23rd. On the 24th the Russians crossed the Dnieper north of Kiev ; on September 25 Smolensk was taken. The complete occupation of Dnepropetrovsk was effected on October 25. On September 29 Kremenchug was retaken. By October 6 the whole Kuban peninsula was in Russian hands. By October 7 Nevel was taken, cutting the Leningrad line and coming near Vitebsk. On October 27 the line Melitopol-Zaporozhie was broken through and the Russian Armies streamed across the Nogaisk steppes. Within a fortnight they reached the mouth of the Dnieper, and by November 5 a bridgehead was established in the Crimea in the east. On November 6 Kiev was taken by storm, on the 7th, Fastov, and on the 12th Zhitomir. On November 17 the Russians occupied Korosten, and on the 26th Gomel was taken by assault.

Owing to very strenuous and concentrated counter-attacks, the Soviet Armies were pushed back from Zhitomir (Nov. 19), and from Korosten a few days later. In the northern direction the Russians, by the end of December, nearly surrounded Vitebsk, and were approaching Polotsk ; in the Kiev area they returned to the offensive towards Zhitomir ; they were still held in Krivoi Rog and the Nikopol areas. Znamenka was taken on December 10.

On December 24 the Russians commenced a decisive winter counter-offensive, and by the end of the year had not only recaptured the entire area taken by the Germans in the Kiev salient, but had broken through to the west and south-west, thus creating a dangerous position for a large army still clinging to a few places inside the Dnieper Bend. By the end of the year the Soviet Armies had liberated two-thirds of Russian territory ever held by the German Armies.

As the Russians were the attacking side, their losses must have been on a vast scale, and the agitation for a Second Front continued. On August 19 the leader-writer of *The Times* suggested that the matter called for action. As late as September 8 Mr. Shvernik, one of the leaders of a Soviet Delegation to the British Trades Union Congress, said that owing to the absence of the Second Front Hitler moved 30 divisions from the west to the Kharkov battle-fields, and thus saved himself from disaster. This agitation stopped after the Moscow Conference (Oct. 18), which prepared for the Teheran Conference (Nov. 28), when the

final arrangements about the timing of the Second Front were made.

Anglo-Russian Relations.—The great achievement of the Russian Armies around Stalingrad found handsome **recognition** in the House of Commons. To a message sent by King George on the occasion of the anniversary of the Red Army **Mr. Kalinin** replied that the manifestations of friendly feelings of the British people "demonstrated the firmness of the military alliance between our two countries." This idea was emphasised by Mr. Stalin in a message sent on the same occasion to Mr. Eden, in which the confidence was also expressed that "joint offensive operations will smash the common enemy." Notwithstanding all these expressions of friendliness, there was little contact and not much actual co-ordination in either the military or the political sphere.

The great victories of the Anglo-American forces in North Africa, and especially the brilliant way in which the campaign in Tunisia was concluded, helped considerably to make relations with the Soviet Government more cordial. The success of the Allies was greeted with enthusiasm by the entire Russian Press, although soon after, every delay revived the demands for a "real" and effective Second Front. The bombing of Germany from the air had a welcome effect in allaying Russian grumbling and in increasing confidence. On June 7 Mr. Churchill, while deploring the fact that it had not to date been found possible to bring into council Marshal Stalin or other representative of the Great Ally who was bearing a heavy burden and paying a high price in life and blood, gave assurances that nothing would turn them from their intention to accomplish the destruction of their foes by bombing and other methods. In his Order of the Day on the May Day celebration, Marshal Stalin accepted the principle of "unconditional surrender" to be demanded of the Axis Powers and of joint action with the Allies not only in the war but also in the post-war years. Britain and America were described as "glorious Allies."

The wall of ignorance and suspicion which separated the Soviet Union from Britain and America for more than twenty years slowly began to crumble as the year advanced. In this respect it was all to the good that on May 22 the Communist International was dissolved. Explaining this step, Marshal **Stalin** stated that

it facilitated the organisation of the common onslaught of all freedom-loving countries against the common enemy—Hitlensm; it dispelled the lie of the Hitlerites that Russia*intended to Bolshevice other nations; it also facilitated the work of the patriots of all countries in creating a single camp of national liberation.

This idea of collaboration found another expression **on May 20, the anniversary of the signature of the Anglo-Russian Treaty.**

King George and President Kalinin exchanged messages, and *Pravda* wrote that the Anglo-Soviet Treaty had laid down the programme of post-war partnership between the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

In spite of these improved relations, the slow development of the campaign in Sicily, the delays in attacking the mainland of Italy, and the tremendous preparations by the Germans for their summer offensive which would obviously demand new and heavy sacrifices from Russia, again raised the question of the inadequacy of the Allied military effort in the land fighting. On August 31 Mr. Churchill, in his broadcast speech from Quebec, referred to these demands for a Second Front, and said that the great blow would be struck where "there was a good prospect of continuous success, and when sound military, but not political consideration would warrant such a blow." He further said that it was necessary and urgent that a conference of British, United States, and Russian Foreign Secretaries should be held not only to discuss current questions, but to carry their discussions to a point where the Heads of Governments could usefully intervene. He explained why Russia was not present at Quebec, as the meeting was concerned with "our own affairs" and with "our ever-growing forces in the Mediterranean." It was also concerned with heating up the war against Japan, with whom Russia has a five years* treaty of non-aggression. There was nothing nearer to their wishes than a threefold meeting with Marshal Stalin. If it had not yet taken place it was because Marshal Stalin could not leave the battle-front. The question of the Mediterranean Commission with Russian participation was decided upon in August as a result of an exchange of telegrams between President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin.

In pursuance of the Quebec announcement, a Conference of Foreign Ministers and representatives of General Staffs was held in Moscow from October 19 to 30. On the conclusion of the conference, five documents were published on November 1. The first presented a general survey of the work done—the measures to be taken to shorten the war, the establishment of the closest military co-operation between the three countries, the maintenance of co-operation after the war for the promotion of the welfare of their peoples. Another document was a Four Power Declaration by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and China of political principles by which they will be guided in war and peace. It was further agreed to establish a European Advisory Commission (Russia, Britain, and the United States) to sit in London, through which these Governments would co-operate in examining European questions arising as the war developed. The conference agreed to establish an Advisory Council on matters relating to Italy on which the French Committee of National Liberation would also be represented. The three

Foreign Ministers announced further that the Allies hoped to re-establish democracy in Italy and restore the independence of Austria. A stern warning was issued over the signatures of President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin to Nazis and members of German armed forces guilty of atrocities in Occupied countries. Lastly, the Ministers arranged for the meeting of President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin. In his broadcast speech made on November 6 (the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution), Marshal Stalin handsomely recognised that the Allies had substantially Weakened the military might of the enemy, and with their supplies had considerably facilitated the success of the Soviet summer campaign. He also announced that the Second Front was not far off, that it would speed up the victory over Germany, and would strengthen the comradeship of the Allied Nations. The Soviet programme for the future would include the punishment of war criminals, the elimination of any possibility of further aggression on the part of Germany, the creation of a lasting economic, political, and cultural collaboration among the peoples of Europe, based on mutual trust and mutual assistance in the restoration of what was destroyed by Germany. The broadcast ended with the words : " Long live the victorious Anglo-Soviet-American fighting Alliance."

On November 28 President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill met Marshal Stalin at Teheran. The conference lasted to December 1, and a large number of leading members of the General Staffs and political advisers, including important members of their respective Governments, were present. The Declaration announcing the contents of the agreement reached was published in London on December 6.

Soviet-American Relations.—The post-war relations between Russia and the United States loomed large in the minds of representatives of American public opinion, and Vice-President Wallace, in a speech on March 8, urged the necessity of a better understanding with Russia. It was obvious during the year that both Governments desired such an understanding. The Soviet Government sent one of its members to participate in the Hot Springs Conference, and the Soviet Delegate suggested the plan of setting up a permanent organisation to deal with questions of food and agriculture in Europe after the war. On the anniversary of the Lend-Lease Agreement (June 11) a number of Soviet papers stressed Russia's desire to collaborate after the war in the cause of lasting peace and prosperity. On the same occasion cordial messages were exchanged between President Kalinin and President Roosevelt, and between Mr. Molotov and Mr. Cordell Hull.

Russo- Japanese Relations.—Roth these Far Eastern neighbours preserved correct diplomatic relations. Russia took no part in the Casablanca Conference and, later in the year, Russia was

again absent from the conference in Cairo with Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. At the beginning of the year there occurred an incident in the Far Eastern waters which was almost a provocation—a Russian steamer was sunk on the way to Kamchatka, and the Russian authorities had every reason to suspect Japanese submarines which were navigating in that neighbourhood at the time. The Japanese Press accused the Americans.

The Fisheries Agreement in the Okhotsk area was renewed for another year, but with undisguised bad grace, the Russians having again raised the price for the concession. A state of suspicion was maintained on both sides. A Japanese broadcast on May 18 warned the Soviet Union that the grant of air bases to America would put an end to the friendly relations between the two countries, and a blitz attack would follow.

Russo-Polish Relations.—In spite of the great efforts made by General Sikorski to establish better relations with the Soviet Government the formula agreed upon between himself and Mr. Stalin during his visit to Moscow left considerable uncertainty as to the future of the Polish frontier. Russia stated that she did not seek territorial aggrandisement, but only her own territory, but Russian spokesmen considered as their own territory areas acquired under the Treaty of Amity with Germany in August, 1939, areas which under previous treaties concluded by Russia and Poland in Riga, had formed part of the Polish Republic. This frontier question was in the earlier part of the year of no more than academic interest. The only practical aspect of the matter was the treatment in Russia of Polish subjects who found themselves in the territory of the U.S.S.R. Arrangements were made to have these Poles transferred to Persia after that country had agreed to co-operate with the Allies. It was partly due to certain differences among the Poles themselves and to the attitude of some of them to the Polish Government in Europe, that on January 16 the Soviet Government intimated to the Polish Government that all Poles in Russia would henceforth be treated as Russian subjects. In practice this meant that, as no Russians were allowed to leave the country, no more Poles in Russia would be able to do so.

On February 20 the Soviet paper *Pravda* printed an article by Alexander Korneichuk, one of the leading members of the Ukrainian Communist Party, in which it was stated that the Soviet Government would not abandon the portions of Occupied Poland inhabited by Ukrainians. The *Soviet War News*, published by the Information Department of the Soviet Embassy in London, reprinted the article, and several organs of the British Press reproduced extracts from it.

All this only tended to exacerbate the relations between the two Governments. In Russia itself a group of Polish Communists set themselves up in outspoken opposition to the Polish

Government in London. This discord gave the Germans a welcome opportunity for increasing the irritation. On April 11 a German Press Agency published a report by the Military Authorities, disseminated all over the world on the German wireless, that near Smolensk they had discovered a common grave with the bodies of more than 3,000 officers, who, on investigation and with the help of documents found upon the bodies, were alleged to have been murdered by the Russian Security Police early in 1940.

The Poles fell into the German trap. Although the Russians officially denied any knowledge of the crime, for which they held the Nazis responsible, the Polish Government, on April 17, announced that they had requested the International Red Cross to investigate the whole matter. On April 23 the International Red Cross accepted the request of the Polish Government making the acceptance conditional on the consent of the three parties concerned. On April 26 the Soviet Government announced that it had decided to break off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government, and a Note was handed to Count Romer, the Polish Ambassador, by Mr. Molotov. This Note not only expressed indignation at the insult to the Soviet Government, but charged the Polish Government with carrying on an anti-Soviet campaign for the purpose of exercising pressure on the Russian Government in order to exact territorial concessions at the expense of the Soviet countries of the Ukraine, White Russia, and Lithuania. A little later the Polish Ambassador was handed his passports and he left Russia.

On May 5 Marshal Stalin himself answered certain questions put to him by the Moscow correspondent of *The Times* and the *New York Times*. In his replies he said that he wished Poland to be a strong and independent State, and that he desired friendly and good neighbourly relations with her even on the basis of an alliance providing for mutual assistance against Germany as the common enemy. To this General Sikorski replied on the following day, stating his readiness to give a positive answer to any Soviet proposal which would be in the interest of the Polish State.

In the middle of July, in consequence of the death of General Sikorski, the Polish Government was reconstituted, and in the new Government Count Romer, the former Ambassador to Moscow, was given the post of Foreign Minister. His obvious mission was to find a way of re-establishing relations with the Soviet Union. However, no change of policy was decided upon, and in his first speech as Foreign Minister he stated that his policy would be to maintain the "integrity" of Poland within the 1939 borders as they were before the war.

The removal from Moscow of the official representative of the Polish Government gave more freedom to the group of "Free

Poland " (Union of Polish Patriots) to carry on their struggle against that Government, and this they did by organising, on Soviet territory, a Polish Division. Their anti-Government propaganda was very active. In articles in *Izvestia*—the official publication of the Soviet Government—Wanda Wasilewska, President of the Union of Polish Patriots (and wife of the Ukrainian Communist leader, Mr. Korneichuk, who later in the year was appointed a Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs), wrote that the Government of General Sikorski represented neither the people in Poland nor the Polish *imigris* abroad. They obstructed the struggle which the people in Poland were eager to carry on against the Hitlerite enemies, and even the Polish Army in Europe was led by reactionaries who were fostering anti-democratic, pro-Fascist sentiments ; she affirmed that in the Army they carried on anti-Soviet propaganda. Instead of fighting against Hitler, they bargained for frontiers—not for the Polish lands occupied by the Germans in the west, but for the lands of Byelorussia and Lithuania which belong to the Soviet Union, the association with whom was a matter of life and death to the Polish people.

These appeals from Moscow to the people in Poland over the head of the Polish Government in London were endorsed by the broadcast resolutions and speeches of the Third All-Slav Rally. In a call to " Brother Poles " the Rally urged the formation of a united front against the German-Fascist murderers and the spreading of partisan (guerrilla) warfare in Poland. Active contact with Polish guerrillas was being energetically established, and a Congress of Polish Patriots, held in the middle of June, sent messages to Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt, and President Benes, ignoring the Polish Government in London altogether. In his reply to the message Marshal Stalin wrote :—

You can be sure that the Soviet Union will do all that is possible in order to speed the defeat of our common enemy, Hitlerite Germany, to strengthen Polish - Soviet friendship, and by every possible means to aid the creation of a strong and independent Poland.

On July 28 the new Polish Prime Minister stated that the Polish Government would welcome the establishment of friendly relations with Russia, and that the efforts of the British and American Governments to bring this about were appreciated. In Russia the Polish Division was training in preparation for active military operations, and on September 1 it was sent to the front. It was announced at the time that a second division had been formed. Thus a Polish Army was gradually being formed entirely independent of the Polish Armies under the Command of the Government of Mr. Mikolajczyk. The full awkwardness of the situation became clear only towards the end of the year, when the Soviet Armies were already on the disputed soil of

Poland, so that, if there were no agreement between the Polish and the Soviet Governments, the Polish underground movement might have to be ordered by the Representative of the Polish Government not to co-operate with the Red Army in which there were two Polish Divisions fighting under the Polish flag.

The Moscow Conference discussed the position of Poland, and though among the decisions of the conference nothing was said on this delicate subject, a Memorandum was handed to the British Ambassador stating that in principle the Soviet Government agreed to resume diplomatic relations with the Polish Government.

Relations with Czechoslovakia.—A treaty of mutual assistance between the present Government of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Government was under consideration for some time, after the occupation of the country by the Germans, but its signature was postponed several times, not because of any hitches between the two Governments, but for considerations connected with the relations between the United Nations generally. This year the treaty became a reality. The Czechoslovak President arrived in Moscow on December 11 and the treaty was signed on the 12th. It is drawn on lines similar to those of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty. It is not exclusive, and a special protocol attached to it is worded so that should any other States bordering on the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia, and in this war an object of German aggression, wish to join, it should be possible for it to do so by agreement of the two Powers. The agreement would then become a tripartite agreement. [For the text of the treaty see under Public Documents.]

The treaty itself, and President Benes personally, were warmly welcomed in Soviet Russia, and the President broadcast from Moscow his satisfaction with the treaty, and his firm belief that the Soviet Union was well disposed towards Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Home Affairs.—The Red Army was smartened up as a war machine. Officers were given definite insignia on their uniforms to mark them as commanders, gold piping and braid were restored, the designation " officer " was reintroduced, and Guards Regiments with distinctive privileges were established. The new military orders created were in honour of traditional Russian heroes—Suvorov and Kutuzov. In orders of the day much more stress was laid on the Russian Motherland. There was much more tidiness among the troops and much more pride in the achievement of the Army ; much more trust and confidence in the officers. Discipline, without having become burdensome, was made stricter. Greater facilities were given to gifted young officers to study at war academies and obtain advanced training in military science.

Another change worthy of note was the new relation between Church and State. The clergy of the Orthodox Church officially prayed for victory of the Red Army, and collected funds for building tanks and aeroplanes. Towards the end of the summer the Acting Patriarch of Moscow was confirmed as Patriarch of all Russia, and Marshal Stalin, as Premier, informed him that the Soviet Government would raise no objection to the re-establishment of the Holy Synod. On September 8 the "Metropolite" (Archbishop) of Moscow was elected Patriarch. Being the only Patriarch of the Orthodox Church, he will naturally exercise a considerable amount of influence on the Orthodox Communities of the Balkan countries. Systematic religious teaching will be allowed, and the clergy, whose number began to dwindle, will now be able to extend their activities. This change of attitude towards the Church brought about a new and warm wave of internal conciliation in Russia, and will contribute towards stabilisation of the regime. The visit of the Archbishop of York made a great impression in Russia, and helped to cement the friendly feeling towards Britain, whilst the report given by the Archbishop of his visit was read with considerable satisfaction in the Soviet Union.

Educational reforms likewise made progress during the year. A new Central Pedagogical Academy was opened in Moscow. In the field of popular education a programme was adopted to provide separate schools for boys and girls in urban districts, to appoint instructors for military drill and pre-conscription classes, to improve the teaching of Russian history, to increase the study of foreign languages, and to tighten up discipline and rules of good behaviour.

As for the conditions of life for ordinary folk, though with the help of the enormous supplies from Britain and the United States the armed forces were adequately provisioned, life for civilians was unbelievably hard, and there was a crippling shortage of consumers goods and the normal facilities of everyday life.

In the course of the year, as a result of the German occupation, innumerable dwelling houses and other buildings were utterly destroyed, and hundreds of thousands of men and women were forcibly driven to slave work in Germany. Literally hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children were murdered. To these must be added the enormous loss of life suffered in battle. But the country looks with hope to the future. The latest reports from the liberated areas, particularly from Stalingrad, Kharkov, and Kiev, indicate that life is gradually returning and the population beginning to build up what the barbarian invaders have wantonly destroyed.

BALTIC STATES

The opening of 1943 brought new German demands for the supply of labour from the Baltic States. On January 25 a Reich Commissariat decree was issued making every able-bodied man or woman between the ages of 18 and 45 liable for compulsory labour service in areas outside the " Ostland " where necessary. Under a second decree, which became operative on March 5, every native worker or employee was required to register at the labour exchange and to carry a new official labour permit. In April most of the 1919-24 age group were actually called up ; according to one report, 50,000 persons were thus mobilised in Latvia alone, while ten more classes of women were called up to replace the men transferred to war industries or military service. Between April 15 and 22 Herr Sauckel, the German Minister of Labour, himself paid a visit to Riga and other key towns.

The conscription of labour aroused great resentment among the people, all the more so as the German drive for man-power caused an acute shortage of labour for agriculture, forestry, and industry. The general unrest was increased by Russian air raids, which became more frequent after March, and in Lithuania it was intensified by the action of a Nazi official who in April ordered forty village elders in the Vilna district to be shot because of the failure of the villages to deliver their grain quotas. Thousands of young men, including most of the students from the Universities of Kaunas and Vilna, fled to the forests and joined the partisans there. Guerrilla warfare flared up again, giving the Germans considerable trouble, especially in Latvia, where it was assisted by Russians dropped by parachute. In September the chief of the Lithuanian Police in Vilna was assassinated, and ten Poles were shot by the Germans in reprisal.

From early in the year increased efforts were made by the Germans to secure volunteers for the Army. The recruiting campaign, which combined promises and threats, was under the supervision of the S.S., whose chief, Himmler, visited the Baltic territories in March. On February 18 an order was issued by Rosenberg that all legionaries and their relatives were to have restored to them the property which had been confiscated by the Russians or expropriated by the Germans, whereas those who did not report for duty would forfeit all claim for a return of their property.

To popularise the idea of the Legion, promises were held out that autonomy might be restored to the Baltic States, and at the end of March the German authorities announced their intention of summoning, immediately, " national assemblies " in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. National Committees were actually formed to organise the convening of Deputies to an Assembly representing economic, social, cultural, and even ecclesiastical

interests. The Lithuanian Committee, of 21 members, though presided over by a "quisling," General Kubiliunas, contained several men well known for their patriotic sentiments. None the less it issued a declaration which, besides abjuring Bolshevism, called upon Lithuanians who were registered for military and other services to present themselves unhesitatingly for actual enrolment and service. The appeal, though coming from so authoritative a quarter, was not very successful, and the project for a Legion was abandoned in favour of the organisation of engineer battalions (*Baubataillonen*) attached to the Wehrmacht. By the middle of June four battalions had already been sent to areas behind the Front for work on defences. In Latvia recruiting for a Legion was equally fruitless, but in Estonia it was reported to have secured about 20,000 volunteers. It was reported in the summer that thousands of the recruits raised by Germany in the Baltic States had fled and sought refuge in the forests or in Finland.

POLAND

Poland in 1943 remained under the heel of the German oppressor, and was treated throughout with the same barbarity as in the preceding three years. Mass deportations were again carried out on a huge scale, and by the end of the year it was reckoned that there were 1,800,000 Poles doing forced labour in Germany, while over 450,000 war prisoners were still retained there. Between January 14 and 18, according to a statement of General Sikorski, some 35,000 persons were arrested in Warsaw and deported to concentration camps. In July the Germans, by means of deportations and mass murders, "liquidated" the Polish population of a large area in the Lublin province, numbering half a million, in order to make room for German settlers. The shooting of hostages went on regularly throughout the year, and culminated in the last week of November in the execution of over 1,000 in one district alone of the province of Bialystok. Other reprisals taken in the course of the year for the murder of German officials included the burning down of a large number of villages and the massacre of the inhabitants.

As usual, Nazi savagery attained its high-water mark in persecution of the Jews. Reports reached London in February that in one area of Poland 6,000 Jews were being massacred daily and their clothes stolen and sent to Germany. In the course of a three-day "liquidation" of the Cracow ghetto in March the Germans killed more than 1,000 Jews in "death camps," while others were deported to the Oswiecim concentration camp. An attempt to deal similarly with the Warsaw ghetto met with desperate resistance from the 30,000 Jews still left there, and a pitched battle took place in which the Germans lost 300 killed

and 1,000 wounded. By that time it was estimated that only 300,000 Jews were left out of the 3,000,000 formerly in Poland.

The Poles, on their side, were far from remaining passive. Apart from sporadic outbursts of revenge, such as the burning of farms appropriated by the Germans, resistance was conducted by the underground movement even more systematically and effectively than in previous years. This movement was now linked up closely with the Polish Government in London. A delegate, with the rank of Vice-Premier in that Government, was sent out to create an administration which would be capable of governing the country as soon as the Germans were expelled. He worked hand in hand with a Union of the four main political parties—Socialists, National Democrats, Peasants' Party, and Christian-Democratic Party—which kept in communication with the Polish Government in London.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Underground Army took orders from the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish forces outside Poland. The Underground Army was again very active in interfering with the German war effort, attacking German lines of communication, blowing up and derailing trains, destroying bridges, and raiding police stations to liberate Polish prisoners. The morale of the people was maintained by the Directorate of Civil Defence, formed in 1940, which again this year passed sentence of death on several notorious oppressors. Among the leading Nazi criminals on whom the death sentence was carried out were Hoffmann, the head of the German Labour Exchange in Warsaw, Krueger, Security Chief of the General Government, and Bolbeck, head of the Nazi organisation for slave labour in Poland. An attempt on the life of Fischer, the Governor of Warsaw, on March 20, was unsuccessful.

The Polish armed forces outside Poland continued to give valuable aid to the Allied cause. The Polish Navy, in the middle of the year, had 12 ships and 2,600 men at its disposal, and it was stated that of all the Allied Navies the Polish held the first place for the number of British awards received by officers and men. The Polish submarine *Dzik*, commissioned at the beginning of the year, particularly distinguished itself, torpedoing a 10,000 ton tanker and a 4,000 ton troopship in May, and sinking two ships of altogether 11,000 tons in the Otranto straits in August, besides sinking several ships during the evacuation of German troops from Corsica. In the air, 660 bombers of the Polish Air Force made 56 attacks on enemy territory, dropping nearly 850 tons of bombs. In May General Sikorski, the Premier and Commander-in-Chief, paid a visit to the Middle East, where he inspected the Polish troops in that region and conferred with their Commander, General Anders.

In the political field the record of the year was less favourable, being marked by a serious deterioration in Russo-Polish relations.

Early in the year the friction which had already arisen between Poland and Russia over the interpretation of the 1941 Pact became greatly accentuated by the decision of the Soviet Government to regard henceforth as Soviet citizens all persons of Polish race in Russia, of whom there were still about a million—mostly persons who had been deported from Poland after the conquest of that country in 1939. In February a Ukrainian publicist, Alexander Korneichuk, wrote an article, evidently with official inspiration, stating that the Soviet Government had no intention of abandoning those portions of Occupied Poland which were inhabited by Ukrainians. Both these steps were deeply resented by the Polish Government in London. At a meeting held on February 25 it adopted a resolution reaffirming Poland's claim to the eastern frontier as it was in 1939 ; and this resolution was endorsed both by the Polish Socialist Party in London and by the underground movement in Poland itself.

In order further to embitter Polish feeling against the Soviet Government, the German military authorities in Smolensk, in the second week of April, published statements to the effect that the bodies of some three thousand Polish officers had been found in a common grave in Katyn wood, near Smolensk, and that investigation had shown the victims to have been prisoners of war murdered by the Russians before they evacuated Smolensk in July, 1941. The Polish authorities in London requested the International Red Cross in Switzerland to investigate the matter. The Soviet Government regarded this action as an offence, and on April 26 broke off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government. The Polish Ambassador, M. Romer, left Russia, and the Australian Minister took charge of Polish affairs there. A Union of Polish Patriots, strongly pro-Russian in sympathy, was created in Moscow, with Madame Wanda Wasilevska, wife of M. Korneichuk, at its head. Two Polish divisions were formed in Russia to fight alongside of the Russian Army, under the command of Colonel Berling, who was promoted General ; and a violent propaganda campaign was carried on by the Polish Press and a Polish broadcasting station in Russia against the " *emigre* Government " in London.

General Sikorski, who enjoyed the high respect of all sections of the Polish people, worked hard for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Unfortunately he was killed in an aeroplane accident near Gibraltar on July 4 [see under Obituaries], while on his return to England from the Middle East; and with him perished all hope of a Russo-Polish reconciliation for the time being. He was succeeded as Commander-in-Chief by General Sosnkowski, and as Premier by M. Mikolajczyk, a member of the Peasants' Party, who had been Vice-Premier since 1941, and whose place was taken by M. Kwapinski, a member of the Socialist Party. Other Ministerial

changes were made at the same time. M. Romer succeeded Count Raczynski as Foreign Minister, General Kukiel became Minister of Defence, Mgr. Kaczynski succeeded General Haller as Minister of Education, M. Ranaczyk (Peasants' Party) became Minister of the Interior, M. Kot succeeded Professor Stronski as Minister of Information, and M. Grossfeld (Socialist) became Minister of Finance. Most of the members of the new Cabinet belonged to the Socialist or Peasants' Party; the National Democrats were represented by M. Seyda and Professor Komarnicki. Slight changes were also made in the composition of the Polish National Council, M. Bielak being elected as representative of the Underground Movement and M. Scherer of Jewry.

Polish cultural activities were continued during the year, largely in Switzerland, where about 20,000 Polish soldiers were interned. On May 24 great celebrations were held in England and in North and South America to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the death of the celebrated Polish astronomer Copernicus.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.—On August 24 it was announced that Baron von Neurath, who had held the post of Protector of Bohemia-Moravia since 1938, had resigned along with his Deputy, Kurt Daluge, who since the death of Heydrich had been the real ruler of the province. Von Neurath was succeeded by Dr. Wilhelm Frick, former Reich Minister of the Interior, while K. H. Frank, the State Secretary to the Reich Protector, was promoted to the rank of Minister of State. Frank was the first Sudetic German to reach this rank. At his installation at Prague Castle on October 14, Frick was given a fulsome welcome by the Czech Premier, Dr. Krejci, who assured him of the Czech people's collaboration. In fact, however, the population remained as bitterly anti-German as ever, and in spite of the denunciations of Dr. Beneš by German propaganda and by Dr. Hacha, the State President, and his Ministry, continued to look upon him as their leader.

Apart from an air raid on the Skoda Works in Pilsen on April 16 in which about 800 persons were said to have been killed, the population of the Protectorate did not feel the war directly. Raids on Western Germany, however, caused the migration of German industries and refugees to the comparatively safer areas of the Protectorate, thus increasing the number of German inhabitants by tens of thousands.

The underground movement in the country intensified its activities. Apart from widespread absenteeism from the coal mines, new acts of sabotage in war factories and against German communications, such as explosions in a Skoda branch factory at

Dornych near Brno, flooding of coal-pits in Moravska-Ostrava, etc., were reported from time to time.

The measures taken against every sign of resistance, open or clandestine, remained as ruthless as ever. During the year 426 more Czech patriots—among them 34 women—were executed following death sentences passed by German special courts. The number of persons executed after being sentenced to death thus reached 2,972 up to the end of 1943.

The German official Gazette, *Der Deutscher Reichsanzeiger*, almost weekly published the names of Czech citizens in Bohemia and Moravia whose entire property was confiscated on various pretexts or who were deprived of their Protectorate citizenship, thus being rendered liable to have their properties in the Protectorate confiscated. The total number of Czech citizens deprived of the fruits of their lifetime's work during 1943 reached 3,352.

The mobilisation for war work of all men between the ages of 16 and 65 and all women between 17 and 45 proclaimed at the end of January in Germany was extended to Bohemia and Moravia on February 2. It resulted in the registration of 550,000 more persons. Had they all been called up, the total of Czech men and women sent to Germany would have exceeded a million. Transport difficulties, however, made it impossible to move more than a portion of those registered.

The need to free additional man-power for the German war effort resulted among other things in a large-scale amalgamation of banking institutions. The Zemska Banka in Prague, the largest public bank controlled by the Province of Bohemia, was amalgamated with the Central Bank or Clearing House of the Czech Municipal Savings Bank. The Zivnostenska Banka (Industrial Bank) in Prague, the biggest Czechoslovak bank, with an issued share capital of 331 million crowns and some 500 million crowns industrial investments, took over the Bohemian Industrial Bank in Prague with its share capital of 65 million crowns.

Slovakia.—The year 1943 witnessed the silent retirement from the political scene of Dr. Tuka, the Premier. It was revealed early in the year that Dr. Tuka, himself more a Magyar than a Slovak, had secretly negotiated with Hungarian politicians to whom he offered the incorporation of Slovakia into Hungary. For various reasons he could not be altogether eliminated but he was forced to resign from the Vice-Chairmanship of the totalitarian Hlinka Party, and automatically lost the post of Deputy-Commander-in-Chief of the Hlinka Youth Movement—the Slovak counterpart of the Hitler Youth Movement. After Tuka's fall political power rested with A. Mach, the Nazi Vice-Premier, and F. Karmasin, State Secretary for the German *Volksgruppe*.

Apart from sending several thousand more air-raid refugees to convalesce at Slovak spas and taking more food, wood, and

man-power away from the country, Germany interfered comparatively little with the affairs of the Slovaks during 1943.

Slovak relations with Hungary were more difficult. Press and Parliament in both countries indulged in threatening utterances against one another on account of the alleged maltreatment of Slovak and Magyar national groups in the respective countries. There was also a demonstrative tightening of the bonds of friendship between Slovaks, Croats, and Rumanians which the Hungarians regarded as threatening to themselves.

Slovakia's share in active war operations against Russia was considerably reduced by the losses which the Slovak motorised division suffered in the Caucasus early in the year, and by mass desertions from the Slovak Infantry Brigade in the Crimea in October. This behaviour on the part of Slovak soldiers had been foreshadowed by mutinies which occurred in Slovak training camps earlier in the year.

The corruption and unscrupulousness of the Government and of the Civil Service drove more and more Slovaks into the underground resistance movement, to counteract which Mach reorganised the Slovak gendarmerie and placed it under his own command. Official propaganda accused the few Czechs and Jews still permitted to remain in Slovakia with spreading anti-Government and anti-German feeling, and German newspapers in Bratislava demanded the expulsion of all these "unreliable, pro-Beneš elements." In October, following the desertions on the Russian Front, mass arrests of Czech and Slovak citizens were carried out throughout Slovakia at the instigation of Ludin, the German Minister.

Economic conditions, including the food situation, were on the whole satisfactory, although the debit of the German Government, according to the account books of the Slovak National Bank, appears to have increased. Dr. Karvas, the Governor of the Bank, stated at the general meeting that the supply of imported raw material and semi-finished goods to Slovak industry was diminishing. The average yield per acre of the soil in Slovakia was very low, and production was also hindered by shortage of fertilisers, particularly super-phosphates. The commerce and industry of the country were still suffering from the blow inflicted on them by the expropriation of Jewish enterprises which formerly had played such an important role in the country's economic life. In May an orgy of recrimination broke out, in public speeches and in newspapers, between various leaders who accused each other of having robbed Jewish property for their own personal enrichment. The President of the Central Economic Office—which was entrusted with the expropriation of Jewish property—was dismissed on the ground of having, together with members of his family, "Aryanised" Jewish enterprises for their owli benefit to the detriment of the national interests. At the end of the year

only about 18,000 out of 96,000 Jews were left in the country, the rest having been deported to Eastern Poland. A Pastoral Letter of protest against the persecution of the Jews, signed by seven Catholic Bishops, was read from the pulpit of every church on March 21, but it had no effect.

Subcarpathian Ruthenia.—In this province, which had passed from Czechoslovak sovereignty to Hungary in two instalments (October, 1938, and March, 1939), discontent with Hungarian rule became more acute. Soviet victories strengthened the will of the native population to resist. Thousands of Subcarpathian Ruthenians who escaped to Soviet Russia during the short period of the existence of a common Soviet-Hungarian frontier (1939-41) entered the Czechoslovak Army on Soviet soil in 1943. Their numbers increased notably when the Hungarian armoured division suffered a telling defeat at the hands of the Soviet forces at Voronezh, which gave the labour battalion attached to the Hungarians, and consisting mainly of Subcarpathian Ruthenians, an opportunity of going over to the Soviet forces. Persecution by the Hungarian authorities of the native population for alleged Communist sympathies and high treason went on unabated, and several death sentences were carried out on political charges. Oleksa Borkaniuk, a former member of the Czechoslovak Parliament for Subcarpathian Ruthenia, was among those put to death by a Hungarian court martial.

The Police and Army, however, were helpless in face of the increasing guerrilla activities. The number of armed partisans in the inaccessible mountains increased by thousands every month, in spite of the harsh persecution (including the confiscation of live-stock and the wholesale internment of all relatives of persons who went over to the Soviets or were caught in attempting to do so). Hungarian policemen sent after the "deserters" in civilian clothing disappeared without leaving a trace. Thousands of arrested persons were crowded together in the medieval fortress of Mukacevo, where executions without trial took place almost daily. In the concentration camps of Nyiregyhaza and Garany 2,500 persons were interned from the Chust district alone, and subjected to treatment of an indescribable brutality.

Economic conditions in Subcarpathian Ruthenia were appalling. Food rations were insufficient and the soaring prices practically debarred the population from providing themselves with clothes. A pair of leather shoes cost 200 pengoe (10l.) at the end of 1943.

In their persecution of the Jews, the Hungarian authorities did not lag behind those of Germany. About 40,000 old-established Subcarpathian Jewish families were deprived of Hungarian citizenship, their property confiscated, and they themselves deported to Poland as "unwanted foreigners of Czechoslovak nationality." In Velka Berezna all Jews were arrested and

sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment for espionage because they had witnessed the building of a new barracks.

The Czechoslovak Government in London.—From May 12 to June 10 Dr. Benes, President of the Republic, paid an official visit to the United States and Canada. The chief object of the journey, apart from general political purposes, was to demonstrate both to the Czechoslovak people and the Germans and Hungarians that the Czechoslovak Government enjoyed the full confidence and support of the United States. This was shown not only by the reception accorded to Dr. Benes himself, but also by the raising of the Czechoslovak Legation in Washington to the status of an Embassy. Dr. Benes was invited to speak at a joint session of both Houses of Congress. In Ottawa, which he also visited, the President addressed members of both Houses of the Canadian Parliament.

On December 11 Dr. Benes arrived in Moscow in order to witness on the next day the signing of a Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration, and Mutual Assistance between Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia, negotiations for which had been going on since the summer. [For the text of the treaty see under Public Documents.]

In October Mr. Masaryk, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in the United States in order to participate, on behalf of Czechoslovakia, with Mr. Nemec, Minister of Economic Reconstruction, in the Atlantic City Conference on post-war reconstruction. Mr. Masaryk signed the U.N.R.R.A. declaration in Washington on November 9 on behalf of Czechoslovakia.

In the course of the year the Government almost completed its preparations for the period following the liberation of the country. Laws were prepared declaring all enactments and decrees issued during the German occupation of the country, or under German pressure, to be null and void, and a draft of a law concerning the punishment of Nazi criminals and their fellow-culprits was drawn up. It provided that the criminals should be tried according to special laws by special people's courts, presided over by a professional judge, and composed of persons who had shown loyalty to the Republic on the home front or on the battlefield. All those would be considered war criminals or fellow-culprits who had committed offences against the Republic and against the constitutionally protected liberties and rights of its citizens and inhabitants during the period of the occupation of the Republic.

In its legislative work, the Government was again assisted by the State Council, an advisory body of 50 appointed members, which entered on its fourth session in November.

During the year Czechoslovak infantry and artillery formations which took part in the Syrian and Libyan campaigns in 1940-42,

were transferred to Great Britain and merged with the Czechoslovak Independent Brigade into an armoured brigade. The first Czechoslovak Independent Brigade on Soviet soil went into action before Kharkov early in March and won a number of decorations, among others, the posthumous award of the title of " Hero of the Soviet Union " to Lieutenant Otakar Jaros, who thus became the first foreigner to receive the highest military honour bestowed by the U.S.S.R. The Brigade took part in the campaign for the liberation of the Ukraine, and distinguished itself in the battles of Kiev and Byela Tserkov during November and December, there earning further honours and decorations. The Order of Suvorov and the Order of Khmelnitsky were bestowed on the Brigade's flag. A second Czechoslovak Brigade was formed by Czechs, Slovaks, and Subcarpathian Ruthenians who succeeded in deserting from enemy fighting formations and labour detachments into which they had been forced against their will by the German and Hungarian authorities.

HUNGARY

The fighting near Voronezh in which the Hungarian troops in Russia were engaged at the end of 1942 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 203) culminated in the middle of January in their complete rout, with the annihilation, according to Russian accounts, of six out of their seven divisions. This disaster effectively cured the Hungarian Government and people of any enthusiasm they may have felt for the war against Russia, which had already cost the country nearly 100,000 men and the greater part of its modern equipment. It became their fixed determination, while retaining the alliance with Germany, to give that country as little active assistance as possible, and to husband their resources, as far as they could, for purposes of their own defence. Accordingly German demands, both for more troops and for more food, were steadfastly refused, and some 30,000 lumbermen employed in the German forests, who had been recalled in December ostensibly to spend Christmas with their families, were not allowed to return to the Reich. By May practically the whole Hungarian Army had been withdrawn from the Eastern front.

From the beginning of the year Hungary, like Finland, would have been glad to get out of the war if she could have done so without loss ; and the constant deterioration in the military position of the Axis only strengthened the desire. Her economic dependence on Germany, however, as well as the hostility of Russia, put such a consummation out of the question. Accordingly the Government did the next best thing by trying to create sympathy for Hungary in all other quarters, especially among the Western Powers. Hungarian spokesmen, following the Finnish example, constantly proclaimed that Hungary had been

drawn into the war against her will, that her aim had never been conquest but only self-defence. To render this plea less suspect, Premier Kallay in July resigned the portfolio of Foreign Affairs to M. Ghyczy, a career diplomat who was not attached to any party. The relations of the Government with Italy remained much more cordial than with Germany, and after Mussolini's fall Hungary retained her Minister with the King of Italy, though later, under German pressure, she recognised the new Mussolini Government also. In various ways intimations were conveyed to the Allies that if they invaded the Danube basin they would meet with no resistance from Hungary. The subject nationalities—Serbian, Slovakian, and Ruthenian—were treated with more consideration. To crown all, some crumbs of comfort were thrown even to the Jews. The expropriation of Jewish property continued, but at a somewhat leisurely pace; M. Kallay repeated in the summer that the Jews would have to be cleared out of Hungary, but he qualified this by adding that this could not be done so long as no place was found to resettle them; and in August the Regent took the remarkable step of restoring M. Ferenc Chorin, a prominent Jewish industrialist, to the seat in the Upper House of which he had been deprived under the Anti-Jewish laws.

A further sign of the same liberalising tendency was the latitude allowed by M. Kallay, in the earlier part of the year, to the Left Opposition parties—the Social Democrats, the Peasant Union, and the Independent Smallholders—whose programme included demands for social justice and land reform. Before this tendency could produce any results, however, it was abruptly brought to a termination by external interference. In April, in obedience to a summons from Hitler, Admiral Horthy went to the Flihrer's headquarters, and received there a demand that the Hungarian Premier should make a clear and unequivocal declaration before a plenary session of the Hungarian Parliament that Hungary would stand loyally with the Axis to the end in the fight against all common enemies. Though the Regent and the Premier would themselves have been willing to make a declaration on these lines, they found the opposition among the political parties so strong that they hesitated to take such a step, and to get out of the dilemma the Premier at the beginning of May prorogued Parliament indefinitely. In a House of 370 members the Government had the support of 253 members, 217 belonging to the Government Party, "the party of Hungarian life," and 36 Transylvanian deputies.

On January 12 a monster trial of alleged Communists opened at Koloszvar. They were accused of trying to establish an Independent Transylvania under Soviet patronage. On February 13 sentences were imposed ranging up to 10 years penal servitude.

On August 8 a new commercial agreement was concluded with Germany under which, according to Dr. Clodius, the exchanges would be maintained at their existing level, and Hungary would continue to supply Germany with foodstuffs, raw materials, and certain industrial products, receiving in exchange coal, semi-finished products, and certain industrial products. The trade figures for 1942 showed that Germany had taken Hungarian goods to the value of 628 million pengo out of total export of 1,143 million pengo, while Italy took 20 per cent, of the total export, as compared with 14 per cent, in 1941. In the summer much friction arose between the peasants and the Government's assessing officers over the attempt of the Government to collect from each smallholder a specified amount, regardless of whether he had grown sufficient to leave anything over for himself

RUMANIA

By the end of 1942 a crisis had developed in German-Rumanian relations. Anxious as was the Dictator, Marshal Antonescu, to please his German masters, even he had felt compelled to take a stand against the constant German demands for more supplies, and in December he blocked exports to the Reich on account of the very large accumulation of the clearing balance in Rumania's favour. He was sharply reminded of his dependence on Germany by the discovery, on January 6, of a plot engineered by the Iron Guard against the Government. Some 4,000 persons were arrested and 40 executed, but order could not be restored till the German Commander-in-Chief had taken control and German troops guarded the streets. It was widely believed that the plot had been instigated by the German Minister, Baron von Killinger, in order to bring the Marshal to heel.

At an interview which he had with Hitler on January 10 Antonescu pointed out that an alliance which demanded unilateral contributions could have neither a lasting character nor a moral basis, but in the end he consented to an arrangement by which Rumanian divisions which had not lost more than a quarter of their strength should be made up from reserves for the last time, while those which had lost more than 25 per cent, should be combined to form a smaller number of complete divisions. In February the Germans sent further troops into Rumania to do garrison duty, and they demanded that the cost of their subsistence should be borne by the Rumanian State, and also that more Rumanian produce should be sent to Germany. These demands were opposed by M. Fintescu, the Minister of National Economy, but supported by M. Dobre ("the third strongest man in the Government"), an Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Defence. A quarrel broke out between them, the upshot of which was that the latter supplanted the former as Minister of National Economy.

With the Germans more than ever in control of the country there was naturally no improvement in the condition of the population. Food remained in very short supply, less on account of scarcity than of bad distribution. In the summer there were bread riots in several towns, and under-nourishment was widely prevalent among the urban poor. At the same time a small circle in Bucharest were living in great luxury, a fact which accentuated the public discontent. Early in the year this discontent found expression in numerous acts of sabotage, and later it led to the formation of another secret anti-German organisation, the Movement of National Deliverance, in addition to the one formed in the previous year and led by "Vlaicu." According to Swiss reports, fighting took place in November between these bodies and regular troops in the frontier districts of Silistria, Craiova, and Orsova.

Marshal Antonescu at first tried to allay the discontent by appeals to patriotism, but when these produced no effect he resorted to drastic measures of repression. On April 19 an Order was issued by the Bucharest Military Command prohibiting under severe penalties such actions as commenting in public on military and political matters, listening to broadcasts from enemy stations, and so forth. In June a great purge of the Government Services was carried out in order to eliminate officials suspected of anti-Nazi sentiments, especially those opposed to sending more troops to the Russian front. Further sufferings were also inflicted on the Jews, among the victims being M. Fildermann, a Bucharest lawyer, who in 1919 had successfully championed the rights of Rumanian Jews at the Paris Peace Conference. In September Senator Ausnit, a leading industrialist, was sentenced to imprisonment for "disturbance of the public order," and 37 prominent citizens, including former counsellors of King Carol, were arrested for planning to organise a guerrilla force similar to that in Yugoslavia. The Russian successes in the autumn led to a mass flight of Rumanians from Transdnistria and Bessarabia, and this was followed by disturbances, to suppress which the police arrested about 1,500 people.

The Dictator and his Deputy, Mihai Antonescu, deeply committed as they were to the German cause, began to cast about for some means of securing a retreat for themselves in case of a German defeat. In a speech at Kishinev on March 27, Marshal Antonescu, taking a leaf out of the Finnish book, laid stress on the fact that Rumania was fighting for her own hand, and not "in the service of any foreign mission." Mihai Antonescu, on his side, made great play with Rumania's Latin affiliations, and sedulously cultivated the friendship of Italy. In the middle of July, when the downfall of Mussolini had become imminent, both the Antonescus began ostentatiously to pay court to the King, whom so far they had neglected. Great efforts were also made in

the autumn to obtain the friendship of Turkey, which was thought to have influence with the Western Powers.

The dangers which threatened the national existence did not make the people for an instant forget their claims on Transylvania. On December 1, the 25th anniversary of the annexation of Transylvania, and again on December 5, the anniversary of its cession to Hungary, mass demonstrations were held at Bucharest and other centres at which Rumania's right to the whole of the territory was proclaimed.

YUGOSLAVIA

The puppet Governments set up by the Germans and Italians in Croatia and Serbia remained in power throughout 1943, under Pavelich and Nedich respectively. They were no more successful than in the previous year in winning the confidence of the mass of the population, which, ground down by heavy taxation and requisitioning, suffered severe economic hardship, in addition to the cruelties exercised both by their own rulers and by the occupying forces, whether German, Italian, or Bulgarian. In Slovenia the process of Germanisation was carried on ruthlessly. The only part of the country where conditions were at all tolerable was the Backa, where the Magyar authorities adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Serbian population, allowing them a certain measure of rights.

At the beginning of the year the " Chetniks " under General Mihailovich were still the core of the resistance movement, which derived a fresh stimulus from the news of the Allied successes in North Africa. Early in the year the Partisan bands, which were strongly pro-Russian and opposed to Serb domination in Yugoslavia, obtained a leader of marked ability in the person of a Croatian named Josip Broz, who, like some previous guerrilla leaders, took the pseudonym of Tito. The new Tito managed to create out of the Partisans a well-organised if lightly equipped Army, a task in which he was ably assisted by a number of British officers who came by parachute to Yugoslavia in the spring. He also directed guerrilla operations among the peasants who did not join his regular force. Thus before the year was far advanced there were two Yugoslav armies in the field—one of Partisans under Tito, operating mostly in Croatia and Herzegovina, and the other of " Chetniks " under General Mihailovich, operating mostly in Serbia. In addition, too, there were roving bands' of guerrillas who were attached to neither leader.

From the beginning of the year Mihailovich adopted the policy of conserving his forces as far as possible, partly for use at a subsequent stage, partly so as not to bring reprisals on the civilian population. He even entered into a kind of tacit agreement with the Italians in Montenegro to refrain from mutual

attacks. Tito, on the other hand, was more enterprising, and challenged the enemy wherever possible. Partly for this reason, partly because he was opposed to Serb domination, for which Mihailovich was supposed to stand, Tito became far the more popular figure in the country, and it was to his standard that new recruits mostly flocked. By the end of the year his Army was said to have increased to 200,000, while that of Mihailovich had dwindled to 15,000. The British Government recognised the change in the situation by sending all its help after the surrender of Italy to Tito.

To combat the resistance movement the Axis Powers continued to keep a large force in the country, consisting usually of about 7 German divisions, 7 Bulgarian, and 16 Italian. On several occasions in the year large major operations were carried out by sections of these troops. On March 30 the German High Command reported that German troops, co-operating with part of the Italian Army, had in battles lasting for many weeks smashed a so-called "Communist" rising in southern Croatia stirred up by Soviet Russia. In May a three-pronged drive was made by German troops advancing south-eastwards from Belgrade, Italians and Croats advancing southwards from Serajevo, and Bulgarians advancing westwards from Skoplje, with the object of trapping Mihailovich's forces. Within a month the three invading forces met on the Dormitor Plain in Montenegro, but by that time Mihailovich had succeeded in escaping from the trap. Concurrently a drive was made from Bihach to the north, which succeeded in taking Banjaluka, the centre of Tito's influence. In September, as a result of Italy's surrender to the Allies, the Italian troops in Yugoslavia ceased fighting against the patriots, and many of them even joined them. Tito thereupon took the offensive, and the Partisans gained control of a hundred miles of the Dalmatian coast from Susak to Senj. Most of the province of Ljubljana also fell into their hands. Strong German reinforcements were then brought up, and they were forced to abandon much of the territory they had gained. A large-scale German offensive against Tito's forces—which by now had become the Yugoslav National Army of Liberation—was launched at the beginning of December, chiefly in Eastern Bosnia. After some initial successes, the German advance was stopped, and at the end of the year the Partisans were holding their own on all fronts.

Politically the state of the Nationalist Movement was one of great confusion throughout the year. The Government in London underwent several changes, made chiefly for the purpose of reconciling Serbian and Croat claims. Dr. Yovanovich, who had become Premier at the end of 1942, resigned in June, and was succeeded by Dr. Trifunovich. Failing to frame a declaration of policy which would satisfy the Croat members of his Cabinet, Dr. Trifunovich also resigned after six weeks. He was succeeded

by M. Purich. Shortly afterwards the Government transferred its headquarters to Cairo. Throughout all these changes General Mihailovich remained Minister of War. Neither his authority, however, nor that of the London Government was recognised by the Partisans, who in the course of the year gradually evolved an administration of their own.

On one or two occasions in the year the Partisans and the "Chetniks," when faced with a common danger from the enemy, co-operated, but more often their attitude to one another was one of definite hostility. In the summer a virulent propaganda war broke out between them, Mihailovich stigmatising the Partisans as Communists, while they accused him of being pro-German. The Germans did not fail to do their best to increase the discord. In October negotiations took place between King Peter and Tito, who demanded the dismissal of Mihailovich and other changes in the Government; also the holding of a plebiscite on the question of retaining the monarchy before the return of the King to Yugoslavia. The negotiations broke down, and the Partisans thereupon proceeded to extreme measures. Already in November, 1942, an anti-Fascist Constituent Assembly had been held at Bihach, attended by 53 representatives of the liberated areas, and had elected an Executive Committee. Another meeting of the Assembly was now held at Tacje, attended by 142 delegates. In accordance with its instructions, the anti-Fascist Council drew up a constitution providing for the appointment of a Supreme Council which should exercise sovereign powers between Assemblies and should appoint an Executive National Committee of Liberation. Dr. Ribar was elected President of the Supreme Council, and Tito, promoted to Marshal, President of the Executive Committee of Liberation. This body represented practically all sections of the population, consisting of 23 Serbs, 20 Croats, 10 Slovenes, 4 Montenegrins, 4 Macedonians, and 3 Moslems. One of the Vice-Presidents of the Supreme Council was a Jew. On December 17 the Free Yugoslav Radio, the mouthpiece of the Partisan movement, broadcast a proclamation declaring that the so-called Yugoslav Government abroad was deprived of all the rights of a legal Government, that King Peter was forbidden to return to the country until the whole of it had been liberated, and that international treaties which might be contracted by the fugitive Government in the name of Yugoslavia and her peoples would not be recognised.

TURKEY

Throughout 1943 the Turkish Government gave the impression of finding itself more and more painfully impaled on the horns of a dilemma, inevitably, perhaps, in the case of a country passing from the stage of aggressively emphasised neutrality through non-belligerency to possibly active participation in the war. The

Anglo-Turkish Alliance, having been signed in **October, 1939**, after the outbreak of the war, imposed the obligation of belligerency ; but, with the tacit consent of the British Government, Turkey remained out of the struggle, as she was not equipped for the requirements of modern warfare, and Great Britain was not in a position to supply her with the necessary war material. Her neutrality, assured as it was by the Turkish-German pact of friendship and non-aggression signed in June, 1941, was useful to the Allies and suited the Turks, who might have been at the mercy of the Germans at a time when the Allies would have been unable to afford her effective help. With the war now in its fourth year the Turkish Government still found it convenient to protest its friendship for both sides, not only because the country was anxious to keep out of the war, but also because it was dubious about Russian policy in general, and was not entirely satisfied on the score of the Allies' intentions regarding the Balkans. The marked turn in the course of the conflict that took place in 1943, coinciding as it did with the substantial increase of war material that reached Turkey as a result of enhanced production in the United States and Great Britain, aroused among the Turks misgivings lest a country that had not taken part in the war on the Allies' side should have no claim to be represented at the post-war settlement. At the same time the anomaly of the Turkish position was becoming more apparent to the United Nations, and particularly to Russia, where a sharp criticism of Turkish neutrality was published in the review, *War and the Working Class*, during September.

The first joint examination of Turkey's position took place on January 30 and 31, when Mr. Churchill, accompanied by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, the Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in Persia and Iraq, visited President Inonu at Adana. Official pronouncements on the meeting stressed its bearing on the practical needs of Turkish security, and added that the whole field of international politics and the war situation had been reviewed. German reports that Turkey had been asked to enter the war and had refused were subsequently denied from British sources. A point which, it was said, had given particular pleasure to the Turks was the assurance accorded them at the conference that their interests in post-war problems would be duly considered.

The Adana meeting was followed by the visits of the Commanders-in-Chief of the three Services in the Middle East, Air (March), Army (April), and Navy (May). On leaving Ankara, General Sir Maitland Wilson, Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, stated that the purpose of his visit had been to arrange with the Turkish authorities for the execution of the decisions taken at Adana, when Mr. Churchill promised that the Allies would supply Turkey with the war material needed for her defence. The matter

had been under study **for** two months, during which time a Turkish mission had visited Allied headquarters. The transfer of five British cargo steamers to Turkey on April 14 was another result of the Adana meeting.

In spite of the emphasis laid on the Anglo-Turkish Alliance, Turkish spokesmen lost no opportunity of declaring their friendly feelings towards Germany, against whom the bill for horrors connected with the occupation of the conquered territories of Europe was steadily mounting. On February 20, on the occasion of the anniversary of the foundation of the *Halle Everli* (People's Houses), the Prime Minister, M. Sarajoglu, reaffirmed Turkey's determination to maintain her neutrality and her wish to continue close and amicable relations with Germany, the United States and Russia, based on existing treaties ; but he also stressed the mutual friendship and trust between Britain and Turkey, which he described as "indestructible." At the conclusion of the People's Party's Congress, on June 15, M. Sarajoglu, after referring to the Anglo-Turkish Alliance, said that Germany, too, had stretched out her hand to Turkey, and an agreement of non-aggression and friendship had been signed with her. It had been proved by events, he added, that this agreement, originating from the sincere wishes of Turkey and Germany, had ensured their real needs, and it continued to produce useful results for both parties. This policy had saved Turkey from the danger of war, and for this reason she might look on the future with satisfaction.

A different note was struck for the first time in Turkish pronouncements when President Inonu, addressing the Grand National Assembly on November 1, declared that Turkey wished the victors in the war to be "civilisation and humanity." The Turks, he added, deprecated "the spirit of domination, which is bound to collapse," and believed in the establishment of an order based on the sincere co-operation of all free nations, large and small. It was the first occasion on which a Turkish spokesman had admitted the possibility of moral issues being involved in the struggle. The following day the Turkish Foreign Minister, M. Menemenjoglu, left for Cairo, and on November 5 and 6 had discussions with the British Foreign Minister for "an exchange of views on the general situation in the light of the results of the Moscow Conference." At a meeting of the Parliamentary group of the People's Party after his return, M. Menemenjoglu stated that questions resulting from the obligations of the Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Alliance had been discussed in Cairo. A few days later a Turkish newspaper announced that the Foreign Minister was understood to have intimated that the British Government had asked Turkey to fulfil her obligations under the Treaty of Alliance, but that Turkey had replied that circumstances and conditions prevented her from doing so at present. An exchange of views between the two Governments, however, was understood to be

taking place with a view to deciding the conditions under which Turkey might be able to fulfil those obligations by entering the war as a belligerent.

On December 4, 5, and 6 President İnönü, having flown to Egypt at "the cordial invitation of the United States, British, and Soviet Governments/" met President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill in Cairo. The official announcement issued after the meeting went on to state that the three leaders

reviewed the general political situation and examined at length the policy to be followed, taking into account the joint and several interests of the three countries. The study of all problems in a spirit of understanding and loyalty showed (it continued) that the closest unity existed between the United States of America, Turkey, and Great Britain in their attitude to the world situation. . . . The identity of interest and of views of the great American and British democracies with those of the Soviet Union, as also the traditional relations of friendship existing between these Powers and Turkey, have been reaffirmed throughout the proceedings of the Cairo Conference.

The setting of the conference had virtually the effect of identifying the United States and Soviet Russia with Great Britain in the Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Alliance, or, in the words of M. Menemençoglu on his return from Cairo, Turkish relations with America and Russia were now almost as strong as those with Britain. In his report to Parliament on December 14, Mr. Eden, who also had been present in Cairo, stated that he had good hopes that the discussions would be found to have established a sound basis for future co-operation between Britain, Russia, America, and Turkey. That all the details of such co-operation had not been agreed to by Turkey at the end of the year was suggested by the visit, the second since April, of the Turkish Ambassador in London, M. Rauf Orbay, to Ankara for consultation with his Government.

A General Election was concluded on February 28. President İnönü was unanimously re-elected President of the Republic on March 8, and a new Cabinet was formed by the Prime Minister, M. Sarajoglu, with four new Ministers. In a review of the financial and economic situation early in December M. Sarajoglu pointed out that Turkey's annual expenditure, which before the war averaged 300,000,000l.T., had risen to 900,000,000l.T. (about 130,000,000l.), inclusive of extraordinary expenditure. The paper currency, he added, had more than trebled (from 230,000,000Z.T. to 770,000,000l.T.) since the war began. The Turkish-German Trade Agreement, signed in October, 1941, expired on March 31, and a new agreement, signed on April 18, provided for the exchange of goods to the value of 60,000,000l.T. (about 12,000,000l.) by May 31, 1944, Germany supplying industrial equipment, spare parts for machinery, locomotives, trucks, and chemicals in return for mainly cotton, tobacco, and dried fruits from Turkey. Trade Agreements were signed with Italy (April), and Hungary (July 5) also. The country experienced two severe earthquakes during

the year, the first on June 20, in the region of Adapazar, some 60 miles east of Istanbul, when the death-roll exceeded 1,300 and over a thousand buildings were destroyed ; the second on November 27, in central northern Anatolia, comprising the area between Kastamuni, Samsun, and Tokat, when the number of deaths was placed at nearly 4,000. A new stretch of railway from Diarbekir to the River Batman, on the line that is to link Turkey with Iran, was opened on June 27. On July 24 the twentieth anniversary of the Treaty of Lausanne, and on October 29 the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic were celebrated throughout the country. On July 31 the Turkish Government was presented with Notes from the British, United States, and Russian Governments calling on it to refuse asylum to any Axis war criminals who might attempt to take refuge in Turkey, and declaring that the three Governments would regard any shelter, assistance, or protection given to such persons as a violation of the principles for which the United Nations were fighting. The Turkish reply, given on August 22, was non-committal.

To the tragedy of enemy occupation with its concomitants of oppression, executions, and famine for those in the country and exile for the King and Government, the Greeks in 1943 contrived to add the miseries of a divided people, both at home and abroad.

In the guerrilla warfare, which had already been a feature of 1942, some progress was made early in the year in organisation and in co-operation between the groups operating in various parts of the country. Before long, however, differences of political opinion were undermining the unity of purpose of the various bands, and in time these differences led to armed clashes between them. On March 15 King George arrived in Egypt from London, with his Prime Minister, M. Tsouderos, and most of the Government, and in an order of the day, issued on Greek Independence Day, March 25, the King explained that the turn of events in the war had made his presence there as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and the presence of the Government necessary for the conduct of the fight for the liberation of Greece. An appeal for unity in the same message, however, and a promise that " political problems, as well as any defects in the organisation of the Greek armed forces, would be remedied," pointed to the seriousness of the differences among the Greeks.

The crux of the trouble was the position of the King himself. The cleavage of the Greek population into Monarchists and Republicans as a heritage of Venizelos's rise to power appeared to have been smoothed over, although not entirely obliterated, with the restoration of the monarchy, followed, as it was, by the masterful rule of General Metaxas and the elimination of party

politics ; but the withdrawal from Greece, albeit under military necessity, of King George and his Government and, possibly, the intrigues of the Germans and Greek quislings on the spot, revived the animosity felt against the Metaxas regime, for which, after the death of the dictator, responsibility could be attached only to the King who had placed and kept him in office.

The intention of King George, as expressed in a message to the guerrilla leader Colonel Zervas, had been to return to Greece with or in the wake of the advancing Allied Forces, and he had promised that after his return he would consult the will of the people concerning the political and constitutional status of the country. This promise, however, would in normal circumstances be implemented by a Government of the King's own choice. A section of the Greek people held that the scales would in this way be unduly weighted against a free choice, and desired to see the future status of Greece as a monarchy or a republic settled before the King and his Government returned to the country. On July 4 King George made a fresh concession in a message to the Greeks, declaring that free General Elections for a Constituent Assembly would be held within six months after military operations permitted. As soon as it was possible to transfer the seat of the Government to Greek soil members of the present Cabinet would resign and a new Government would be formed, fully representative of public opinion. In September six guerrilla leaders arrived in Cairo to get into touch with the Allied Command and at the same time to discuss the political situation with King George and his Government. No agreement was reached, but on November 8 the King wrote a letter to his Prime Minister in which he said that when the hour of liberation struck he would examine anew the question of the date of his return to Greece in agreement with the Government in the light of the political and military conditions of the time and the national interests as his counsel. Unity, he added, was necessary at the moment for the final effort against the enemy, but it would also be needed during the period after liberation. Further appeals for unity were made by the King and the Prime Minister in messages to the Greek people on New Year's Eve.

An attempt to minimise the effects of the strife among the *Antartes*, or irregular bands, on their resistance to the invaders was made by the introduction of British liaison officers into Greece. At the beginning of May it was agreed that, in order to secure cohesion among the various groups, they should all be known as National Bands, and on July 2 it was announced in Cairo that the Bands had come under the Supreme Allied Command in the Middle East. There remained, however, in this Army five separate organisations, the two chief units being the E.L.A.S. (Greek Popular Liberation Army), under the non-Communist Colonel Sarafis, but with a strong Communist nucleus, and the

E.D.E.S. (Greek Democratic Liberation Army), led by Colonel (afterwards General) Zervas, acting in agreement with General Headquarters in Cairo ; a third group, a military non-political body under Colonel Psaros, was affiliated to the National Social Liberty League. On the collapse of Italy most of the Italian troops in Greece who surrendered were in the territory dominated by the E.L.A.S. Bands, to which, in the main, they handed over their arms, thus making this group the strongest section of the guerrilla army. This development antagonised the E.D.E.S., who appear also to have accepted reports of German origin that the E.L.A.S. had agreed to an armistice. The return to Greece of the six leaders who visited Cairo in September was followed by further clashes between the E.L.A.S. and the E.D.E.S. in the south, but the harmony established in the north in May was not disturbed.

The political difficulties, which were not confined to Greeks in Greece proper, were reflected in a reshuffle of the Cabinet on March 24. M. Tsouderos remained Prime Minister, but M. Canellopoulos, Deputy Prime Minister, and regarded as one of the spokesmen for the Greeks on the mainland, General Nicolaides, Admiral Kavadias, and M. Sekeris resigned. M. Roussos became Minister of Marine and Deputy Prime Minister, M. Karapanyotis Minister of War and Acting Minister of Air, and M. Sophoulis Minister of Public Welfare. At the same time Admiral Sakellariou resigned the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet. On April 7 it was announced that the Prime Minister of the puppet Government in Athens had resigned and had been succeeded by M. Joannis Ralli, who took the portfolios of National Defence and Supply.

In spite of the feuds between the Bands the guerrilla struggle against the Axis Forces was maintained throughout the year, with the *Antartes* in virtual control of the region lying between Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus. Fighting reached a peak shortly before the Allied invasion of Sicily, when the extensive tasks allotted to the Bands by the British liaison officers was designed to lead the Germans to suppose that an invasion of Greece was imminent, and resulted in the dispatch of four German divisions to Greece. Pitched battles, in which Germans as well as Italians were worsted, were fought from time to time, one specially fierce contest in November lasting ten days in an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Germans to annihilate the guerrillas. Constant acts of sabotage, involving among other objectives the naval base at Salamis, port installations, and railway bridges and tracks, caused the Germans to take over military and administrative control of the country from the Italians. The work of strengthening the defences of the coast-line, especially in the Salonika district, was intensified after the Allied **Air** Forces began to attack objectives in Greece. Inevitably the

Germans exacted ruthless reprisals on hostages and the ordinary population wherever opportunity offered, and the toll of Greek life taken during the year, particularly by the Bulgarians in the territories occupied by them, was heavy.

The collapse of Italy involved the German forces in clashes with Italian troops in Greece. Where possible, the latter were at once disarmed, but numbers contrived to pass on their weapons to the Greek irregulars, if they did not actually join the Bands, while others sought to escape the German net by exchanging their uniform for civilian clothing. Already in May the Germans, dissatisfied with the Italian administration of Greece, had abolished the division of the country into German and Italian zones of occupation, and had taken control of all roads and railways.

On June 24 the Royal Air Force launched its first major attack on the Greek mainland since the evacuation of Crete, the target being one of the airfields near Salonika. Three days later an American force bombed an aerodrome near Athens and industrial targets at Eleusis. On July 4 a small British force landed on Crete to raid airfields and withdrew safely ; on July 23 British and Greek aircraft bombed targets on the island, causing damage to factories at Heraklion and Hierapetra. On August 1 a broadcast in the name of the Allied Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, warned the Cretans that the Axis was breaking up, and instructed them not to impede the Italians, if they tried to resist the Germans.

In spite of the distribution of grain and other provisions from Allied and neutral sources by the International Red Cross, the food position in Greece deteriorated, and the outlook for the winter was reported to be grave on the mainland, where meat and fuel were said to be almost unobtainable already in September. On the islands close to the Turkish coast the situation was better, owing to easier delivery. Nevertheless, a famine situation, with soaring prices, obtained throughout the year. Inflation reached dizzy heights ; the note circulation was 150 times as great as in 1939. Though wages increased, prices outstripped the increase in wages. On top of all, the Germans robbed the country of its resources, stripping it completely bare. Yet resistance continued and the underground movement was active and effective.

BULGARIA

For Bulgaria the outstanding incident of 1943 was the death, on August 28, of King Boris. [See under Obituaries.] Two days earlier the German News Agency had announced that he had been ill for three days, suffering from angina pectoris, and that German doctors, sent from Hitler's headquarters, were in attendance. According to a statement issued by the Bulgarian Minister

of Justice, the King's death was the result of an obstruction of the left artery of the heart, double pneumonia, and cerebral congestion. The belief that Boris was the victim of assassination at once became current; but the varied nature of the rumours suggested that the exact circumstances attending his death had yet to be learned, at least in the Allied countries. It is not certain whether, as reported, he had just returned from a visit to Hitler (his last visit had been at the end of March); but to judge from the movements of the rulers of Germany's other puppet States, it is probable that he had been invited. According to one account his death was to be set down to German instigation as a reprisal either for his refusal to accede to Hitler's latest demands, whatever they may have been, or for an alleged attempt to put out peace feelers towards Russia. On the other hand, if Boris did not die a natural death, his assassin may equally well have been a Bulgarian actuated by the widespread hatred of the German regime, for the establishment of which in the country the King could not escape responsibility.

Of the two countries Germany alone benefited by the death of Boris. Bulgaria was deprived of its only leader at the moment, who, however pathetic and misguided the part he had played in the face of German bullying, still offered a rallying-point for national unity and, whatever his own subsequent lot might have been, had in all probability the desire to extricate his country from the quagmire in which it was floundering. By common consent Boris had contrived to interpose some kind of check on the German stranglehold on Bulgaria, if only by his consistent refusal to allow Bulgarian troops to serve on the Russian front. With his death Bulgaria passed to all intents and purposes under German occupation, with the German Minister, Beckerle, the virtual dictator. Under the Bulgarian Constitution the Sovereign has the right in his Will to nominate the Council of Regency that may have to hold office during the minority of his successor. It was announced on Boris's death that no Will could be found, and a Council of Regency was formed consisting of the late King's brother, Prince Kyril, the outgoing Prime Minister, M. Filoff, and the former War Minister, General Michoff. Both Prince Kyril and M. Filoff were credited with being wholly in the German camp, as was also the new Prime Minister, Dr. Bojiloff. General Michoff had previously proved himself subservient to the Germans, but was believed in some quarters to be prepared to transfer his allegiance now that he was satisfied that Germany could not win the war. A further irregularity in the appointment of the Regency Council was that it was not confirmed by a specially elected Greater Sobranie, which would have involved an electoral appeal to the country as a whole.

Throughout the year Bulgaria presented to the outside world the picture of a country seething with unrest, where the heavy

hand of authority, reinforced by the German Gestapo, only just contrived to hold its' own. Several prominent officials, conspicuous for their readiness to co-operate with the Germans, were assassinated, among them being General Lukoff, a former War Minister, Colonel Panteflf, a former Chief of Police, Sotyr Janeff, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Sobranye, and the Governor as well as a deputy of Plovdiv. All these murders were visited with reprisals in the form of mass arrests and executions or sentences of long imprisonment. The German military authorities, who had made Sofia their headquarters for the Balkans, had also to complain of the murder of Nazis and pro-Nazis in various parts of the country, and threatened to occupy Bulgaria, if the Government did not succeed in keeping order. After the death of King Boris, which was followed by demonstrations in the capital and numerous arrests, strong German units were reported to have arrived in Sofia, and Germans were said to be in control of all administrative posts in the army, police, transport, radio, and other communication services. The shortage of German man-power, coupled with the defection of Italy, was, no doubt, responsible for the Nazi Government having to offset its failure to secure the co-operation of the Bulgarian Army against Soviet Russia by extending the area of the Bulgarian occupation of neighbouring territory, until it covered the whole of northern Greece to the Vardar (with the exception of a zone some 12 miles in depth round Salonika), and practically the whole of Serbia, except Belgrade.

It was in the occupation of so much of the coveted territory belonging to the adjacent States that the Bulgarian Government had sought justification in its own eyes and among the Bulgarian people for its subservience to the Nazi regime. Even if disillusionment on this subject had not come when Germany's hopes of winning the war were known to have been shattered, it was to be found in the declaration made in the House of Commons on March 24 to the effect that the British Government regarded as null and void any legislation or other acts by the Bulgarian Government aimed at "Bulgarising" the Greek territory under Bulgarian occupation. The Bulgarian Government were making a systematic attempt to denationalise this territory, and were expelling Greek inhabitants and replacing them by Bulgarian immigrants. All these measures, it was added, of expropriation and expulsion would have to be undone at the end of the war.

M. Filoff, who had been appointed Prime Minister in February, 1940, remained in office until the death of King Boris, when, on the proclamation of the Crown Prince Simeon (born on January 16, 1937) as King Simeon II, he became co-Regent with Prince Kyril and General Michoff. The new Government was formed by Dr. Dobri Bojiloff, who retained the portfolio of Finance, which he had held under M. Filoff, with M. Christoff,

General Rousseff, and M. Kiroff in charge, respectively, of the Ministries of the Interior, War, and Foreign Affairs. M. Kiroff, who had previously been Bulgarian Minister to Turkey, occupied his new post for a month only, his resignation on October 14 being attributed to reasons of health ; he was succeeded at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by M. Shishmanoff.

Under the Filoff regime the anti- Jewish measures drawn up in 1942 were put into execution from the beginning of the year. A census of Jews was taken in May, and a week later Jews in Sofia received three days' notice to leave their homes. During the next few weeks the majority were removed to a coastal area, but a few thousands out of the original 20,000 were said to have remained. The deportation of thousands of other Jews from the Occupied territories of Thrace and Macedonia to Germany for agricultural labour was said to have drawn a protest from the Archbishop of Sofia and the Bishop of Plovdiv, in spite of the fact that they had shared in the Church's collaboration with the Government's policy of denationalising Occupied Greek and Yugoslav territory, and M. Filoff was obliged to promise that Jews of Bulgarian nationality would not be deported.

On November 14 Sofia was raided by the 12th United States Army Air Force from bases in Italy, the main target being the railway yards. There were subsequent raids on several days in December, and with this new development in the war it was noticeable that the utterances of Bulgarian Ministers and Press comments on the war showed a marked use of the soft pedal. Appeasement now became the note for home and foreign policy. In his Speech from the Throne to the Sobranie, Prince Kyril declared that Bulgarian policy was to guarantee peace in the Balkans, and there was no reference to Germany as an ally.

ALBANIA

After the Italian collapse in the summer, patriotic resistance, which had been sporadic under the Italian occupation, flared up and assumed important dimensions. While there had formerly been a pro-Italian faction in Albania, the whole population was united in hostility to the Germans, who now assumed control. A number of Italians joined the insurgents and provided them with arms. Various bands operated in the neighbourhood of all the chief towns, and gave the Germans much trouble. In the British House of Commons on November 4 the Prime Minister repeated a statement made by Mr. Eden on December 18, 1942, that it was the policy of the British Government to see Albania free and independent again.

CHAPTER V

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM
—NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN — PORTUGAL —
DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND

BELGIUM

DURING 1943 Belgium, still in German occupation, intensified her resistance to the invader, while her legal Government in London continued its active collaboration with the war effort of the United Nations.

Exasperated by the cruel oppression which had already weighed upon them for two and a half years, and at the same time encouraged by the magnificent successes of the Allies, the Belgians at home waged a desperate struggle against the Germans. The conflict assumed considerable proportions, and the list of martyrs became ever longer, while with their blood the Belgians wrote a glorious page in their history. The whole nation was animated by the same spirit, and all classes united their efforts in a resistance which crystallised round a central organisation, with ramifications extending throughout the country. To impede the German war effort remained in 1943 the essential task of the patriots. Their success was remarkable, and it is safe to say that the sabotage in Belgium was the most effective in all Europe. Every installation of military value was a target for the attacks of the patriots.

Feeling was kept at fever heat by the mass deportations, which had accounted for over half a million Belgians by the end of 1943. The reports sent from Germany by those deported of both sexes left no doubt about their sufferings. On March 21 a protest by the Church was read in all parishes, and similar protests were made by members of the Senate, by a group of Deputies, and by the High Court of Justice, but all without effect. The people therefore took its defence into its own hands. Workers made themselves scarce, and students also. The universities formed solid bulwarks of resistance. The arrest of Mgr. Van Wayenberg, the Rector of the University of Louvain, and his condemnation to eighteen months' imprisonment for sabotaging conscription only exasperated the students.

In order to hinder the mobilisation of the workers, the patriots burnt the recruiting offices ; and in order to obtain supplies for those who escaped the slave-drivers, they raided the town-halls and stole the rationing coupons. One of the clandestine journals estimated that 60 per cent, of those called up did not respond to the summons. Tens of thousands of men lived as outlaws, protected and supported by the population, which displayed a splendid spirit of solidarity. The fugitives swelled the formations of the partisans and " terrorists." Large groups, often organised on a military footing, lived in the woods. Newspapers in the pay of the enemy spoke of clearing operations undertaken by the Germans. The fact was that pitched battles took place in the

Ardennes, where the patriots of the "maquis" fought with admirable courage and determination.

Repression was applied ruthlessly. The Gestapo carried out huge numbers of examinations, arrests, and, of course, executions. The exact number of victims cannot be ascertained, but an idea can be formed from the figure mentioned by the traitor, Degrelle, in his speech of May 1 at Brussels, when he said that "508 terrorist criminals had been shot since January 1, 1943." He was evidently referring to patriots and hostages executed by the Germans. Thus in the first three months of 1943 there were more executions than in the whole four years of the preceding war.

The patriots responded to the reprisals taken by the Germans against the population by counter-reprisals. Numerous traitors and members of the army of occupation were laid low by the bullets of popular justice. It was estimated that about fifty attempts and attacks were made daily. Certain exploits revealed a high degree of organisation and a remarkable audacity. At the railway station of Tournai the rolling stock on one occasion was shaken again and again by explosions at perfectly regular half-hourly intervals. Again, between Louvain and Tirlemont a train which was conveying 2,000 deported Jews was attacked by partisans, who liberated 800 of them. Railway traffic was constantly interrupted by the blowing-up of bridges, viaducts, and tunnels, in spite of close and special supervision.

The legal Government of Belgium kept in touch with the elements of resistance, and maintained a constant and effective activity on the interior front. It was supported by the clandestine journals, which reflected the true public opinion. These followed attentively its legislative work, and published and commented on the official speeches.

The speech of the Prime Minister, M. Pierlot, pronounced on the occasion of the national fete in Belgium on July 21, made a great impression. M. Pierlot announced the programme which the Government was preparing for after the war. It forecast, among other things, a return to a democratic regime, to Article 15 of the Belgian Constitution: "All powers emanate from the nation."

Justly anxious as they were to inflict an exemplary punishment on their tormentors and those who collaborated with them, the Belgians received with great satisfaction the assurance which the Government gave them on this matter. The decisions taken in 1943, which completed those of December, 1942, placed in the hands of Belgian justice an effective instrument. The competence of Belgian courts was extended. They would henceforth be able to take cognisance of crimes and wrongs committed against Belgians by foreigners, even outside the national territory. By its declaration of July 8 the Government reserved to itself the right of demanding that those guilty of and responsible for war crimes should be handed over to itself. On September 18 the Belgian Government announced its intention of prosecuting those who lent support to anti-Semitic measures.

In external affairs the Belgian Government collaborated wholeheartedly with the Allies in all fields—military, diplomatic, economic, and financial. It participated in the labours of U.N.R.R.A., and at the plenary session of the Council of that body on November 9, at Atlantic City, the Belgian delegation made the following declaration :—

Belgium hopes for assistance, since its population is actually starving. Our country, however, still possesses great resources outside of its continental borders, and it is ready to place these at the disposal of the common cause. Belgium is in a position to pay for the supplies it receives, and Belgian Congo, as an important producer of many primary materials and foodstuffs, will be able to go on furnishing assistance, as it has done since the beginning of the war, both for military and civilian purposes.

The Belgian delegation was headed by M. Paul-Henri Spaak, who was appointed President of one of the four principal commissions.

Belgian Congo brought its production up to a maximum. The accord with Great Britain concerning the purchase of the primary materials of the Congo was renewed in 1943. By an exchange of letters, on January 30, between the Belgian Embassy in Washington and the American Secretary of State, Belgium, on the basis of the Lend-Lease Act, undertook to furnish goods and services to the American troops in the Congo. An important convention was signed on October 21 between Holland and the Belgo-Luxemburgian Union. The rate of exchange was stabilised at the gold-parity as it was before the war. Parliament would be asked to ratify the treaty after the country was liberated. This convention was meant to pave the way for a much larger economic agreement. Article 14 of the Dutch-Belgian Treaty provided that the two Governments would be empowered to give their adhesion jointly to international agreements relative to the stabilisation of the exchanges, and that third countries would, with the consent of the Belgian and Dutch Governments, be able to join the convention.

By an agreement with Canada, the Belgian Legation at Ottawa was raised to the rank of an Embassy—a step which strengthened the traditional friendship between the two countries.

The Belgian Ministry of Information, which was founded in 1942, was greatly developed in 1943. It disseminated throughout the world the news which it received from the country, and made known the heroic attitude of the Belgian people. The Belgian wireless service was also considerably expanded. For the first time an occupied country with its Government in exile succeeded in creating a world-wide radio transmission. A station of 50 kilowatts, acquired in 1941 in the United States, was installed in 1943 at Leopoldville.

Belgium also made its contribution in the military sphere. The Belgian forces co-operated with those of the Allies. The Belgian Air Force was stronger than in 1940. Its aviators acquitted themselves brilliantly in operations on all fronts, and tribute was frequently paid to them by the British Command,

The Belgian Fleet was also active in **all** waters, **and the Belgian** merchant fleet suffered its share of losses. To replace these the Government purchased other vessels, some of which were put in service in 1943. A Belgian Army, well armed, well trained, and well equipped, was kept in England in readiness for an invasion of the Continent. An important force was also brought from the Congo in the course of the year and concentrated in the Middle East. Towards the end of 1943 a contingent of Belgian Comandos arrived in North Africa.

THE NETHERLANDS

It is no exaggeration to say that the year 1943 was one of the most difficult in Dutch history. As the Germans gradually approached their doom, their grip on Occupied Holland tightened, evoking steadily mounting resistance on the part of the Dutch people.

On January 29 the N.S.B. leader, Jr. Mussert, was allowed to set up a shadow cabinet of Quislings whose task was to supervise and finally to take over the administration of the country. As matters turned out, this shadow cabinet never gained any real power. On February 2, however, the Dutch Cabinet in London instructed the Civil Service to disobey all possible decrees of Mussert's Quislings. That same evening one of them, General Seyffardt (originator of the small Dutch Legion on the Eastern front) was shot dead by a patriot. The Germans replied by rounding up several thousands of young people, especially students. This provoked a violent reaction; the Catholic and Protestant Churches in particular, courageously voiced their protest. "These deportations," so it was declared in the Pastoral Letters to Catholic Bishops read in the churches on February 21, "are not only a misfortune; they are also an injustice which cries to heaven." Tempers rose when, at the beginning of April, all students were asked to sign a declaration of loyalty; some 85 per cent, refused. At about the same time nearly all medical practitioners refused to join the Nazi medical organisation, or go to Germany to render medical assistance there, as Herr Seyss-Inquart had slyly invited them to do. Finally, on April 29, the German C.-in-C., General Christiansen, ordered all former Dutch prisoners-of-war to report for reinternment in German camps. Strikes broke out, especially in the South, East, and North of the country. On May 1 the whole of Holland was placed under martial law. In some towns and parts of the country, especially in the North, there was serious street fighting. The Germans reacted with the utmost vigour. More than 400 patriots were shot after sham trials. Many more lost their lives without even the most summary jurisdiction. Martial law continued until May 16.

This outbreak of popular resistance was followed by severe German decrees. 4,000 students were deported to German factories; more than 6,000 others went into hiding. All wireless

sets were confiscated. Various age-groups were ordered to report for forced labour in Germany. At the end of the year about 400,000 Dutchmen were working in Germany, another 50,000 in France and Belgium.

After the May rising there were no more general strikes in Holland. The underground movement largely concentrated its efforts on slowing-down the deportation of Dutch workers. Many labour offices were set on fire. Several of the most hated Quislings were shot by patriots. At the end of the year nearly a hundred of Jr. Mussert's followers had been killed. Thousands of patriots, however, lost their lives in German prisons or concentration camps, where conditions became so intolerable that in March Dutch judicial authorities protested vigorously. The underground front, however, remained unshaken, despite cruel German persecution. The secret Press flourished as never before. The most important underground papers were the Socialist *Het Parool* ("The Watchword"), the Liberal, *Vrij Nederland* ("Free Netherlands"), and the Conservative *Trouw* ("Faithful").

Membership of the "National-Socialistische Beweging," i.e. National Socialist Movement, decreased, especially after the crisis in Italy. It fell, as estimated, by one-third to about 60,000. Various affiliated organisations, such as the "Arbeidsfront" ("Labour Front") for the workers, and the "Landstand" ("Agricultural Estate") for the farmers were universally neglected. Jr. Mussert's followers were lavish in complaints about their "loneliness." The Germans tried to help them. In March they set up a military organisation for the defence of Holland against the Second Front. Its members were by the end of the year transferred to Russia, after which a new organisation, the "Stads- en Landwachten"—a Quisling Home Guard—was created. There was much dissension in the N.S.B. Some traitors were afraid that Germany would occupy the best places in the New Europe. Others, especially the members of the S.S., advocated the complete annexation of Holland by Germany. Several times the leader of the S.S., Herr Feldmeyer, was violently attacked by Mussert. Mussert's friend, Commissioner-General Fritz Schmidt, an enemy of the S.S. General Rauter, died in June in suspicious circumstances. He was succeeded by W. Ritterbusch.

Food rations decreased steadily, yet the Germans continued to export foodstuffs to Germany. Life was hard for the poorer classes in the urban population. There was no actual famine, but under-nourishment was general. Towards the middle of the year, the average Dutchman received about 1,500 calories daily, i.e. half the standard rations as laid down by the League of Nations. The black market took on nation-wide dimensions. The underground Press urged the farmers to sell their products to the patriots against reasonable prices.

Dutch Jewry was almost wholly exterminated in 1943. Deportations to Poland had started in July, 1942. Out of the

140,000 Dutch Jews, about 100,000 had been deported by the beginning of May. The last contingent of Dutch Jews was rounded up in Amsterdam on September 20. Many thousands were able to escape. The number of those who, despite the threat of heavy penalties, found a refuge in Dutch homes was estimated at 20,000. In the middle of May the Germans gave those Jews who were married to a Gentile the choice between deportation to Poland or sterilisation. This led to a violent protest on the part of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, both of which throughout the year maintained an unbroken front of resistance against the Nazis.

The Government in London.—The problems of post-war reconstruction called for increased attention on the part of the Dutch Government. On October 21 a monetary agreement was concluded with Belgium and Luxemburg which provided for a fixed rate of exchange between the guilder and the belga.

In August a Dutch lawyer from Dordrecht, Mr. J. A. W. Burger, who had escaped from Holland, was added to the Cabinet, and given the task of co-ordinating the Government's measures for rehabilitation. As soon as Holland, or part of it, is no longer a fighting zone, it is intended to declare a Special State of Siege during which the Government's executive powers would be delegated to a military organisation the nucleus of which had been trained in England. The bulk of it would, however, be largely recruited on the spot from active and patriotic elements. The rights of free speech and free Press would immediately be restored, and as soon as possible elections would be held for a new Parliament which may be expected to make important changes in the Dutch Constitution.

Units of the Dutch Navy took part in operations in the North Sea and in the Mediterranean, including the gunboats *Flores* and *Soemba*, which were busy during the Sicilian campaign. Dutch U-boats sank 35,000 tons of enemy shipping.

On January 19 a third daughter (Margriet Francesca) was born to Princess Juliana and Prince Bernhard.

Netherlands East Indies.—What little reliable news came through from the Dutch East Indies seemed to indicate that the Japanese were continuing their attempts to pacify the population without meeting any notable success. Most of the Indonesians maintained a passive attitude and held aloof. Some extreme Nationalists, however, did collaborate with the Japanese. A few of them, including the former Nationalist leader Jr. Soekarno, took part in the Tokyo Conference on the organisation of the Greater East-Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The Air Forces of the United Nations carried out numerous attacks on military installations in the East Indies. The naval base of Surabaya was bombed by Liberators. Dutch Mitchell squadrons took part in these attacks. The Dutch flag was kept flying over Merauke (Southern New Guinea).

In Melbourne a school was set up for the training of Civil Servants for the liberated East Indies, many of them Indonesians.

SWITZERLAND

In 1943 the first care of both Government and people was again to safeguard the country against invasion from either side. Although at the end of 1942 the danger seemed to be growing more remote, the Government allowed no relaxation in the country's military preparedness. In a public speech on February 25 Dr. Celio, the Federal President, reminded those people who thought that the military danger had passed that Switzerland had twice been invaded less than 150 years before, and that neutrality demanded from those who enjoyed it resolute defence against one and all for the duration of the war. In a speech on May 4 he quoted Machiavelli's saying that the Swiss were free because they were armed, and the Minister of National Defence shortly afterwards warned would-be aggressors that every Swiss was a good rifleman, and there were arms and ammunition in every Swiss house. In March the Commander-in-Chief, General Guisan, made a tour of inspection of the defences of the Alpine railways to which the Press gave great publicity, and in May he stated in a broadcast address that the St. Gothard, Simplon, and Lotschberg Passes belonged to Switzerland alone, that it was her duty to defend them, and that whoever attempted to cross the Swiss frontier was her enemy.

The maintenance of the country on a war footing meant also the retention by the Government of the emergency powers conferred on it in the interests of the country's safety. That it regarded this arrangement as only temporary was made clear by the President in his speech on February 25, when he said that democracy, federation, and the existence of parties were stable factors in the political history of Switzerland which must remain fundamental components of the national structure whatever the future evolution of Europe might be. When the war was over, the authorities would have to re-establish the traditional autonomy of the Cantons in the Confederation and of the Communes in the Cantons, and to restore the ordinary powers of parliamentary institutions which had been restricted by the extraordinary powers conferred on the Federal Council. If there was to be a "*Novum Helveticum*," it would be primarily in the social and economic, and not in the political field.

In the interests both of national independence and of democracy, the Government took steps to combat the activities of Swiss pro-Nazis, not only at home but also abroad. On May 18 a decree was promulgated under which Swiss citizenship could be withdrawn from a Swiss national who at home or abroad had acted in a manner prejudicial to Swiss security and independence. This measure was aimed particularly at certain Swiss associations with Nazi sympathies in Germany. Nazi plans for a "*Great Germanic Federation*" were also mercilessly criticised in the Swiss-German Press, which, in spite of Switzerland's economic

dependence on Germany, unequivocally proclaimed her desire to trade with all the world.

While the hostility of Swiss public opinion to Nazism became more pronounced, there were signs of a certain mitigation in its antipathy to Bolshevism, so that it might be said that in this year Nazism displaced Bolshevism as "enemy number one" in the eyes of the Swiss public. In January two leading Communists, Leon Nicole and Hofmaier, were sentenced to three and six months' imprisonment, respectively, under the Federal Decree of August, 1940, against Communist activity. A petition from Nicole against the suppression of his party, the Federation Socialiste, was considered by the Federal National Council on March 29. In the debate a Socialist member complained that unequal treatment was accorded to the extremists of the Right and Left. The Minister of Justice denied this, but admitted that before the war it was possible that the authorities had not adopted sufficiently severe measures against the extreme Right. The Department of Justice, he said, had been against imposing the ban on the Federation Socialiste, but it had been Overruled by the National Council.

The financial year ended on April 2 with a net deficit in the regular account of 64 million francs, and in the special account dealing with national defence, war economy, and the creation of employment, with a deficit of 711.4 million francs. Thus the National Debt, which in 1941 had stood at 3,661.5 million francs, had been increased by 775.4 millions at the end of 1942. The Budget for 1943 provided for an annual expenditure of 500 million Swiss francs (about 28,000,000l.) for preventing unemployment. The number of unemployed had sunk from about 80,000 in 1939 to 8,000. There was actually a shortage of labour in agriculture, some branches of heavy industry, and domestic service. This was due partly to mobilisation, but also to special efforts required, on the one hand, to supply German demands for industrial products, on the other hand, to secure for the nation a certain measure of economic autarky to make up for the loss of imports caused by the blockade. The volume of imports in 1942 was only three-fifths that of 1938.

Regulations were made by the Federal Council in March dealing with refugees who had entered the country since August 1, 1942. Those fit for work were lodged in camps and homes and were required to perform duties in the national interest. Refugees were allowed to earn their own living only in exceptional cases, and were not allowed, without express permission, to give public lectures, write to the Press, or publish books.

After the surrender of Italy on September 8 there was a great influx of Italians into Switzerland, mostly in a destitute state. The frontier was closed on September 20, and on September 27 the Head of the Justice and Police Department warned the Government against reopening it, pointing out that Switzerland

was already impoverished and lacking in raw materials and foodstuffs, and could not therefore feed and clothe an indefinite number of refugees. On October 1 it was reported that there were 58,000 foreign refugees in the country, of whom 21,000 had entered—mostly from Italy—after September 8.

In reply to the Allied Note on July 31 calling on it to refuse asylum to war criminals, the Federal Government stated that Switzerland would continue to exercise the right of asylum at her own discretion, and refused to give any pledge.

In the Parliamentary Elections at the end of October gains were made by the Socialists at the expense of the Radicals, the Government Party. On December 15 Dr. Stampfli was elected President of the Confederation for 1944, and M. Nobs, a Socialist, took the place of M. Welter as Minister of Finance.

SPAIN

With the occupation of the North African shores by British and American forces, the danger of Spain being dragged into the war as a pawn of Hitler had disappeared. But if there was no longer any question of General Franco entering the fray as Germany's acknowledged ally, nevertheless, in terms of geography, the war had come very much nearer, and a certain atmosphere of tension which marked the beginning of 1943 was quite understandable. The authorities in Spanish Morocco, particularly, were nervous lest the fighting spread to the Spanish zone and the Moorish Nationalist elements, normally hostile enough, kick over the traces. They proceeded, therefore, to arrest a number of so-called "Communists" in the Spanish Zone and in Tangier. Another move was to suspend the three Moorish Nationalist papers which were disposed to flout the Spanish censorship. A few days before the turn of the year the High Commissioner, General Orgaz, had been so carried away by the prevailing excitement that, when installing a Falangist stalwart as Interventor in Tangier, he had blithely spoken of it as incorporated in Spain's Moroccan Protectorate. The offending remarks were broadcast, moreover, from all the principal Spanish stations. This *gaffe*, not unnaturally, drew a formal protest from the British Consul-General, who recalled that the *de jure* position was still that under the Convention of 1923, and that it could not be affected by any changes which Spain might have introduced.

It is hardly credible that the Germans intended any mischief at this juncture—though the Tangier outburst had followed hard on the heels of a full-dress conference in Berlin of Hitler, Ciano, Keitel, Goering, and Ribbentrop, with General von Faupel, Hitler's Iberian expert, close at hand. They may quite seriously, however, have fallen for their own propaganda, and had visions of an Allied move in Spain—especially when it became known that the British Ambassador had visited Lord Gort at Gibraltar and that General Eisenhower had joined them on January 4.

The situation calmed down, however, **and** all that happened was that the German Ambassador, Herr von Stohrer, was recalled to Berlin. He had no reason to be ashamed of his achievements. For one thing he had nursed successfully the Suner project of active Spanish participation in the anti-Communist struggle—the *Boletín Oficial* of the last day of 1942 had duly registered the fact that the "volunteers" of the Blue Division were in future to be considered as forming part of the Spanish regular Army; and, furthermore, the pact of December 20 proclaiming the "Iberian Bloc," which on the surface appeared to be nothing but mellifluous sentiment, was interpreted in certain quarters as tantamount to a military understanding for the defence of the Peninsula against any "United Nations" invasion. Incidentally, it was completed by a Spanish-Portuguese Trade and Clearing Agreement signed on February 22. The value of merchandise to be delivered by each party during 1943 was fixed at 240,000,000 escudos—representing double the previous year's figure and five times the amount of trade before the Civil War. Under this agreement Portugal was to have the loan of Spanish oil tankers and merchantmen to serve her ports, and in return Spain would be receiving certain Portuguese colonial products. Spanish coal was to be exchanged for Portuguese timber.

On January 25 the Spanish Government issued a Red Book containing all the documents relevant to the Iberian Pact. General Franco himself obviously felt that this treaty of "mutual friendship and external peace" negotiated with Portugal was a considerable feather in his cap and a gesture calculated to convince London and Washington that he was a man of peace. It also offered a spring-board for—in the words of *A Voz* of Lisbon—"the intervention of Latin civilisation in the Peace Conference." Another sweetmeat for the Allies was the appointment of an Anglophile grandee, Viscount de Mambblas, as Counsellor of the Spanish Embassy in London and acting Charge d'Affaires during the Duke of Alba's absence in Spain. But the Generalissimo was none the less effusive in his words of welcome for the new German Ambassador, Herr von Moltke, when the latter presented his credentials, prating of the "heroism, sacrifice, and sufferings of the German people in their struggle against Bolshevism," and adding: "Our nation prides itself that Spanish blood is being shed with yours in this noble enterprise [on the steppes of Russia] which is sure to be blessed by the justice of history."

While the statesmen of the Allies were meeting at Casablanca and Mr. Churchill was cosseting Turkey's President in the meeting at Adana, the Germans were, of course, not neglecting the immense propaganda field that still lay open to them in Spain. Jose-Luis Arrese, Suñer's successor as Secretary-General of the party, had the time of his life on the occasion of his guest visit to Germany **in the latter part of January. While he was there the new German-Spanish commercial treaty, signed on December 17, 1942, came into force.**

On his return from Germany Senor Arrese set off on another speech-making tour in Andalusia (he had previously been Civil Governor in Malaga), his main theme being, as on the previous trip in May, 1942, that Spain must make her choice between the Falangist regime or Communism—there was no middle way. It was also in a sense a recruiting campaign—for soldiers to go to Russia and workers to go to Germany. No doubt his German hosts had been rubbing in the Caudillo's promise (in a speech to high-ranking Army officers at Seville on February 15, 1942) that if ever the German bastion against the Russian hordes were in danger "not only one Spanish division would go eastwards but a million Spaniards would volunteer." Sr. Arrese, it need hardly be said, met with a poor response.

By this time, outside Spanish official circles, Germany's stock had certainly fallen—though the fear of Communism was real enough—and General Franco was not unresponsive to the shift of opinion. With Count Jordana at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a gradual transition from non-belligerency back to genuine neutrality seemed to be indicated. The story of the next few months, however, belied the expected process of adjustment. The truth is, probably, that the Caudillo had convinced himself that the war would continue for a long time yet, and would eventually end in stalemate and a negotiated peace; and therefore, skilfully balancing on his tight-rope, he was resolved to maintain his policy of splendid oscillation.

In home affairs, too, he appeared to be successfully maintaining the position of unstable equilibrium between the Falange and the conservative elements which had served him in such good stead. Thus, early in the New Year, he went ahead with the arrangements for the new *Cortes Espanolas*, which was designed to broaden the basis of the regime. The *Reglamento*, laying down both the mode of convocation and the procedure of debate, appeared in the Official Gazette of January 8. On the same day Don Esteban Bilbao, Minister of Justice, a Basque lawyer of pronounced Traditionalist sympathies, was appointed President of the Cortes, and on February 7 the names of the 50 *Procuradores* selected by virtue of their rank or eminent services to the State, were duly announced. They included the Duke of Alba, General Orgaz, High Commissioner in Morocco, and Don Juan Ventosa, the Catalan business magnate. Encouragement was also given to the monarchist groups by the Caudillo's official endorsement, amid much pomp and ceremony, of the Requiem Mass in honour of ex-King Alfonso XIII and his forbears, which was celebrated in the San Lorenzo Monastery at the Escorial on March 1. But this homage to tradition did not mean at all that Franco sought to diminish the power and prerogatives of the Falange. The Junta Politica of the party, which met on January 13, was authorised to issue a new set of regulations for control of the Press; and any reader of Spanish

newspapers could not but recognise that in this sphere, at any rate, the Falange had a free run. This fact—that the Government's sources of information are almost all tainted, *i.e.* bear the trademark "made in Germany"—accounts for a great deal in the Spanish Government's policy which might otherwise be inexplicable.

The first meeting of the Cortes was on March 17. Of its 438 members 103 were National Councillors of Falange, 142 were the chosen representatives of the *sindicatos*. Mayors of provincial capitals and representatives of provincial *diputaciones* accounted for another 100 odd. The necessary alterations had been made in the Parliament building in which the new Cortes met, so that anything recalling the Liberal period was obliterated: the red-upholstered seats of the former deputies had become blue! General Franco's speech on this occasion was not particularly notable; it contained the customary tilts at the Liberal Party system, stressed the social purpose of the new regime, and made the confident assertion that the war would last a long time yet—*h#* spoke of a war of six or seven years. With this rooted conviction it is no wonder that Franco's motto, as regards the evolution of the regime and of Spanish "neutrality," seemed to be *festina lente*.

Whether the impulsion henceforth was to come from the party or the Cortes, the machinery of government, however, was now well geared to Franco's will and in good repair. The figures of the national budget for 1943, published in the Official Gazette of January 6, indicated supreme confidence. Out of a total of 9,456 million pesetas over two thousand million were ear-marked for "General State Expenses," and it was noticeable that the appropriations for Army (including Falange militia and University militia), Falange, and police showed a substantial increase over those for the previous year. Moreover, as if to show that the regime meant business, a new law regarding military rebellion was published in the Gazette on March 16. This extended the definition of military rebellion—entailing summary trial—to strikes, sabotage, conspiracy and the illegal possession of firearms and explosives, and even the propagation of "false and tendentious news with the object of upsetting internal order, causing international conflicts or lowering the prestige of the State, the Army or the authorities!" In this as in many other respects, the Army chiefs appeared to have realised their fondest dream—the rule of courts-martial. There was another shuffle in the military commands, General Munoz Grandes, the first commander of the Blue Division, on his return to Spain, was appointed Chief of General Franco's Military Household; General Kindelan, suspect of Monarchist ambitions, was removed from the key-post of Captain-General of Catalonia (he was appointed Chief of the Staff College), and replaced by General Moscard6, the hero of the

Toledo Alcazar, and General Queipo de Llano, who had been in semi-disgrace for some time, was removed from the active list.

A smooth-tongued, but seemingly innocuous declaration to an American Chamber of Commerce gathering on February 26 by the United States Ambassador, set the enemies of Franco's Spain by the ears. Dr. Carlton Hayes was analysing the part played by the United States in improving the condition of Spain's economy. The supply of petrol and petroleum products to Spain, he said, had equalled the full capacity of the Spanish tanker fleet, and the quantity of petroleum products available in Spain for non-military uses was larger than in any European country. Sulphate of ammonia, cotton, and other products urgently required had also been sent.

"As long as the war lasts, and is kept away from Spanish lands," he went on, "the United States stands ready to continue and extend any help she can to Spain . . . the complete prosperity of the Iberian peninsula awaits only freer access to raw materials and markets, and these will be available to Spain on the day hostilities cease. . . ."

This gloss on the Allies' economic policy towards Spain moved Senator Reynolds, Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, to great indignation; he described shipments of petrol to Spain on that scale as "a damned outrage." The actual figures and the careful system of controls over distribution were later published in the American magazine *Newsweek* of March 15, but, meanwhile, to meet the outcry following the report of Dr. Hayes' remarks, Mr. Sumner Welles was obliged to give assurances that U.S. policy was in line with the national interest, trade with Spain being a two-way affair, and that it had no effect whatever on the quantity of petroleum available to consumers in the U.S.A. Similar assurances were forthcoming in answer to a question in the House of Commons.

This episode was a sharp reminder that public opinion in the democratic countries was not disposed to overlook indefinitely the Fascist taint of General Franco's regime. His hotspurs in Morocco chose that moment, as it happened, to make another move against the *status quo*. The German radio announced that on February 22 Spanish Falange elements had taken over the French Shereefian Post Office in Tangier. This report, which was not true, drew a vigorous protest from General Giraud. On March 4, however, after ascertaining that there would be no vigorous reaction from London—it was stated that "British interests were not affected"—the Spaniards moved in. The French authorities in North Africa, fully engaged on straightening out their own tangles, could do nothing about it. One indirect consequence, however, was a crop of resignations from the (Vichy) French Embassy in Madrid—the Counsellor, First Secretary, Assistant Military Attache, and the Ecclesiastical Affairs Attache,

together with French Consuls and their staffs in Barcelona, Bilbao, Valencia, and Malaga. Altogether, from the Allied point of view, the situation in Spanish Morocco continued to be highly unsatisfactory. Persons sympathetic to the Allied cause were continually being subjected to ill-treatment and persecution, and all manner of restrictions were imposed on the *Tangier Gazette*, the local British organ, while pro-Axis papers were left to indulge in the most unscrupulous propaganda.

Another matter which was causing friction was the question of air communications connecting Europe with Spanish-controlled Africa. General Orgaz took it upon himself to threaten that he would have the Aero-Portuguese line between Lisbon and Tangier suspended unless the "Iberia" air line connecting Madrid with Tetuan were adequately supplied with aviation spirit. Negotiations on this dragged on through the summer, until finally a satisfactory arrangement was reached with Washington, and the German holding in the Iberia line was bought out by the Spaniards. The Government already owned 51 per cent, and the Spanish Institute of Industry took up the remainder of the shares. Then, in the latter part of May, 200 or so Jewish and Arab youths who intended to volunteer for service with the Allied forces in French Morocco were arrested by the local police, and persons having business dealings with British firms were constantly having trouble. It seemed as if, so long as the Tunisian campaign continued, General Franco's Spain was determined to make the most of its nuisance value.

The most startling development of the spring in the sphere of foreign policy, however, probably owed nothing to German influence. Addressing the Council of Hispanidad in Barcelona on April 16 (the anniversary of Columbus' return to Spain) Count Jordana, the Foreign Minister, made an explicit offer of Spain's good offices for mediation between the belligerents and the immediate restoration of world peace. He professed to believe that the Holy See and other neutrals would be willing to collaborate in some concrete scheme for drawing up peace treaties. This was in fine with General Franco's known aspirations, and, during a speech-making tour of Andalusia shortly afterwards, the Caudillo reverted to it. Speaking at Almeria on May 9 he declared again that the war had reached a dead end, neither of the belligerents having the strength to destroy the other, and that the only beneficiary of a prolongation of the war would be Bolshevik Russia. The Allies remained deaf to these exhortations, the only comment being that of Mr. Cordell Hull, within a few hours of Count Jordana's effusion—"it is well known that the sole objective of the United Nations is unconditional surrender."

Nevertheless—and here no doubt the Germans were taking a hand—attached to this peace kite was a Press campaign against the horrors of air bombing which broke out suddenly **in the early**

summer. First of all there were a number of articles in *Ya*, *Arriba*, and *ABC*, faithfully copied in the provincial Press. The writer in *ABC* declared that "Spain was raising her voice above the din of battle to appeal to the belligerents to stop bombing cities"—and so to spare many thousands of innocent victims. It was too patently a move in the Germans' old game of "organising sympathy" by way of reinsurance against an eventual German defeat. The next stage was a Government directive to the Press, broadcast to Spain and Spanish Morocco on May 29, to the effect that no more leading articles were to appear, but, instead, articles signed by professors and authorities on international law. What they were to say was prescribed: (1) It is not bombing of the civil population in itself with which Spain is most concerned but the fact that it leads to reprisals and chaos; (2) we consider it lawful to bomb military objectives; (3) the campaign is to be carried out irrespective of who is doing the bombing. Finally, the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs took a hand. On June 5 it issued a long statement, referring back to plans for the humanisation of air warfare put forward by Spain at the Disarmament Conference in 1933, and accepted by the Great Powers in turn. The claim was made that during Spain's civil war General Franco's Government had proceeded on these lines, sparing the civil populations of Madrid and Barcelona by establishing safety zones for non-combatants. It was then suggested that the belligerents should get together to agree on a definition of total and partial military objectives and, under the aegis of a permanent neutral committee, should similarly establish reciprocally "non-bombardable" zones. The statement vigorously denied that Spain was acting in the service of any other country in making this humanitarian appeal. There was, of course, no sort of official response from the Allies, only a glancing reference to "belated conversion" by Mr. Eden speaking at a "Wings for Victory" lunch at Portsmouth on May 28, and a rather more pungent statement from Mr. Elmer Davis, head of the American Office of War Information. But one by-product of this campaign was that the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs managed to wrest from the rival Falange Press chiefs responsibility for the censorship of all war news and views in the Spanish Press.

In his speechifying during his Andalusian tour in May, General Franco had held forth in the usual vein. At Huelva on May 4, before 50,000 Falangists, he went out of his way to revile the liberal system "which leaves people free to kill one another," and Marxism, "which signifies the annihilation of the individual and offers an even worse slavery," contrasting with these the blessings of the existing regime in Spain, "born of Christian morality and of the history of our people." To officers in the Alcazar at Seville on May 7 he explained the meaning of non-belligerency "which meant neither intervention nor indifference,"

There was the usual patter about Russian barbarism and the peril of Bolshevism. A piquant feature of this tour was that for part of the time the Caudillo was accompanied by Dr. Rudolf Kircher, editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and a henchman of Ribbentrop's, who was *en mission* in Spain. Another German visitor to the Spanish capital at this time was General von Faupel, head of the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin and German Ambassador in the early days of the Movement. Dr. Dieckhoff, by the way—well known in London and subsequently Ambassador in Washington—had by this time taken over the German Embassy from Herr von Moltke, who had died suddenly from appendicitis only a few weeks after arriving to take up his appointment.

On the home front there was very little new to report. April 1, the fourth anniversary of General Franco's triumphal entry into Madrid, was marked by the decision of the Caudillo to extend conditional liberty to all persons serving sentences not exceeding twenty years' imprisonment—for rebellion. At intervals during the rest of the year similar gestures of clemency were announced. In practice this liberation did not amount to much, since, owing to Falange hostility, it often happened that the released men were not absorbed into the labour market and, on some pretext or other, they might find themselves once more in confinement or even summarily put out of the way. Hundreds of thousands of political adversaries of the regime were still languishing in jail or in concentration camps—*pace* the claim in a Memorandum drawn up by the Director of Prisons in the late summer that the number of persons imprisoned for " Marxist rebellion " was then only 49,000. Despite this running sore, the Government sought to rebut charges of arbitrary practices by entrusting the Advisory Council of Justice with the task of instituting reforms in the legal system and particularly drawing up a Bill of Rights. The Minister of Justice, Senor Aunos, waxed eloquent on this subject in a speech on the occasion of the opening of the Legal Year, September 15.

The midsummer days were enlivened by a spurt of monarchist activity. In the second week of June there was news of a manifesto in favour of monarchy to which some sixty Falangists, including several of the more responsible National Councillors, as well as the Duke of Alba and other leading personalities of the Cortes, were said to have subscribed. The text was made public at the end of July. The Falange Party authorities reacted strongly, and by decision of the Leadership of the party, *i.e.* General Franco, five National Councillors (according to the party's official bulletin of July 13) were removed from their posts. The five men in question were Senores Gamero de Castillo, a former Minister, Garcia Valdecasas, friend and collaborator of Jose Antonio, Manuel Halc6n, Chancellor of the Council of Hispanic Unity, Manuel Fanjul, and Jaime Foxa, They were not, however,

dismissed from the party. In his speech to the National Council of Falange of July 17 General Franco made no direct reference to this breach of party discipline, and remained deliberately vague about his own attitude to a Restoration. All he found to say on this theme was that "the path is not blocked to the possibility that one day the regime which we have created may adopt the character which Spain had in her glorious centuries . . ."—with a back-hander at "foreign machinations intent on stimulating appetites incompatible with the present historic times." The position with regard to Monarchy seemed indeed to be one of complete deadlock, with General Franco sticking to his avowal that Falange was "the backbone of the Spanish State" and the Pretender, Don Juan, equally determined to have no truck with the Falange harlequinade.

The only substantial piece of business recorded at this meeting of the Cortes was the passing of the new Universities law providing for compulsory enrolment of students in the S.E.U.—the Falange *sindicato* and other controls which underlined the supremacy of the party. General Franco had spoken as if the "Fascist" recipe were still the very pattern of political wisdom. For the "faint-hearted," "bourgeois," and "conservative" groups who failed to appreciate the significance of "our revolution" he could find only words of scorn; and he made it clear that any monarchist restoration would have to be on his terms or not at all. Then, a week later, Mussolini fell from power, and Italian Fascism, the prototype of Falangism, was on the scrap-heap. It was an awkward moment. But the Falange propagandists were equal to the occasion. A whole series of articles and radio talks began to appear explaining that the regime of Franco's State was an essentially Spanish affair—no connexion with the firm across the road—and that it was "unitarian" not totalitarian. Evidently the new watchword was to defend the "revolution" against the Right reactionaries by all manner of demagogic appeals. The official wireless, Radio Falange, opened the campaign on July 27 with a broadside against "all those who have let themselves be won over by a certain propaganda, all those who believe that the Caudillo could desert from his post to please a small group of traitors . . .," and the somewhat surprising remark that "we may be able to come to an understanding with those who have been misled by Marxism." It soon became clear that the forces supporting a Restoration were weak and divided, that the Monarchy, even as a mere interim symbol, a means of pacification over a transition period, was a lost cause. General Franco treated with superb disdain a memorial bearing the signature of the principal military commanders which counselled him to nail his colours to the Bourbon mast. On October 1, anniversary of the founding of the new State, he identified himself in uncompromising terms with the Falange's projects for social reform.

The one concession he was prepared to make to his Army cronies was to disband the Falange Party militia (which in Spain, unlike Italy, had never assumed any real importance). It was arranged that Sefior Arrese, the Secretary-General, should broach the suggestion at the close of the Provincial Leaders' Congress which took place in Madrid from December 13 to 20, whereupon the Caudillo graciously signified his approval. Other suggestions by Sefior Arrese for reconditioning the Falange in the interests of greater respectability were left in the air.

There was a short period, it is only fair to say, when some effort was being made to court Allied favour, or at any rate, to tread the path of genuine neutrality so often proclaimed. The Press, after the Tunisian campaign, began to report faithfully enough Allied progress in the Italian campaign. The news from Russia, on the other hand, was still given a completely German slant, no Moscow *communiques* being published. Articles began to appear in *Arriba*, the party newspaper, as well as *Ya* (the Catholic organ), suggesting that the intransigent phase of the "national revolution" was past—"Spain is reaching the end of the sad, repressive period. . . ." Early in August the restraints of censorship were reimposed on the Axis correspondents in Madrid and Barcelona. On certain major issues, however, there was no change, and the Allies had abundant grounds for dissatisfaction at Spain's continuing unneutral behaviour. It was decided, therefore, that the British Ambassador, Sir Samuel Hoare, should seek a personal interview with General Franco and enumerate the grievances to be remedied. This conversation took place at the Caudillo's country seat, Pazo de Meiras, near Corunna, on August 20. It presumably embraced questions of sabotage of British shipping, espionage in southern ports and in Morocco, maltreatment of British subjects, the unsatisfactory situation at Tangier, and the active military help being given to Germany in the shape of the Blue Division on the Eastern front. A distinctly bad impression was caused by the tone of the commentaries upon this interview in the Madrid Press, and particularly a statement issued by the Spanish Embassy in Washington, which suggested that the colloquy had consisted mainly of renewed assurances on the part of Britain that the independence and territorial integrity of Spain and her colonies and Protectorates would be respected. The British Press and radio immediately published a *mist au point*.

In fact General Franco had promised that he would look into British grievances. Although nothing much transpired on other matters, Count Jordana was able to report shortly afterwards that the decision had been taken in principle to withdraw the Blue Division from the Russian front. So much at least had been gained. Unfortunately, by the second week in September, a vigorous counter-attack on the part of German propaganda—e.g. the "news" that at Salerno the Allied forces had been thrown

back into the sea—coupled with the slow progress **of the campaign in** Italy and the melodramatic rescue of Mussolini had once **more** turned the tables ; and from then onwards until the end of the year Spanish policy seemed more than ever to be set upon a course of tergiversation and chicanery. German agents continued to operate from Tangier, under the aegis of the illegal German Consulate-General. The Spanish authorities refused to hand over to the Allies certain Italian merchant vessels which were in Spanish waters at the time of the Armistice with Italy, and they declined to release from internment a number of Italian warships which had put in for re-fuelling at Port Mahon (Minorca) *en route* for Gibraltar. The improvement in the treatment of war news in the Press was not maintained. While all manner of assurances were given that the Blue Division was being disbanded—some 10,000 men were in fact brought back in dribblets—it transpired that a token force of "volunteers" was left under the new designation of Blue Legion, placed directly under German command, so that even this gesture was found to be illusory.

A timely warning by Dr. Salazar to Count Jordana at a meeting on the frontier two days before the British strategic occupation of the Azores ensured that there would be no trouble from Spain. But the despatch of a telegram replying to greetings from Sefior Laurel, the puppet President of the Japanese-controlled Philippines, stirred up bitter feelings against the Franco regime in the United States, and what with attacks on Allied officials and agents—the British Vice-Consul at Saragossa, the American Consul at Valencia, and the Fighting French Mission in Madrid—the year ended in an atmosphere of crisis and recrimination.

It only remains to mention that, in economic matters, Anglo-Spanish relations remained mutually beneficial. In addition to the maintenance of the supplies programme required by Britain's economic strategy—and secured by pre-emptive purchase—it was possible to arrange for the resumption of traditional trade in the shape of substantial quantities of oranges (bitter and sweet) and onions, which augured well for post-war dealings. Finally, on November 24 it became known that at long last the Spanish Government had agreed to adjust the sterling-peseta rate so as to establish parity with the dollar-peseta exchange—a change from 40.50 p. to 44.00 p.

PORTUGAL

At the beginning of the year the Government professed to entertain serious apprehensions lest Portugal might in some way be dragged into the war. To provide against such an emergency, on February 17 it took powers to mobilise without further notice and place under military control a large number of industries, enterprises, and services, including all war production, posts,

telegraphs and telephones, transport and shipping, mining, gas and electricity, chemical industries, and food factories. The decree conferring these powers was stated to be issued "in the interests of military requirements, of normal living conditions, and in defence of the national economy," but no occasion for putting it into force arose during the year.

Steps were also taken during the year to improve still further the national defences. On April 9 a naval, military, and air mission left for the United States. On September 1 the Government announced that large quantities of war material had been acquired, and manoeuvres on a large scale were held in the second half of the month. In the National Assembly on November 26 Dr. Salazar stated that the large amount of war material received from Great Britain was being paid for by services performed for Great Britain in Portugal, and that with this, and with other material which they had been able to procure more expensively from Germany, Italy, Denmark, and Sweden, they had been able to re-arm to a degree "which at first they had considered a dream and which subsequently became a strict necessity."

The alliance with Great Britain continued to be the cornerstone of Portugal's foreign policy. The British Government in this year at length raised the question—which had long been present to its mind—of naval facilities for the British in the Azores. After due consideration of the political, military, and economic questions involved, the Portuguese Government consented to grant the required facilities, and an agreement to that effect was signed on October 12 [*vide* English History]. Protests against it were received from Germany and Japan, but were disregarded.

In his speech in the Assembly on November 26, Dr. Salazar declared that it was necessary to find a solution for the situation in Timor, where the Japanese had murdered dozens of Portuguese, and which they still showed no sign of returning to Portugal. On December 22 he called the attention of the Japanese Ambassador in Portugal to the matter, but obtained no satisfaction. On the next day an inspired article appeared in the *Jornal de Comercio* saying that further silence would seem to imply passive acceptance of a limitation on Portuguese sovereignty, and demanding a clear statement from the Japanese Government on what had happened in the island since the invasion, and especially on the situation of the Portuguese still there, with reparations if necessary.

In a broadcast address which he delivered on April 28, on the fifteenth anniversary of his assumption of financial control of the country, Dr. Salazar announced his determination to continue his policy of permitting the free functioning of private enterprise, even in what were essentially public services. He boasted that Portugal was one of the few countries of the world which still

maintained free imports, exchange, and circulation of capital. He deprecated the exclusive favouring of national capital and labour against foreign capital and labour, though this had not prevented him shortly before from decreeing the nationalisation of foreign capital in all limited companies. The food situation continued to be bad, and led in July to serious strikes and disturbances, which were put down with a firm hand by the Government. The export of wolfram continued to be highly profitable, though most of it this year went to the United Nations.

DENMARK

March 23 and August 29, 1943, were decisive dates in the history of Germany's occupation of Denmark; events showed that the Danish people, despite three years of flattery, persuasion, threats, and terror were united in their democratic faith and in their fight against Nazism.

On March 23 the elections to the Lower House of Parliament were held in accordance with the Constitution. For some reason or other, the Germans neither prevented them nor interfered. They may have had a secret hope that the results would show a substantial advance for their henchmen, the small Danish Nazi Party under Frits Clausen. If this was the case, the results must have sorely disappointed them. The Nazis just managed to hold the three seats they had won four years earlier—and this despite the fact that there was a record poll. No fewer than 90 per cent, of the electorate turned out to record their votes, and only 1.9 per cent, were in favour of Clausen's Party. The disappointment of the Nazis was rendered the more bitter because the semi-Nazi Peasants' Party (not to be confused with the important Liberal or Farmers' Party) actually lost two of its four seats. Of the 148 seats in the House 143 went to the six democratic parties—the Social Democrats, the Radicals, the Conservatives, the Liberals, the Union of Justice, and the Danish Unity. In addition to the two seats lost by the Peasants' Party the democratic parties shared amongst themselves the three seats formerly held by the Communist Party (which was prohibited on German orders in 1941) and the single seat of the German Minority Party, which abstained from the elections.

The elections held a week or so later for half the representation to the Upper House, where the Nazis and their supporters have never managed to gain a single seat, proved to be an equally smashing victory for democracy. Elections for the urban and rural district councils in 1943 were banned by the Germans, as they had been in previous years. In these the Nazis would have had an even smaller chance of political survival.

On August 29, just over five months after the March elections, activities on the part of the patriots compelled the **Germans** to

declare a state of military emergency in the country, and the Danish people thereupon accepted the full consequences of their unanimous confession of democratic faith.

The main reason for this step on the part of the Germans was the ever-increasing activities of Danish saboteurs. These, despite the official policy of maintaining "calm and order" in the country, could not remain passive in face of German exploitation of Danish food production, man-power resources, and industrial capacity—in 1943 the German debt to Denmark rose to over 200,000,000l.—and they had the satisfaction of seeing that their work had a really damaging effect on the German war machine. The saboteurs proceeded with extreme caution in their efforts to spare Danish lives, though this often increased the personal risks which they themselves were forced to run. They pointed with just pride to the fact that their repeated attacks upon the machine factories and shipyards of Burmeister & Wain in Copenhagen had resulted only in the injury of a few men, whereas the R.A.F. Mosquito attack in January, which had not been more successful, had resulted in the death of twelve persons.

In the first half of the year the Germans vainly tried to rouse the people to indignation at the destruction of Danish property by saboteurs. They ordered the newspapers to print very full accounts with pictures of the damage, and to feature German dictated articles condemning sabotage. But sabotage only increased in extent and intensity. "The rulers"—the King, Government and Parliament and the political parties—although frequently reminded of their responsibilities by the German plenipotentiary in Copenhagen, Dr. Werner Best, became more and more reluctant to assist the Germans in combating "the activists," who had the support of the overwhelming majority of "the ruled," *i.e.* the people. One or two attempts, unmistakably bearing the stamp "made in Germany" were, however, essayed in the spring and late summer. On May 15 the King appealed over the radio to the people to adhere to the policy of calm and order laid down by the Government, and not to commit individual ill-considered acts which might endanger the safety of the country. But the royal speech failed to have the desired effect, and the Germans, distrusting the Danish courts of justice, introduced trial of Danish saboteurs by German summary courts in accordance with the German military code.

The Germans, in fact, took a very grave view of Danish sabotage—not least in connexion with their fevered preparations to meet an expected Allied invasion of Denmark. They became very nervous. The sight of R.A.F. buttonhole badges so infuriated them that they would snatch them from the buttonholes of the wearers. This practice was quickly checked, for the people fastened safety razor blades to the undersides of their lapels, which resulted in many cut fingers. The Germans also resented

the wearing by children and young girls of round Juliet caps knitted in the pattern and colours of the R.A.F. aircraft identification marks.

The bare existence of the remaining tiny garrisons and establishments of the Danish Army and Navy, which as a precautionary measure had been removed from Jutland to the eastern islands, also gave the Germans a headache. In case of an Allied invasion from the west these groups might cause unnecessary trouble. Quite apart from this, Danish barracks and stores would be useful to the ever-increasing number of German reinforcements which poured into Denmark during the summer.

Remnants of the Nazi Free Corps Denmark, which no longer existed as a unit on the Eastern front, did their best by provocation to create chaotic conditions and discredit the Danish police, so as to persuade the Germans to give them police powers. But the Danes disregarded this provocation.

These and other factors combined in July and August to charge the atmosphere to a point of the highest tension. In Copenhagen and the larger provincial towns it was from time to time discharged in explosions. For instance, in Esbjerg, the large port on the west coast of Jutland, "activists" taught the Germans a lesson. One night they fired a factory making fish-boxes. Hundreds of thousands were destroyed. The Germans became desperate. They declared a state of emergency in the town and introduced a curfew. The inhabitants retaliated by a total strike. Almost everything came to a standstill; not only was work stopped, but shops, restaurants, and places of entertainment closed down, and postal, telephone, telegraph, rail and road communications, and the police services were all suspended. Having faced this united front for a couple of days the Germans had to admit defeat and repeal the emergency. Similar events took place in almost all of the larger towns. In July there were 77 acts of sabotage, and in August about 100. The peaceful and freedom-loving population of Denmark had been hardened and was solidly united.

On August 4 the Germans demanded that the Danish Government should surrender all Danish saboteurs, whether their sabotage had been committed against German or Danish life and property, to be tried according to the German military code. Sentences were to be served in Hamburg. This demand was in such flagrant contradiction to the Danish conception of justice that it was immediately rejected by the Government. A few days later the King received the German Minister, and on August 21 the Government once more appealed to the people to consider the grave consequences which individual acts might have **for** the country. It was of no avail.

On August 24 the German Minister departed for Berlin. He returned on the 27th, and on the following day he handed an

ultimatum to the Government. A reply was demanded before four o'clock in the afternoon. The Government was requested to declare a state of emergency, to prohibit the gathering of more than five persons in public places, to ban strikes, and to introduce a curfew from 8.30 p.m. to 5 a.m. Firearms and explosives were to be surrendered, the censorship tightened up, summary courts of justice set up, and the death sentence to be introduced as punishment for sabotage, for attacks on the German Army, and for the possession of firearms and explosives. Special measures were demanded in Odense, where a German officer had been killed by patriots. The demands also included the handing over of the culprits before September 5, otherwise the Germans would take and keep ten hostages until the surrender had been made. The Danish Government replied that their appeals to the population had already had some effect, and that other measures within the law would be taken, but that the introduction of the death penalty for patriots and the system of taking hostages were absolutely out of the question. Such measures, said the Government, would destroy any chance of their being able to maintain calm and order in the country. This reply was made with the full consent of the King and the political leaders.

The following morning, Sunday, August 29, at ten minutes past four the Commander-in-Chief of the German occupation forces, General von Hanneken, declared a state of military emergency throughout Denmark. The Germans would now show the Danish people that they were capable of achieving that which the Government had failed to do. The German declaration of military emergency was based on the third section of the Hague Convention, dealing with "military authority on the territory of an enemy state," and the Danes were quick to notice that the Germans had at last recognised the existence of a state of war between the two countries.

Operations were at once started against the small remnants of the Danish Army and Navy. The sailors, having no other alternative, scuttled by far the greater part of their ships, though a few succeeded in escaping to Sweden, and most of the barracks housing the Danish Army surrendered only after bitter opposition. The King was virtually made a prisoner at his summer residence just outside Copenhagen, where he had been convalescing for several months following his serious riding accident in October, 1942. Serving members of the royal family were interned with Navy and Army personnel, and numerous arrests were made of leading personalities known for their strongly patriot views.

Under the threat of most severe punishment, Danish officials were ordered to continue their work; gatherings in public of more than five people were prohibited; a curfew was introduced; the use of telephone, telegraph, and postal services was banned; strikes were prohibited. A further long list of prohibitions and

demands followed in the next few days to make the changeover complete.

Soon, however, it became evident that the Germans regretted their action, and badly wanted to revert to the *status quo ante* August 29. The Danish people stood as firm and united as in the March elections. The Germans had provoked the situation and they deserved all possible trouble. Nobody wanted (or would have dared) to help them out. The Government, which had handed in its resignation on August 29, could not be persuaded to return. The King, on his part, had not accepted the resignation because, since Parliament was suspended, he was unable to appoint any new Cabinet enjoying, as is the tradition, the full confidence of the Lower House. The Germans, with the enforced assistance of permanent Under-Secretaries of State and the police, were therefore obliged to go on shouldering the responsibilities of administration.

On October 1 the Germans resorted to terror. They started a senseless persecution of the 6,000 to 8,000 Danish Jews, pretending that the Jews were carrying out the sabotage in Denmark. Nothing could have been further from the truth, and the pretext quickly collapsed when an extensive hunt for patriots, and the deportation of many, was conducted all over the country. Apart from a few hundred Danish Jews who were deported to a Bohemian ghetto, most of them reached sanctuary in Sweden. A number of Communists who had been interned since 1941 were also deported to Germany. Arrests and deportations were accompanied by executions. Up to the end of the year ten patriots had died following trial before German courts martial, and a further unknown number was killed during hunts and imprisonments.

The Danish reply was—more and better sabotage. In November more than 300 major acts of sabotage were carried out, chiefly directed against the vital German lines of communication to Norway and against the German ordered production in Danish factories and shipyards.

In their terror the Germans were assisted by a small Danish quisling organisation, the Schalburg Corps, which consists of former members of the Nazi Free Corps Denmark and other similar dubious persons from the Danish Nazi Party. The main aim of the Corps was to discredit the Danish police force, which resumed most of its former functions after the Germans, on October 6, repealed the state of military emergency, while still keeping numerous decrees in force. By senseless "contra-sabotage" and attempts on the lives of Danish patriots, the Schalburg Corps hoped to bring about such confusion that the police would be unable to handle the situation. The Corps would then offer their services as a police force to the Germans, and, once installed in power, they hoped—in the event of the Germans leaving—to be **able** to terrorise the people into submission. They succeeded

only in earning the deepest contempt of all their countrymen—not least after their bestial murder of Denmark's greatest dramatist and leading ecclesiastical figure, Kaj Munk.

The Danish people only became more and more united. This unity manifested itself in the formation by all underground organisations of a Danish Council of Liberty as their governing body. This council, besides directing the day-to-day struggle, has looked ahead and issued during the autumn a comprehensive plan to deal with post-war problems in Denmark. Democracy is to be revived immediately; everything is to take place in accordance with the Constitution, and nobody must take the law into his own hands. All who have committed crimes against the State or his fellow-countrymen during the occupation will be tried in court and made responsible for his acts. The Nazis will be interned and officials who have collaborated with the enemy will be suspended and tried. "The accused must be brought before the Danish courts and judged according to Danish law."

Throughout the free world Danes continued to give service in all branches of the United Nations' war effort. A unit was formed in the Royal Navy, and all civilian Danes in Great Britain were registered for work in war factories. From Christmas Day Danish ships on the British register were permitted to fly their own flag "as a recognition of the services they render to the cause of the United Nations." Denmark was represented at the Hot Springs and Atlantic City Conferences by the Danish Minister in Washington. On April 9, the third anniversary of the German occupation, Allied Governments paid a warm tribute to the Danish Home Front and the Free Danes.

SWEDEN

The determination of Sweden to maintain her neutrality in the struggle going on around her and to resist by armed force any attack on her independence was reiterated by the King in his Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Riksdag on January 12, and subsequently on various occasions by the Premier, M. Hansson, and other Government spokesmen. They also warned the people that the danger of such an attack had by no means passed, and in January an instruction was given to all defence units, in case of invasion, to disregard as false any order they might receive to cease resistance. On July 14 two million copies of an official booklet entitled, "If War Came," and containing instructions how to act in case of attack or occupation, were distributed throughout the country. At the beginning of the year it was estimated that 600,000 fully trained men could be put into the field, and more men were called up in the course of the year.

Throughout 1943 Sweden continued to remain on friendly terms with all the belligerents. Towards Germany, however, her

attitude became decidedly stiffer, no doubt as a result of her greater consciousness of her own strength. The Swedish public had long chafed at the agreement made in 1940 regarding transit over Swedish railways between Germany and Norway, suspecting that under cover of it the Germans had conveyed troops and war material to Norway on a considerable scale. In the summer the Government at length took action, and on August 5 obtained Germany's consent to the cancellation of the agreement, as a result of which transport of war material ceased on August 15, and that of military personnel on August 20. On August 17 new regulations were made to prevent the violation by Germany of the Courier Plane Agreement between the two countries. At the end of October all transit of petrol through Sweden was forbidden. On April 19 the Swedish Government protested to Berlin against the action of a German merchantman three days before in firing on a Swedish submarine in Swedish territorial waters. The German Government at first asserted that the submarine was outside Swedish territorial waters, but after a further Note from the Swedish Government, which asserted that German mines were also anchored in Swedish territorial waters, it withdrew its previous assertion and promised to avoid all encroachments on Swedish neutrality.

Economic relations with Germany continued to be very close. The Trade Agreement made with that country in December, 1942 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 250), had contained a stipulation that the quantities of Swedish products to be delivered in the second half of the year would depend on German deliveries of coal and coke during the first six months. In fact these were fairly satisfactory; coal and coke imports from Germany during the first four months of the year amounted to 1,400,000 tons, which was double the quantity imported in the same period of the previous year. Steel imports from Germany also showed a considerable increase. When the Trade Treaty was reviewed in July, it was agreed that in the second half of the year Germany should deliver 2,900,000 tons of coal and coke to make up the stipulated amount of 5 million tons for the year, while Sweden agreed to export to the Reich 36 million crowns worth of timber, about 55,000 tons of artificial silk pulp, 44,000 tons of sulphate cellulose, and 40,000 tons of paper fibre. Sweden, however, again refused to grant credit to Germany, as nearly 120 million kronor were still due to her for credits granted in 1942. On February 25 a Trade Agreement was concluded with Norway providing for an exchange of goods to the value of Kr. 105 million, as compared with Kr. 112 million in 1942.

The Budget for 1943-44, submitted to the Riksdag in January, showed an expenditure of 3,775 million kronor. This included a defence Budget of 1,260 millions, and involved a deficit of 1,100 millions. Altogether about 48 per cent, of the total expenditure

was devoted to national defence. It was stated by the Minister of Defence that between January 1, 1940, and December 1, 1942, more than 1,300 million kronor had been expended on technical supplies for the Army.

The Swedish people showed its sympathy with the Norwegian people this year by holding memorial services for Norway's fallen in Stockholm and other places on April 9, the anniversary of the invasion of Norway. At the end of February there were stated to be 11,690 Norwegian refugees in Sweden, most of them employed in useful occupations. On May 27 the Swedish Minister to Portugal was accredited to the Norwegian Government in London. In a speech at Stockholm on August 8 the Premier said that the winding up of the German transit traffic through Sweden removed a cause of great irritation not only within the nation but also in their dealings with other peoples, especially the Norwegians, which was a source of great relief to them.

In October the Swedish Government lodged a strong protest with Berlin against the persecution of the Jews in Denmark, and offered sanctuary to the victims. The request sent by the Allied Governments to Sweden on July 31, to refuse asylum to war criminals was widely discussed in the Swedish Press. It was generally agreed that, while Sweden would not wish to give up her right of affording asylum to political refugees, it was not likely that she would care to exercise it on behalf of the type denoted as war criminals.

NORWAY

The year 1943 opened characteristically with a sharp and comprehensive denunciation of the anti-Christian character of the Nazi regime in Norway by the leaders of the Norwegian Lutheran Church, of which 96.8 per cent, of the Norwegian population are registered members. The protest, which took the **form** of a letter to Church members from the Provisional Church Council—declared by the quisling "Government" to be an illegal body—recited the persecutions to which the Church and its clergy had been subjected during the past year, condemned the violation of "the sacred rights of the home" by the institution of compulsory Nazi Youth Service, and concluded by declaring that it was "useless to turn to the State authorities." As a penalty for signing this protest, three of the leading Norwegian churchmen—Professor Hallesby and Pastors Hope and Wisloeff—**had** their property confiscated, and two months later they were arrested for issuing a further protest, this time against the introduction of universal labour conscription for German war purposes, which they denounced as being contrary to international law.

The reference in the Church's New Year protest to the Nazi **Youth** Service was an indication of the close union which had

been forged between clergy, teachers, and parents in order to protect Norwegian children against the infection of Nazi doctrines. On February 20 a joint statement by parents and teachers calling for complete opposition to the Youth Service was published in the underground Press. This appeal received an instantaneous response, and all over the country Norwegian parents kept back their children when they received notices ordering them to attend Nazi youth centres. Despite visitations by the police, fines, and a number of arrests, the parents stood firm and the Youth Service proved a complete fiasco, only a few score children—mostly of quisling parents—reporting for training throughout the whole country.

Another section of the Norwegian "Home Front"—the sportsmen—came under fire on February 27, when twenty-five of them, including the three famous ski-ing brothers Ruud, were arrested for holding "illegal ski-jumping contests." Despite this action, the 300,000 Norwegian sportsmen and women maintained throughout the year their complete boycott of all Nazi organised games and contests—a boycott first commenced in November, 1940, when the Nazis took complete control of the free Norwegian sporting associations.

The principal struggle of the year, however, was waged around the issue of compulsory labour mobilisation. On February 22 Quisling, at the order of the German Reichskommissar Terboven, issued a decree rendering men between the ages of 18 and 55 and women between the ages of 21 and 40 liable for what was described as "national labour service," but what was openly admitted to be the setting of "all their labour power at the disposal of Germany for her war against Bolshevism." Apart from certain exempt categories, such as doctors, farming, forestry and fishing workers, and married women with children under 16, all men and women between the specified ages were required to register at the labour exchanges and then hold themselves in readiness to be sent off to work on coastal fortifications, airfields, road and railway construction, and other German defence projects. Quisling declared that 150,000 men and women would be mobilised under this decree, but the actual German demands were slightly more realistic, for they planned to mobilise 10,000 workers by April 15, a further 25,000 by the early summer, and another 20 to 30,000 by the end of the summer. Owing to a well-organised campaign of resistance, assisted by the inefficiency of German and Norwegian Nazi officials, labour mobilisation was not far short of a fiasco. Calling up was delayed for many months, and even by the autumn of 1943 the Germans had obtained only about a quarter of the labour conscripts they had hoped to get, while this gain was more than offset by the wastage of their existing labour force through death, illness, and escapes.

The resistance of the patriots was carried out by stages. First, registration was delayed for several weeks by the incorrect filling-in of forms and by the overwhelming of officials with innumerable questions, telephone calls, and so on. Then, on April 27, the main Oslo Labour Exchange was set on fire by patriots, so that tens of thousands of labour mobilisation cards were destroyed. The officials had now patiently to set to work to compile new lists, and a delay of several months resulted. Meanwhile the German Nazi officials in a panic had called up 10,000 men by telegram, but only 3,000 answered the summons and were transported to work in places in Northern Norway. Thereafter calling-up notices were issued from time to time, but disobedience of the summons became more and more general, with the result that by the beginning of August not more than about 5,000 workers in all had been transferred to the conscript labour gangs. Norwegian policemen were sent out to round up the recalcitrants, but they were either unable or unwilling to bring in any substantial number.

In August the Germans began to try new methods. Their first step was to order the closing down of a number of small businesses, thus depriving workers of employment and compelling them to find other ways of earning their living. The second, and much more drastic step, was to order a thorough-going purge of the Norwegian police forces. This task was given to the quisling "Minister" of Police, Jonas Lie, one of the most ruthless of the small clique of traitors whom the Germans utilised to carry out their more unpleasant commissions. On August 16 Jonas Lie, supported by the German Gestapo Chief, Rediess, ordered the execution of the Chief of the Oslo Civil Police, Gunnar Eilifsen, on the charge that he had disobeyed an order to arrest Norwegian girls who had ignored calling-up notices. He then demanded that all of the police officers in the capital should sign a declaration of loyalty to the quisling regime under penalty of suffering the same fate as Eilifsen. Several hundred refused to sign and were arrested, later to be deported to Germany.

On the same date, August 16, a new decree was published placing the whole country under military law, and authorising the arming of the police and the various semi-military formations of Quisling's Nasjonal Samling Party—the Hird (Stormtroopers) and the Norwegian S.S. A few weeks later, October 21, various amendments were introduced into the military law to make it possible "to take strong counter measures against enemies of the State and the people who at this fateful time are engaging in sabotage or trying to break down respect for the authorities." One amendment introduced a death penalty for any disobedience of an order by a Civil servant or public official, while another gave Quisling power to invoke martial law in any part of the country regardless of whether or not fighting was in progress. Meanwhile, also on

August 16, the German Commander-in-Chief in Norway, General von Falkenhorst, had ordered the re-arrest of Norwegian officers who had been released on parole after the end of the Norwegian campaign in June, 1940. A number of officers managed to escape, but some 1,200 were rounded up and transported to a prisoner-of-war camp at Poznan in Poland.

These new terroristic measures did not, however, produce the desired effect on the Norwegian population, who only became strengthened in their determination to resist to the uttermost by these visible signs of the panic into which the Germans and quislings were being thrown by the growing strength of the Allied forces and the increasing fears of an invasion. The rounding up of officers and young men of military age for transport to Germany or to remote parts of Northern Norway was widely regarded as evidence that the Germans feared an uprising of the Norwegian people timed to coincide with an Allied landing.

It was in this light that the Norwegian people viewed the German onslaught on Oslo University, which was the major internal Norwegian event during the closing months of 1943.

For over three years the University had remained one of the few institutions in the country on which the Nazis had not been able to get a grip. Some professors had been arrested or dismissed, the Principal, Dr. Seip, had been deported to Germany and replaced by a Norwegian Nazi, Professor Hoel, and the Students' Union had been dissolved, but the main body of students and University teachers had remained unshakably loyal to their country and the traditions of free learning. Now, in the autumn of 1943, the Nazis resolved to break up what the German Gestapo Chief, Rediess, was later to describe as " a centre of resistance to the occupation authorities." The trouble began in September, when new regulations were imposed on the University giving the Nazi Rector dictatorial powers over the admission of new students regardless of their academic qualifications. After a protest by all the faculties, with only one quisling dissenting, nine of the teaching staff and some sixty to seventy students were arrested. Thereupon some 2,200 students signed written protest letters demanding the release of those who had been arrested. For a few weeks nothing happened ; then, on the morning of Sunday, November 28, a mysterious fire broke out in the University Aula (Celebration Hall). Using this " Reichstag fire " as a pretext, the German Gestapo Chief ordered the arrest of the entire body of students and professors with the object of deporting the men to Germany and placing the women under police supervision in their home towns. The University itself was to be closed until further notice. Actually 1,500 out of nearly 3,000 registered students were rounded up on November 30, and put in temporary concentration camps in Norway. Despite strong protests from Sweden and other countries, nearly 300

students were deported to Germany on December 8, and a further 350 to 400 later. Shortly before Christmas a few hundred students were released as a propaganda gesture, but at the same time others who had escaped the first round-up were still being arrested.

Throughout 1943 German oppression and popular resistance both grew in equal proportion. A total of 106 patriots were executed during the year, many died in prison, often as a result of torture, and several thousand were arrested. By the end of 1943 the total number in prisons and concentration camps probably exceeded 12,000, of whom some 5,000 had been deported to Germany. Food conditions continued to deteriorate, farming and fishing suffered from the shortage of labour and materials, and the cost of the German occupation continued to increase at the rate of 12,000,000l. a month, representing an average annual burden of about 48l. per head of the population.

Although the liberating invasion to which the Norwegian people were looking forward did not take place in 1943, Norway was nevertheless more closely involved in actual military operations. Norwegian and British commando forces landed at Leirvik on the west coast on January 23 ; Norwegian light naval forces made several expeditions into Norwegian waters, sinking German shipping ; and important air raids were made by the British and American Air Forces on the German naval base at Trondheim, the aluminium and saltpetre works at Heroya, the valuable molybdenum mines at Knaben, and the large power station and electro-chemical plant at Rjukan. An important section of the latter installation was also damaged by saboteurs, and exploits of a similar character were carried out in different parts of the country. German coastal shipping was constantly harassed by British bombers, which intensified their attacks when the Swedish railways were closed to the transport of German troops and war materials on August 15. Towards the end of the year two devastating blows were struck at the German naval forces sheltering in Norwegian waters. The 35,000-ton battleship *Tirpitz* was crippled in the northerly Alten Fjord by British midget submarines, and the 26,000-ton battle cruiser *Scharnhorst* was sunk not far from the North Cape after a brilliant action in which a Norwegian " S " class destroyer, the *Stord*, participated with British destroyers in a daring close range torpedo attack.

From outside Norway the Norwegian Government, under the leadership of King Haakon VII and Prime Minister Johan Nygaardsvold, continued to direct the growing participation of Norway in the Allied war effort. The Royal Norwegian Navy was strengthened by an increase in its personnel to over 5,000, and by the addition of new units, including the destroyer *Stord* and the submarine *Ula*. Norwegian corvettes carried out extensive convoy work ; Norwegian M.T.B.s took **part in coastal**

raids ; and other light naval craft carried out mine-sweeping and patrol duties. The Royal Norwegian Air Force was expanded, and played an increasing part in Allied operations over the Continent. Norwegian fighter squadrons shot down 137 planes up to December 1, while Norwegian bomber pilots dropped more bombs on German towns than the Germans had dropped on Norway during the whole of the 1940 campaign. The Norwegian Army continued its intensive training in preparation for the liberation of Norway. Active service was seen by the small Norwegian garrison, little more than a hundred, which had re-occupied Spitsbergen in May, 1942, and which put up a courageous defence when the Germans sent a battle fleet, including the *Tirpitz* and *Scharnhorst*, to destroy installations on the island in September, 1943.

The Norwegian Merchant Navy, although somewhat reduced by losses from the original four million tons which escaped German control in 1940, continued to play a vital part in the battle of the Atlantic and in the transport of supplies to the Mediterranean and other theatres of war. The Norwegian Government extended its welfare activities on behalf of the seamen, new hostels being opened at Glasgow, Manchester, and Brooklyn. Some replacements of losses, totalling some 25 to 30 ships, were obtained during the year from British and American shipyards.

In October the Norwegian Government announced the appointment of Mr. Andreas Aulie as Chief of Police for the Kingdom of Norway, to take charge of the reorganisation of the Norwegian Police Forces directly the country is liberated. In the same month a Civil Air Board was appointed by the Government with the task of preparing for Norwegian participation in post-war civil aviation. Norwegian delegates participated in the Food and Nutrition Conference at Hot Springs, in the U.N.R.R.A. Conference at Atlantic City, in the War Crimes Commission, and various other international discussions and institutions. The Norwegian delegate to the U.N.R.R.A. Conference, Hr. Anders Frihagen, Minister of Reconstruction, was elected vice-chairman of the European Council of U.N.R.R.A.

All the expenses of the Norwegian fighting forces and Government institutions, in addition to the payment of the interest and instalments on foreign loans, continued to be covered from Norwegian revenues, to which a major contribution was made by the earnings of the Merchant Fleet.

FINLAND

By the end of 1942 it had become clear to the Finnish Government and people that Leningrad was not likely to fall to the combined German and Finnish assault, and that therefore there

was little prospect of Finland extending the gains which she had already made at Russia's expense. On the other hand, the continuance of the war was placing on Finland's economy a burden which it could hardly stand. The most fanatical anti-Russians therefore—and to this class belonged the leading members of the Government, as also the Commander-in-Chief, General Mannerheim—could not overlook the advantage of making a peace with Russia which would at least leave Finland in possession of Eastern Karelia and a strategic frontier. This accordingly became the chief objective of Finnish policy in 1943 ; and it remained such long after the military situation had made it appear utterly unrealistic.

On February 15 M. Ryti was re-elected President by 269 votes out of 300. On the next day the Cabinet of M. Rangell resigned. After an unsuccessful attempt by the Speaker of the Diet, M. Hakkila, a Coalition Cabinet was formed by M. Linkomies, consisting of 5 Social Democrats, 4 Agrarians, 2 Conservatives, 2 Swedish Party, 1 Liberal, and 3 non-party. The new Cabinet was somewhat less pro-German, but no less anti-Russian than its predecessor. A special Foreign Affairs Committee was formed consisting of the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, M. Ramsay, and M. Tanner, Major-General Walden, and M. Reinikka, the Ministers of Finance, Defence, and Agriculture respectively.

In their own eyes the Finnish Government and people were waging war against Russia purely for the preservation of their independence and the recovery of territory which had been wrongfully taken from them, and the fact that Germany was fighting Russia at the same time was a mere coincidence. Naturally, the United States Government did not see the matter in this light; the fact which impressed them was that Finland was giving important aid to their enemy, and they lost no opportunity of urging her to withdraw from the contest. Soon after the change of Government in Helsinki, the State Department in Washington intimated to Dr. Ramsay that it would be prepared to act as intermediary in case Finland sought to make peace with Soviet Russia. The Finnish Government referred the matter to Hitler, and on April 12 were peremptorily forbidden by Ribbentrop to entertain the suggestion, which accordingly they declined.

In other matters, however, the Government displayed a certain independence towards the Nazis. Thus on April 15 they demanded that the Germans should withdraw their "voluntary" lumber gangs of Norwegians employed in North Finland in forests purchased nominally by the Quisling Government. In June Marshal Mannerheim refused a German demand that the battalion of Finnish Waffen S.S. volunteers, who had recently returned after two years' service on the Eastern front, should be sent to Northern Finland to serve under the German General Dietl on the Murmansk front. They were mobilised into the

Finnish Army instead. Mannerheim also stopped a German war correspondents' tour of the Karelian Isthmus front, organised by the chief German News Agency. Later in the year the Finnish Government protested against the Nazi treatment of the Norwegian students and the Danish Jews.

The rejection by the Government of the American offer to mediate with Russia was followed at no long interval by the withdrawal from Finland of the whole staff of the American Legation, with the exception of the Charge d'Affaires. This event gave a great shock to Finnish public opinion, which regarded American friendship as the sheet anchor of Finnish foreign policy, and which had been kept somewhat in the dark as regards both the military situation and the state of foreign opinion. Doubts began to spread whether the Government was really doing all that it could to get out of the war, and pressure was brought to bear on it to bestir itself in that direction. Early in May the Trades Union Council passed a resolution calling for "convincing clarity" in the official information service, and impressing on the Government the imperative necessity of maintaining good relations with the United States and Sweden, and also the importance of preserving the good opinion of Danes and Norwegians. On August 20 a Petition signed by 33 prominent Finns from all parties except the Conservatives and the Fascist "Patriotic People's Movement" was presented to the President asking that an investigation should be made into the possibilities of a separate peace with Russia. The Petition was strongly supported in a debate in the Diet on September 3. The Government could not ignore these representations, and the Premier assured the House that it would lose no chance of making peace. On September 27 even M. Tanner, who, although belonging to the Social Democratic Party, was regarded as the bitterest enemy of Russia in the Government, went so far as to say that Finland must accustom herself to the prospect of living as the neighbour of a strong Soviet Union. Nevertheless, up to the end of the year, in spite of further American pressure, no definite step had been taken, although it was obvious by that time, in view of the military situation, that the sands were running out, and that the longer Finland delayed to sue for peace the worse were the terms that she would get.

The economic and financial position of the country was somewhat better in 1943 than in the preceding year—partly on account of the virtual cessation of military operations, which allowed more man-power to be used for labour. The Budget for 1943 showed total revenue Fmk. 18,379,263,700 against total expenditure Fmk. 18,358,931,000, a surplus of Fmk. 20,331,800, and by means of stabilisation of prices inflation was successfully combated. Economic conditions were stabilised by a Trade Agreement with Germany signed on March 15, which provided for

virtually unchanged German deliveries to Finland. These included about half of Finland's grain supply, and Finland remained one of the few European States which were debtors in the clearing with Germany. In the spring a crisis occurred in the Government owing to a demand of the Agrarian Ministers for increased agricultural prices. The Social Democratic members threatened to resign if the demand was granted, but they eventually gave way.

CHAPTER VI

THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA : EGYPT—PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN—THE LEBANON AND SYRIA—IRAQ—ARABIA—ARAB FEDERATION—PERSIA—MOROCCO

EGYPT

THE outstanding event or series of events in the political history of Egypt in the course of the year 1943 were the conversations between the Prime Minister, Nahas Pasha, and statesmen from the Arab states on the subject of the possibility of very close co-operation between them (see Arab Federation). The end of the year saw a considerable measure of agreement between all the participants in these discussions and the prospect of an early Pan-Arab Congress to further the common policy seemed auspicious.

The Government of Nahas Pasha enjoyed, on the whole, an easy course throughout the year. The one incident of any consequence was a personal one, affecting the Prime Minister himself. In less critical times it might have led to a political crisis. This incident arose out of the bitter quarrel between the Prime Minister and his former lieutenant and friend, Makram Ebeid Pasha, who had been dismissed from office in the previous year. In April Makram made charges of corruption against the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, and supported them in a so-called "Black Book," a petition addressed to the King, which was circulated in numerous copies. Nahas defended himself before both Houses of Parliament, which supported him with practical unanimity (May 24).

The opening of Parliament in November coincided with the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Wafd, the Government Party, which in its early days had succeeded in its mission to secure the independence of Egypt. The King's Speech showed how overwhelming was the interest in Middle East affairs. The Lebanon crisis (see page 268) was then at its height, and the King expressed the sympathy of the Egyptian people and Parliament with the Lebanese in their struggle. Great interest in the movement for Arab Union (see

page 271) was also shown, and it was announced that the Government proposed to form a committee of representatives of the Arab States to prepare for an Arab Congress.

The economic situation, although the country remained in an era of great prosperity, was not altogether satisfactory. It was realised that the state of affairs was ephemeral, and that the present prosperity might have to be paid for at a heavy price. The vast expenditure of the Allied Forces remained a source of considerable wealth, but at the same time the cost of living continued to rise, and the official index at the end of the year showed that it was two and a half times as high as before the outbreak of war. The real cost of living, however, was still higher. This phenomenon, which was general in the Middle East, attracted the attention of the Middle East War Council, which at its meetings in May and in their aftermath considered what steps could be taken to deal with the forces that were raising and keeping up the cost of necessities as well as luxuries. The Egyptian Government, at the same time, made more intensive efforts to check the twin evils of profiteering and hoarding. None of the steps taken, however, had much effect.

The prosperity, even if fictitious, helped Egypt in another direction. In September the Government decided to convert the external debt to an internal one, at a lower rate of interest. Loans totalling about 41,000,000l. in all were affected. Another measure taken to relieve the pressure was the introduction of the free sale of gold by the banks. The price charged was the phenomenally high one of 19l. per ounce, more than double the official price in London.

In the Sudan a move towards self-government was taken in September by the setting up of a Higher Advisory Council for the Northern Provinces. This Council is in no sense representative, but it does include native members.

PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN

The topic of greatest concern in the history of Palestine in the year 1943 was an economic one. At the beginning of the year the country was apparently at the height of prosperity. The requirements of the armed forces enabled every man who could turn a room into a workshop to make profits of which previously he could only dream. The presence of large armies, especially those whose pay was relatively high, flooded the country with money, and enabled the shopkeepers for the time being to gather in a harvest. Even those small agriculturists who, in normal times, live on the verge of starvation, found their incomes rise. Scarcity caused by a fall in food imports placed them in a position to increase their prices to their own benefit if not to that of their customers.

Before the end of the year, however, there was a change. As the fighting front receded, the dependence of the armies of the Middle East on local supplies fell. So long as the Mediterranean was closed the armies were for many needs largely dependent on Palestine and neighbouring countries. But Algiers as the headquarters of the fighting forces instead of Cairo was much nearer the industrial resources of the West. The factories and workshops of Palestine and neighbouring countries began to lose their monopoly, and with the loss came loss of employment. However, the supply of the armies by no means ceased. Not much more than a warning was given, and the situation was eased by the thousands of Palestinians, men and women, withdrawn from the labour market by incorporation in the British and Allied Armies or employment in auxiliary services.

One concomitant of the plethora of money was the inevitable one of inflation. The Government did its utmost to cope with the threat, but effective action in a country such as Palestine with its several populations with different standards of living and of civilisation is very difficult. There was the added difficulty of the widespread contempt for the law and its administrators which seem to cause almost instinctively the citizen or his wife to do the opposite of what their Government desires. Popular loans did not bring much response ; taxation touched hardly the fringe of the new profits. The inevitable consequence was a rise in the cost of living which, while perhaps of not much consequence to the more fortunate sections of the population, oppressed the large " submerged " section very heavily. When an average is struck between Jews and Arabs, Europeans and Orientals, the cost of living rose to almost three times the normal figure. Working men and those with small fixed incomes suffered especially, and though, in many cases, they secured increases in pay, in no case did these increases give them full compensation.

The situation can perhaps be indicated by the following figures :—

	<i>Currency in Circulation.</i>	<i>Deposits at Banks.</i>	<i>Bank Funds on Loan.</i>
Dec. 1932	2,541,664/.	—	—
Dec. 1938	5,509,134l.	18,999,134l.	14,079,527l.
Dec. 1941	13,366,635/.	21,708,020/.	10,716,614/.
July 1943	30,031,220/.	43,567,695/.	12,237,373/.
Aug. 1943	31,753,656/.	—	—

One consequence of this state of affairs was a reduction of the normal rate of interest which, according to English standards, is high.

In the political sphere which occupied so large a part of thought and even of activity in Palestine, the most important incident—although at the end of the year still only an expectation—was the threatened revival of the partition of the country between the two peoples. The Royal Commission frontiers were, it is

admitted, impracticable ; those of the Partition Commission were stillborn. But there were other possibilities, and these were feared perhaps equally by Arab and Jew. It was said that the dramatic resignation of Mr. David Ben Gurion of his chairmanship of the Jewish Agency in Palestine was a consequence of differences between him and Dr. Weizmann on the subject of partition. Both had previously favoured that policy, but it was said that Mr. Ben Gurion had in the interval changed his mind. However, this was at the end of the year only an anticipation. The MacDonald White Paper had come to be in effect accepted by the Arabs, perhaps as a temporary measure in view of the movement for Arab Union (see pages 271-72) or Federation, which made considerable strides. The Jews, however, had always resolutely refused to accept the policy laid down in this document. Even the *Ihud*, the movement of Western Jews settled in Palestine to found a Palestine based on co-operation between the Jewish and Arab sections of the population, had never hinted at its willingness to accept this policy. The Government, on its part, preserved the *status quo*, except in one small matter to which no one took exception. This was to extend the period in which the quota of immigrants authorised under the White Paper could enter the country. In other matters, however, the Jews of Palestine, practically without any noticeable exception, seemed to scent the White Paper in every decision or announcement by the Government. Even the decision to undertake a thorough investigation of the possibilities of reconstruction after the war, intended for the benefit of the whole country and of all sections of its population, was refused co-operation on the part of the Jewish Agency and its subsidiaries, on the ground that the White Paper was its inspiration.

Greater attention was attracted by a series of military trials of Jews for purchasing, smuggling, and secreting arms. The series opened with the trial, conviction, and sentence to long terms of imprisonment of two British (non-Jewish) soldiers who had stolen arms on a large scale and delivered them to certain persons in Palestine. The contention was that there was a widespread conspiracy in which the soldiers, and also the Jews charged, were involved. For this reason the punishment of the Jews was heavier than that meted out to Arabs found with a rifle and ammunition. In the case of the Arabs there was no suspicion of any organisation being at work. These trials caused much excitement among the Jews, which spread to those in the British Empire and North America.

In Transjordan the course of events was quiet. The Lebanese crisis at the end of the year aroused the sympathies of the people which were voiced by the Amir, who also, as the representative of his people, brought Transjordan into line with the other Arab States in the movement towards Arab Union or Federation.

THE LEBANON AND SYRIA

In the year 1943 the story of the Lebanese Republic, hitherto a junior partner, as it were, with Syria, came to the fore and led the course of events. Thus for the first time in this annual record it must necessarily be narrated first.

On November 26, 1941, the Greater Lebanon had been proclaimed by General Catroux, the representative of the "Free French," an independent sovereign state with power to appoint its own diplomatic representatives and to form its own military forces, military and other facilities being granted to the French, at any rate so long as the war continued. It was, however, not until March 19, 1943, that the Constitution that had been suppressed in 1939, was formally restored and preparations made for parliamentary elections free of French interference. A Cabinet was appointed under Dr. Ayoub Tabet, a Lebanese patriot, who had been three times sentenced to death for nationalist activities, representative of all communities. Conversations with the French Delegate-General, M. Helleu, were then initiated with a view to bringing into effect the full independence and sovereignty of the Republic as promised.

Differences, however, arose and Dr. Tabet was dismissed in July and M. Pierre Trad appointed in his place by M. Helleu. Parliamentary elections were held on August 29, and a President was elected by the Chamber at its first meeting. At the same time a new Prime Minister was appointed in the person of M. Riad Solh.

Relations with the French did not, however, improve. The French demanded a treaty of alliance as a first step; the Lebanese preferred to secure unqualified independence first. The Lebanese Government and people were unanimous in the decision so to amend the Constitution as to secure absolute independence for the Republic. Parliament proceeded along these lines (Nov. 8), being supported in their attitude by the Egyptian Government, which promptly recognised its independence. M. Helleu thereupon ordered the arrest of the President and members of the Government (Nov. 11), dissolved Parliament, and appointed his own nominee, M. Emile Edde, the unsuccessful candidate for the presidency who had had little support, as ruler of the Republic under French direction. The French expressed the view that it was not in their power to terminate the Mandate.

Rioting at once broke out throughout the country. The British Minister protested most strongly against the French action. The Moslem, Christian, and Druse sections of the population showed complete unanimity. There were signs of widespread armed resistance to the action of the French. The rulers of Egypt and the neighbouring Arab states came out outspokenly on the side of their Lebanese kinsmen, and were supported by **public opinion**, at least, in Turkey. The pressure of the British

authorities was intensified and seconded by the U.S.A. As a consequence the President of the Lebanese Republic was released and reinstated (Nov. 21), and the members of the Cabinet released, but not reinstated. They, however, took up their duties without hindrance and the dissolved Parliament was summoned without any objecting action on the part of the French. M. Helleu, who stated that he had acted only on instruction from General de Gaulle and the French Committee in Algiers, had in the meanwhile been recalled. Events compelled the French to realise that they must give way further. At a conference between General Catroux, who had been sent to Beirut at the beginning of the crisis, and Lebanese and Syrian representatives agreement was reached for the institution of independent Lebanese and Syrian Republics as from January 1, 1944, subject only to the presence on their territory until the conclusion of hostilities of British and French Armies. This agreement was made effective at once, and by the end of the year the independence of the Greater Lebanon, so far as independence is possible with the presence of foreign armies on the soil, was complete.

The one other subject of major interest in the Lebanon during the year was that of Arab Union (see pp. 271-72) to which general support was given. As soon as the political crisis had subsided, the reinstated Lebanese Government sent a delegation to Cairo to discuss the subject with the Prime Minister of Egypt, thus taking its place among the Governments of the other states which had already sent delegations for a similar purpose. There is reason to believe that the attitude adopted by the Lebanese Government was in general agreement with that of the other states.

Compared with the Lebanon Syria enjoyed a year of calm. The President of the Republic died on January 3. On the appointment of a successor the Cabinet resigned. The new Cabinet was practically identical with its predecessor, except that the former Prime Minister retired. This Cabinet, as well as its predecessors since the outbreak of war at the end of 1939, had all been nominated by the French, and had governed without a Parliament. This state of affairs was terminated early in the year, and steps were taken immediately on the change of Cabinet to hold elections. Before they could be held, however, the excessively high cost of living, which was a cause of considerable distress, had induced slight disturbances.

The elections, in which there was a minimum of interference, were held in July, and resulted in the return of a strong Nationalist majority. As a consequence, a new Government was formed and a President of the Republic was elected (Aug. 18). The new Cabinet, with Saadullah al Jabir as Prime Minister, was a strong one. It included four former prime ministers, one of them previously of Transjordan, one of Faisal's ministers when he was

Bang of Syria, and several prominent industrialists. With one exception, an Orthodox Christian, all were Sunni Moslems, but the President of the Chamber was a Protestant, educated at the American University of Beyrout, a lawyer and industrialist who had been King Faisal's Minister of Finance.

It was felt that Syria was by now well on the way to full independence, although it was realised that in some matters this would have to be deferred until hostilities had ceased. A recognition of this situation was shown by the immediate action of the Government of Iraq in appointing a Minister to Damascus, and by the invitation of the Government of Egypt a little later to send a delegation to discuss the subject of Arab Union. In Cairo this delegation was treated with especial honour. The threat to the independence of the Lebanon was indirectly a threat to that of Syria also. If it had succeeded, the independence of Syria would have been in great jeopardy. But the French failed in the Lebanon, and the success of the Lebanese carried with it that of the Syrians. As a consequence, effective independence was granted to both states on the same day (Jan. 1, 1944).

IRAQ

The activities of Nuri es Said, the Prime Minister, on behalf of Arab Unity are narrated on pages 271-72.

On January 16 the Government of Iraq took a step forward in its alliance with Britain by formally declaring war on Germany, Italy, and Japan, and in November the Regent of Iraq paid a visit to England as the guest of the King and the Government.

At home, as in the other countries of the Middle East, the principal noticeable effect of the war was a plethora of money and a phenomenal rise in the cost of living. This, as elsewhere, was largely due to the vast expenditure of Army funds, a cause of an ephemeral character, which not improbably will leave undesirable results. The unexampled prosperity, however, raised visions of great developments, especially in opportunities for international transport, of great value to Iraq, which lies athwart several of the principal air routes of the world, and also of facilitating the export of the greatly increased amount of wheat that it hopes to produce.

ARABIA

In Arabia, as elsewhere in the Middle East, the engrossing topics of the year were Arab Federation (*q.v.*), the Lebanese crisis, and to a less extent the future of Palestine. King Abdul Aziz of Saudi-Arabia's attitude towards the first is described in a short quotation on page 273. On the last-mentioned topic he was equally outspoken. In publications in Arabia and in North America he rejected all Jewish claims to the political control of

Palestine " because it is unjust to the Arabs and Moslems, and because it only creates friction between the Moslems and their friends, the Allies."

Relations between Britain and Saudi-Arabia remained cordial throughout the year. In October the Treaty of Jidda, signed in 1927, which had placed these relations on a basis of friendship and good-will, was renewed for a minimum period of seven years. In the following month two of the sons of the King came to England as the guests of the Government. Relations with the United States of America also became closer, and in December the first military mission ever to visit Saudi-Arabia arrived at Jidda. It consisted of the Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces in the Middle East, with whom were not only a number of military officers, but also several representatives of American oil interests.

ARAB FEDERATION

The movement for Arab Federation or Union is by no means a recent phenomenon. The desire grew directly out of the Arab Nationalist movement which first took root, as a cultural movement, in the middle of the nineteenth century. The war of 1914 and the several Allied proclamations made in the course of it gave Arab nationalism a great fillip and made it definitely a political movement. In this it gained encouragement from the growth and apparent success of nationalism among other revived nations. In the course of the year 1943 the cause of Arab Union made a great move forward. The initiative seems to have come from Nuri es Said, the Prime Minister of Iraq, who has consistently supported it since the liberation of the Arab lands from Ottoman control. He succeeded in interesting Nahas Pasha and other Egyptian statesmen. Egypt stands out as culturally the head of the Arab world. This gives her a great influence among the others, and in this capacity Egypt was able to take an important part in bringing the other states together.

There is, in a sense, two movements. The one is for the political union—more practicably federation—of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan which were artificially separated when the victorious Allies set out to share the spoils after the end of the war of 1914. A federation, leaving to the constituent states a large measure of self-government, is far more practicable than combination into one unified state, and if such federation comes about it is possible that the Kingdom of Iraq will be included in it. The other movement is of a different character and, while bringing the states affected by it into close communion, leaves their independence unaffected. This is for very close cultural and economic co-operation—in the latter sphere even a *zollverein*. Such co-operation might well include Egypt and the states of the Arabian peninsula whose political combination with the far

more westernised states of the Levant is impracticable. It would even go some distance to satisfy the desire, that seems to be rising in North Africa, for inclusion in the proposed Arab Federation.

Following a statement by the British Foreign Minister of sympathy with the Arab efforts towards federation reiterating that of May 29, 1941, the Egyptian Minister of Justice announced in the Senate on March 31, 1943, that Egypt looked with sympathy on the proposals, they had been discussed with Iraqi ministers, and Nuri es Said, Iraqi Prime Minister, was on the way to Cairo to continue the discussions. In course of time representatives of other states took part in these discussions. Palestine, having no native administration, could not do so as a Government, but two or three prominent and trusted Arabs also came to Cairo to express the views of the Arab population, and messages came even from Morocco and Algeria, whose population, like the Egyptians, Arab-speaking if not Arab, was anxious to participate in some measure in the movement. Meanwhile an Arab Unity Club was founded in Baghdad. Its aims were to further relations and strengthen the ties between Iraq, Egypt, and the Sudan, Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, North Africa, and all other lands whose language is Arabic, to watch over their interests and defend their rights, and to found Arab Unity Clubs in these countries to work for the achievements of its aims and to spread its principles by all lawful means.

While these talks were proceeding, on 18 August, the Director-General of the Ministry of Social Affairs, Iraq, gave the following list of steps which should be taken towards unity : (1) Unification of educational programmes ; (2) Unification of laws, both criminal and civil; (3) Unification of Army laws and organisation ; (4) Abolition of internal customs barriers ; (5) Abolition of restrictions on travel; (6) Unification of foreign policy and representation ; (7) Unification of currency ; and (8) Establishment of a common symbol, to add to the flags of the different countries. He also, however, advocated the retention by each country of its fundamental institutions ; its Court, its Parliament, and its Constitution.

The interest of the Syrian people in Arab unity was expressed in a motion passed by the newly-elected Chamber about the same time. It called on the new Syrian Government to collaborate with the other Arab Governments for an immediate federation of the Arab countries.

The Franco-Lebanese tension at the end of the year, the sympathy extended to the Lebanese Government by all of the Arab Governments, and the successful issue to the conflict gave a great impetus to the movement for federation. At the end of the year (December 14) even King ibn Saud of Saudi-Arabia, the ruler supposed to be least sympathetic towards the **project**, was **able**

to say at a banquet to Egyptian, Iraqi, Syrian, and other guests that an identity of views on the question of Federation had been reached. "It is our duty as Moslems," he said, "to form a union. An Arab union will unite us. We thank God that a new spirit has appeared among Moslems." At the end of the year it seemed that the promised congress of the Arab states was almost in sight.

The attitude of Turkey towards the movement was a little difficult. Sympathetic with the Arab strivings towards independence, its feeling with the Lebanese in their struggle with the French was undisguised. So far as the movement for federation is on a geographical basis Turkey is also not unsympathetic, but co-operation on any other basis would not receive so warm a welcome. Above all, there is a suspicion that behind the movement there is a project for the revival of the Caliphate with probably the King of Egypt as Caliph. To this Turkey would be resolutely opposed.

PERSIA

On February 6 ten members of the Government resigned on account of differences with the Prime Minister over constitutional procedure. The Premier received a personal vote of confidence from the Mejliss, but he was unable to re-form his Cabinet. The task was thereupon successfully undertaken by Ali Soheili, who had been Premier before Qavam in the earlier part of 1942. The programme laid down by the Premier on February 18 consisted of four points, of which the chief was firm collaboration with Britain, Russia, and the United States. The others were measures to assure food supplies, both immediately and on a long-term basis ; reduction of the cost of living and stabilisation of prices ; and progress in agriculture, public health, and education, together with improvements in the condition of workers, agriculturists, and Government officials. On February 22 Parliament passed a vote of confidence in the new Ministry by a large majority.

Early in September it was announced by the Government that it had recently discovered a German espionage centre, organised for disorder and sabotage, and controlled by Germans illegally residing in the country. In order to obtain a freer hand for dealing with these activities, and also partly at Russo-British instigation, the Government, on September 9, formally declared war on Germany.

On November 26 Marshal Stalin, M. Molotov, and Marshal Voroshilov arrived in Teheran, and they were followed on the next day by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt. At the end of their four-day conference the three Heads of State signed a special Declaration regarding Iran. [See under Public Documents.] They recognised the assistance which Iran had given in the

prosecution of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating the transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union. In view of the special economic difficulties caused by the war to Iran they promised to continue to make available to it such economic assistance as was possible under war conditions, and to give full consideration to the post-war economic problems of Iran by means of conferences or economic agencies. They also reaffirmed their desire for the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Iran.

On December 14, while a General Election for a new Parliament was in progress, the Government resigned. Two days later Ah Soheili formed a new Cabinet, retaining the same Foreign Minister and Minister of Justice. A civilian, Ebrahim Zaud, became Minister of War.

MOROCCO

On the last day of 1942 the High Commissioner of Spanish Morocco, General Orgaz, stated publicly that Tangier would thenceforth form part of the Spanish Protectorate, and on the next day he declared that Tangier was to be given "the particular character it had when it was a Spanish-administered city." The British Consul-General pointed out to him that the British Government continued to reserve all its rights and those of third parties in accordance with the Convention of 1923 and the Protocol of 1928, though the provisional Anglo-Spanish arrangement of 1941, by which it accorded *de facto* recognition to the Spanish seizure of Tangier in 1940, remained operative. The Spanish Government in Madrid thereupon dissociated itself from General Orgaz's statement.

During the remainder of the year the High Commissioner adopted a more correct attitude, but he showed his hostility to the Allies by various acts of minor importance. On February 22 the French (Shereefian) Post Office in Tangier was taken over by the Spanish authorities, in spite of a protest from General Giraud, and on March 5 similar action was taken with the Post and Telegraph Office of the former International Zone. In May, 300 Jewish and Arab youths were arrested for having volunteered for military or labour service in French Morocco and not in Axis territory. Discrimination was shown in favour of pro-German and against pro-Allied Press and propaganda, and at the end of May the British Consul-General had to protest vigorously against the picketing of the local British newspaper and similar annoyances. Also a number of persons having business relations with British firms were arrested and were only released after strong British representations. On the other hand, the High Commissioner had to complain that foreign propaganda was causing unrest among the native population ; and in response the British

Government stated in April that it had no objection to the cessation of propaganda in Arabic provided the Axis Powers were subjected to the same restriction. In the latter part of the year General Orgaz showed himself less hostile to the Allies, and took steps to put down sabotage and espionage to their detriment.

In the autumn the Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish forces in Morocco, General Yague, who had not been on the best of terms with General Orgaz, was relieved of his command.

In French Morocco in June M. Puaux, formerly High Commissioner of Syria, became Resident-General in place of General Nogues.

CHAPTER VII

THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN

CHINA

THE military situation in China underwent little alteration in 1943. The initiative continued to remain in the hands of the Japanese, who, apart from constant local actions against guerillas, launched more than one major attack. On each occasion the Chinese were at first thrust back, but they succeeded in the end in recovering the lost ground, and preventing any further encroachment on the territory held by them.

At the end of 1942 the Japanese, with a force said to number 80,000 men, attempted to occupy the Tapieshan Mountains, north of Hankow, in order to clear the way from that city to Anking, further down the Yangtze. They were defeated by the Chinese at Sinyang, north of Hankow, and after three weeks of fighting, had to give up the attempt to take the Tapieshan Mountains. Attempts made by the Japanese in March to gain ground in Western Hupeh and in April and May to drive the Chinese out of the Taihsing Mountains, on the borders of Shansi and Honan, were similarly repulsed.

Early in May (May 7) the Japanese sent a force from Hankow into the so-called "rice bowl" area south of Lake Tungting in order to obtain possession of the food supplies there. About a week later they launched a major expedition from Ichang up the Yangtze, apparently aiming at Chungking. The Chinese drew them into a trap at the Hsipei forts, 10 miles west of Ichang, and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. General Chen Chang, Commander-in-Chief of the Yangtze Valley defences, described the engagement as the most important since the outbreak of the war in 1937. The Chinese victory was due to a large extent to the co-operation of the American Air Force, which for the first time provided the Chinese troops with an adequate "air umbrella"; also to the desertion of "puppet" Chinese troops used by the

Japanese for garrison duty. Exploiting their victory on the Yangtze, the Chinese turned their attention to the Lake Tungting area, from which they succeeded in expelling the Japanese by the middle of July.

On August 23 Chungking was bombed again for the first time in two years. On November 2 the Japanese started an offensive in Southern Hupeh, and marched south of Lake Tungting in the direction of Changsha. By the end of the month they had reached Changteh. Here the Chinese garrison put up a desperate resistance, and when the place was eventually taken on December 3, after a fifteen days' siege, only 300 of them were left. Meanwhile the Chinese had brought up reinforcements, and on December 9 they recaptured the city, not, however, without heavy losses. The Japanese thereupon abandoned their attempt on Changsha.

The Chinese ascribed their inability to take the offensive to their deficiency in heavy equipment, and they continually clamoured for more abundant supplies from the United States and Great Britain. The decision of these countries to give priority to the demands of the war against Germany caused some heartburning among the Chinese, making them feel that they were being somewhat neglected. In the early part of the year Madame Chiang Kai-shek toured the United States in order to rouse sympathy for China in that country. It was made clear to her that difficulties of transport placed insuperable obstacles in the way of sending larger supplies to China, and these could only be removed either by the completion of the new route from India to China through Assam, or by the recovery of Burma.

If the year 1943 was not one of great military success for China, it brought her notable triumphs in the diplomatic field. On January 11 treaties were signed with Great Britain and the United States by which these countries, in accordance with the undertaking given on October 10, 1942, renounced their extra-territorial rights in China and established equality in all their dealings with her. [For the text of the Anglo-Chinese Treaty, see under Public Documents.] The treaties were accompanied by an exchange of Notes dealing mainly with navigation. They were received with great jubilation in China, and were hailed by the Chungking Press as an epoch-making event in Chinese history and the opening of a new era. In a broadcast address General Chiang Kai-shek congratulated the nation on becoming master in their own house, and exhorted them to prove worthy of their new status by developing the virtues of self-reliance, austerity, and self-restraint. The treaties were ratified at Chungking on May 20. Dr. T. V. Soong represented China at the Quebec Conference in Quebec, and at the end of November General Chiang Kai-shek took part, along with the British Prime Minister and the President of the United States, in a conference at Cairo which settled plans for the conduct of the war against Japan and

for the treatment of that country after the war. The conference was described in Chungking as the greatest political triumph in China's modern history, and as fulfilling all Chinese aspirations for the return of the territories lost to Japan.

On May 30 General Chiang Kai-shek was empowered by a special resolution of the Kuomintang to act on behalf of the President, Lin Sen, who was incapacitated by illness. After the death of Lin Sen on August 1, the General, on September 13, was elected in his place. On October 10 he entered on his first three-year term, and took the oath to comply with the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, to abide by the laws, and to endeavour to recover China's lost territory.

In July and August Dr. T. V. Soong, the Chinese Foreign Minister, was in London, where he had discussions with British Ministers on financial and other matters affecting China. Speaking in Washington on September 14, he repeated the declaration already made in the Kuomintang, that within a year after the war a National Assembly would be called to adopt a new Constitution. In November it was announced that a Chinese goodwill mission was about to visit Britain, to return the visit paid to China by four members of Parliament a year before.

In the early part of the year, as a result of drought followed by a plague of locusts, a part of the province of Honan near Chengtow was visited by a terrible famine, which reduced about five million people to starvation, and caused a huge exodus to neighbouring provinces. The Government allocated nearly a hundred million dollars for relief.

On January 9 the Nanking Government, in return for the concessions promised to it by Japan [*vide* Japan] went through the form of declaring war on Great Britain and the United States. Soon after, the Japanese military authorities handed over to its nominees the properties of British, American, and other Allied nationals which had been confiscated since the outbreak of the war in the Pacific. At the end of March the Japanese concessions at Tientsin, Hankow, and other places were transferred to the Nanking authorities without compensation.

JAPAN

Throughout 1943 Japan gave ground slowly but steadily to the American and Australian forces arrayed against her in the South-west Pacific. The tide of battle, which had turned in the middle of 1942, continued to flow against her. One by one she had to give up strategic points on the fringe of her far-flung empire, until at the end of the year Rabaul, the key to her whole military power in the South-west Pacific, was seriously threatened. In the defence of these outposts she incurred losses, both in the air and at sea, which made serious inroads into her resources.

After losing Gona on the north coast of Papua towards the end of 1942, the Japanese still held the posts of Buna and Sanananda in the same neighbourhood. In the first week of January strong reinforcements were assembled at Rabaul for their relief, but they were so heavily bombed by American and Australian airmen either at Rabaul itself or on the way that only a small fraction reached the island of New Guinea. Nevertheless the Japanese at Buna and Sanananda continued to put up a stiff resistance against greatly superior forces, and it was not till about January 20 that they finally yielded these places to the enemy. The latter then advanced towards Salamaua, but on the way they again met with strong resistance at Wau and Mubo, and sporadic fighting went on in the neighbourhood of the latter place for months. Meanwhile the garrisons at Lae and Salamaua were greatly strengthened, in spite of occasional severe losses to convoys; thus on March 1 and the next two days a convoy of twelve transports and ten warships was entirely destroyed north of New Guinea, with the loss of some 17,000 men and about 100 aircraft.

In the Solomons the fighting followed a similar course. By the end of 1942 the position of the Japanese forces on Guadalcanal Island had become practically hopeless, but they continued to offer a desperate resistance. They were finally cleared out by an American offensive on January 15, in which over 6,000 Japanese were killed. At the beginning of February a strong Japanese naval force sailed as far as Rennel Island, 10 miles south of Guadalcanal, but it suffered severe loss at the hands of American aircraft, and was forced to turn back, not, however, without inflicting considerable losses on the Allies.

The American superiority in the air enabled them to subject the Japanese positions at Lae, Salamaua, Rabaul, Wewak, Munda and other places to persistent bombing to which they could make little reply. The Japanese made vigorous but unsuccessful efforts to redress the balance. At the beginning of April they collected a large force of transports and warships at Kavieng in New Ireland, north-west of Rabaul, presumably to be sent to New Guinea. The American airmen, however, managed to penetrate here also and destroyed the major part of the force before it could set sail. About the same time a large Japanese air force swooped down on Allied naval forces assembled near Guadalcanal, and inflicted some damage on them, but in the effort lost 37 of their own airplanes out of 98, while in further attacks on April 11 and 12 they lost another 78 planes. Thus the superiority in the air, and with it the initiative, remained firmly in the hands of the Allies. Very heavy losses were again suffered by the Japanese in major air raids on New Guinea on May 17 and on Guadalcanal on June 16.

In May the Americans turned their attention to the Aleutian Islands in the North Pacific, where the Japanese had occupied

the islands of Attu and Kiska twelve months before. After two months of air raiding and a bombardment from the sea at the beginning of May, an American force landed on the island of Attu on May 11. By the end of the month the Japanese garrison of 3,000 had been completely wiped out. The Americans then turned their attention to the island of Kiska, 150 miles to the east of Attu, where there was a Japanese garrison of 10,000. After frequent bombardment from the air and the sea, an American force landed on Kiska on August 15. With their communications cut off the Japanese found their position untenable, and within a few days they completely evacuated the island under cover of fog.

Meanwhile the Americans had been making progress in the Southern Pacific area. On June 30 they occupied the small island of Rendova, 170 miles north-west of Guadalcanal and close to the important airfield of Munda in the island of New Georgia. On the next day they captured Viru Harbour in New Georgia, 30 miles from Munda, and began to close in on that place. In attempts to stop their landings the Japanese lost over 120 aircraft. On the night of July 5 a Japanese naval force of cruisers and destroyers was intercepted by American surface units in Kula Gulf, between New Georgia and the island of Kolombangara, somewhat north of Munda, and was defeated with the loss of at least nine warships. The Americans thereupon made further landings on New Georgia and began to invest Munda. Further naval engagements with results adverse to the Japanese took place in Kula Gulf on July 12 and July 18, and other attempts of the Japanese to bring supplies to Kolombangara Island were also frustrated. Munda itself fell to the Americans on August 6, after the Japanese had lost nearly 2,000 men there. Three weeks later the Japanese completely evacuated the island of New Georgia, retiring to Kolombangara.

Concurrently with their occupation of New Georgia the Americans had been making progress in New Guinea. On June 30 they landed a force at Nassau Bay, east of Mubo, which they were thus enabled to attack from the rear, and on July 15 it at last fell into their hands. They then advanced towards Salamaua, which they captured on September 13. Previously to this, on September 4, they had made landings east of Lae, a little north of Salamaua and the chief Japanese centre in New Guinea. After being laid in ruins by air and sea bombardment, this place was also taken on September 16. The Japanese had lost at least 12,000 men in the Salamaua-Lae area. Two weeks later they were driven out of Finschafen, north of Lae, which controlled the straits between New Guinea and New Britain. A Japanese attempt to recapture it with reinforcements from the north proved unsuccessful. For a time the Japanese held the Sattelberg range inland from Finschafen, but they were driven from this also before the end of the year.

Further progress had been made by the Americans during this time in the Solomons group. On August 15 they landed forces on Vella Lavella Island, north-west of Kolombangara, which the Japanese were in consequence forced to evacuate soon afterwards, retiring to Choiseul Island. On November 1 Allied forces landed on Bougainville Island, and in an attempt to prevent them the Japanese lost two cruisers and four destroyers. The Japanese thereupon directed a large force of naval units and transports from their main Pacific base at Truk to Rabaul, 800 miles away, in order to defend Bougainville, but it was attacked by American aircraft and suffered severe damage, especially at Rabaul on November 6. Not only were the Japanese unable to oust the Americans from Bougainville, but they could not prevent them from establishing, on December 15, a bridgehead at Cape Merkus, in New Britain itself, opposite Finschafen. It was also reported on November 23 that United States marines had occupied the Makin atoll in the Gilbert Islands, a thousand miles north of the Solomons.

The net effect of these American successes was to make Rabaul, the great Japanese centre in the South-west Pacific, highly vulnerable to American air attack. It did in fact suffer some very heavy raids in the latter half of the year ; on October 12, 100 aircraft were destroyed on the ground, and on October 25, 123, besides a destroyer and five coastal craft; 181 aircraft were destroyed between October 23 and 25, and 130 a week later, while on November 10 and 11, 15 vessels were hit out of 23 seen in the vicinity. The loss of Papua and the Solomons also deprived Japan of any chance she might have once had of invading Australia. Besides Rabaul, the other great Japanese air base at Wewak in Western New Guinea also suffered severely from air bombardment ; in the heaviest raid to which it was subjected, on August 16, 215 aircraft were destroyed or badly damaged out of 225 on the ground.

So long as Rabaul and the western half of New Guinea remained in Japan's hands, her defensive position continued to be exceedingly strong, and she was left in undisturbed possession of the rich territories which she had wrested from the United Nations in the early part of 1942. Her inability, however, to prevent the progress of her opponents already, in 1943, created grave anxiety in the minds of her leaders, who realised fully that Japan was embarked on a life and death struggle. The surrender of the Italian Fleet to Great Britain was also felt by them as a severe blow, since it released a vast amount of shipping for use against Japan. The news of Japanese setbacks was to a large extent kept back from the Japanese public ; nevertheless, in the course of the year the tone of the public addresses issued by the Prime Minister, General Tojo, and by the Emperor became increasingly grave. The public were exhorted to make ever

greater sacrifices, especially for the production of aircraft **and** shipping. To strengthen their control over the national resources the Government this year did not hesitate to interfere with the strong vested interests of the great industrialists and the Civil Service, which hitherto had been left more or less alone. A beginning was made in this direction with certain Bills submitted to an extraordinary session of the Diet on June 15, the text of which was not published on security grounds, but the object of which was no doubt to strengthen the Government's control over the national resources. In further pursuance of this object, towards the end of September a new Government Department, to be called the Ministry of Munitions, was created, replacing the Cabinet Planning Board, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and the section of the War and Navy Ministries which dealt with war production contracts. Towards the end of the year no fewer than 43,000 Civil servants were dismissed.

In order to bolster up her position, Japan made efforts to win support from her subject peoples by giving them some semblance of power and independence. It was chiefly to further this process that a reconstruction of the Government took place in June, through which the experienced Ambassador to China, Mr. Shigemitsu, became Foreign Minister in place of Mr. Tani. Already in January a pact had been concluded with the Chinese puppet Government in Nanking which in appearance treated her almost as an equal ally [*vide* China], and by which Japan undertook to return all her concessions in China and to relinquish extra-territorial rights. General Tojo himself visited China in March, and told a gathering of high Japanese officials and leading business men in Shanghai that there would have to be a "fundamental change " in Japan's policy towards China, even at a considerable cost to Japanese residents in China. On March 29 Mr. Kazuo Aoki, the Minister for Greater East Asia, said in Tokyo that " all-round co-operation with China was absolutely essential for Japan's prosecution of the war." In July General Tojo paid a visit to Bangkok and Singapore, and conferred with the Prime Ministers of Siam and Burma. The fruits of his visit were immediately apparent. On July 5 it was announced that Japan had agreed to the annexation by Siam of the four Malay States of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu, and the two Shan States of Keng Tung and Mong Pan. On August 1 the formal independence of Burma was proclaimed, and soon after, all the Shan States except the two already assigned to Siam were transferred to it. In the Philippines a so-called " National Assembly " was allowed to adopt a Republican Constitution at the end of September, and independence was promised to them in the course of a year.

On the two other war fronts on which Japan was engaged, China and Burma, there was a good deal of fighting, but little

change in the military situation. The Japanese **Army** in Manchukuo was increased in 1943, and Japan and Russia continued to eye one another suspiciously, but no breach took place, and the Fisheries Convention was again renewed for a year in April. In February Japanese forces occupied the French-leased territory of Kwangchow in Southern China.

CHAPTER VIII

AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA—BRAZIL —CHILE—MEXICO—URUGUAY

THE UNITED STATES

IT is probable that a Press interview given by Mr. Wendell Willkie on December 18, 1942, had a good deal to do with the awkward shape of things in 1943. He had visited the Far East, the Middle East, and Russia, and had come back a convinced anti-imperialist and strongly opposed to the theory, then becoming popular in some circles, that an Anglo-American post-war alliance would be so strong that it alone could ensure a lasting peace. This, he complained, left out not only Russia and China, but other nations as well ; all of them should join the peace table as absolute equals. Then only could a healthy and lasting peace be secured.

Turning to home conditions, this Republican politician and successful Wall Street lawyer spoke his mind with astonishing candour. He said there were a lot of things in the United States which badly needed cleaning up. We must revise our ideas on the Negro question, the poll-tax laws disfranchising poor whites and blacks in some of the Southern States must be abolished, and the United States must give up its dreams of "merely hemispheric security." He observed that America's tariff policy since 1900 had probably been "the greatest single factor" in intensifying the spirit of nationalism throughout the world, and this, coupled with the abrupt abandonment of the World Economic Conference in 1933, had made it all but impossible for nations to co-operate. The country, he observed sharply, had had no foreign policy since the Nazis had marched into the Rhineland. "We shall have to be internationalist," he observed, "but the new internationalism will have to be economic and not—like the League of Nations—merely political."

Paradoxically, although these were the words of Mr. Willkie, it was the President who seemed to get the backwash of alarm and resentment which they inspired in various powerful quarters. The Democratic political machines in the Southern States resented the reference to the Negro and to the proposed abolition of their favourite poll-tax, while **important** business interests in the North

looked askance at the picture of a post-war world in which Russia and China would have much to say. Nobody minded Vice-President Wallace's speeches about the "Century of the Common Man," but Mr. Willkie's remarks were unpleasantly concrete; they acted as a catalytic agent, provoking in certain quarters reflections something like this: "Well, now we know where we are. These are the views of a self-styled 'Liberal,' but as Mr. Roosevelt, though of the opposite party, is also a 'Liberal,' something of this sort must be in his mind, too, even though he is too canny to blurt it out. If Roosevelt is elected for the fourth term, he will try to drive through something like this. Now is the time to stop "that man'."

Their efforts to "stop that man" went to surprising lengths, and had considerable success.

The President was handicapped at the start by the fact that the newly elected Congress was as anti-Roosevelt and anti-New Deal as it dared to be. The calling up of some seven million men to the armed forces, and the vast migration of several million young workers from communities where they had a vote into States where they had none, had disfranchised a large part of the pro-Roosevelt working and lower middle class. The Republicans, on the other hand, could count upon the farmers and the stay-at-home middle class. The result was that the Congressional elections in November, 1942, had returned the biggest assemblage of enemies which the President had ever faced in all his years in the White House. On paper he still had a Democratic majority in both Houses, but the Democratic ranks included scores who were as bitterly opposed to the New Deal as any of the Republicans.

Nor was the State apparatus which the President—in theory—controlled, very conspicuously "Liberal." The professional Army was believed to include many officers whose attitude towards Russia was indistinguishable from that of "Colonel Blimp," and who were said to look forward without dismay to the hypothetical post-war task of suppressing "Red revolutions" in Europe and Asia. From the Government Departments many of the New Deal enthusiasts had, one by one, departed. The Department of Agriculture which, under Mr. Roosevelt, had shaped its policy in the direction of aiding the thousands of inefficient marginal farmers to raise their standards of farming, passed under the control—it was charged—of men friendly to **the** farm "pressure groups," which reflected the outlook of successful commercial farmers. There were complaints about the Immigration authorities, the lower levels of the Department of Justice, the witch-hunting proclivities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—thousands of bureaucrats who touched civilian liberties and privileges at many points and who had been trained in the "red-baiting" **days** of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and

Hoover when " freedom of the Press " and " free speech " were frequently withdrawn from the less reputable classes.

Above all, there was the State Department, the Foreign Service, the unseen shapers of foreign policy. It was an extraordinary situation viewed from any angle. Throughout the year the State Department never succeeded in silencing its alarmed critics nor, on the other hand, did it seem to deviate an inch in its unpopular policy of conducting the political side of the war in what looked like a completely a-moral vacuum.

Light on the State Department appeared from unexpected places. For example, when on January 11 the State Department (simultaneously with Great Britain) signed with appropriate flourishes a treaty with China relinquishing all extra-territorial rights, critics sniffed, pointing out that this was all very pretty, but the fact remained that as far back as 1930, and without the stimulus of a World War, similar rights had been freely resigned by the U.S.S.R., Germany, Austria, Poland, Finland, Czechoslovakia (which secured large locomotive orders in return for its graceful gesture), Persia, Mexico, and Bolivia. A popular pundit produced a book arguing that America had no foreign policy, but critics of the State Department retorted that, policy or no policy, it seemed to have a lively sense of American business interests.

But the course of events in North Africa and, later, in occupied Italy, was the major issue. The State Department's continued appeasement of Franco Spain and its seeming insensitiveness to public opinion in its handling of affairs in French North Africa kept the columnists and the radio broadcasters busy and happy.

Mr. Hull found this sniping very trying. " It would be better," he told a Press Conference on January 19, " if we kept our minds on the prosecution of the war, especially with the battle at its most critical stage." But Mr. Walter Lippmann, writing in the New York *Herald-Tribune*, declined the pious advice. " The time has come," he wrote, " to cease misleading the American public by pretending that the situation in North Africa, which is our entire responsibility, has been muddled because of what has been said about it or thought about it in London." Referring to the proposal to send for Peyrouton from Argentina, he wrote : " However expedient it may have been to deal with Vichy Frenchmen already in North Africa when we landed, the deliberate summoning of Peyrouton from Argentina is a horse of wholly different colour."

Mr. Roosevelt himself took a hand in the controversy when broadcasting to the nation on February 12 : " The world may rest assured that this total war and this great sacrifice of lives is not being carried on for the purpose, or even with the remotest idea, of keeping the Quislings or Laval's in power anywhere on this earth." Nevertheless, after the collapse of Mussolini in Italy in September, the ex-Fascist Marshal Badoglio and King Victor

Emmanuel were placed in power in Italy over the vehement protests of the anti-Fascist democratic movement in the country.

Finally, on August 29, Mr. A. A. Berle, one of the Assistant Secretaries of State, attempted a lengthy reply to "the assertion frequently made—sometimes by men and journals of good-will—that the Department of State has pursued a policy of rebuffing and ignoring exiled leaders who look to a democratic revitalisation of Europe, and on the other hand, has been favourably disposed towards highly conservative and reactionary persons who are desirous of retaining the evils of pre-war Europe." Mr Berle found these assertions "really amazing in view of the long and tenaciously held policies of this country. Under them refugees from Europe seeking safety from oppression have been permitted to come to the United States and to state their views on political platforms to an extent not permitted by any other country on earth." Regarding the situation in the occupied and enemy countries, Mr. Berle was downright: "The Government of the United States has consistently maintained a policy directed towards a democratic solution ... as and when the peoples of those countries shall be free to speak." Again, it must be noted that the solution adopted in Italy did not, to many Americans, seem to square with these claims. Indeed, what gives the whole discussion rather exceptional importance is that it helped large sections of the public to maintain a questioning and critical, rather than a complacent, attitude towards the Government's handling of foreign affairs.

However, curiously enough, it was the State Department which furnished the Administration with one of its few Congressional victories. Due to expire in June was Mr. Hull's pet scheme, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, under which, step by step over a period of years, he had been able to lower some sections of the American tariff wall in exchange for similar concessions from various other countries.

Many manufacturers disliked the Act, either on principle, because they favoured complete exclusion of foreigners from the rich domestic market, or because they personally feared that some future agreement might affect their own interests. Moreover, business men in general were beginning to think of post-war trade in fairly aggressive terms; business sentiment, which would quickly be reflected in Congress, might turn strongly against the idea, arguing that the country had made enough concessions and it was the "other fellow's turn" to make overtures.

This was the situation facing the Administration. Even though the war ruled out any more trade agreements of this type, it seemed highly important to maintain continuity of policy as a pledge to the post-war world. At this juncture some 1,200 leading economists rallied to Mr. Hull's support; on April 18 they addressed a strong memorial to the chairman of the House

Ways and Means Committee, declaring that the abandonment of Mr. Hull's policy would be a "national tragedy" and "an economic preparation for a third world war." On April 29 the American Chamber of Commerce swung into line, approving the Bill by 29 to 11, and on May 6 the House Ways and Means Committee reported favourably on a Bill extending the life of the Act for three years. The chairman urged that it be adopted by a large non-partisan vote in both Houses to show "our Allies" that America's co-operation in post-war reconstruction would not be a "party matter."

This appeal was not too well received. The House cut the life of the Act from three years to two, and although it rejected various crippling amendments and actually adopted it by a 6 to 1 vote, over half the Republicans abstained from voting. The Senate passed it on June 6 by 59 to 24, the strength of the minority reflecting Republican unwillingness to be seduced by "international idealism."

But throughout the entire year the 78th Congress escaped only by inches from being a pathological phenomenon; in its obsession with Mr. Roosevelt, its anxiety to wreck his chances of a fourth term, and its recklessness as to the weapons it used, it was a mirror of the American business classes in their more provincial and lunatic moments.

Typical of this mood was the slashing of the appropriation for the Office of War Information, the Government's channel for war news and propaganda. The hostile vote was based on two "things: routine references in the service to the President of the United States were interpreted as propaganda for a fourth term. In addition, a news release from the O.W.I., praising the Negroes for their contribution to national defence gave offence to Southern statesmen. "America needs no Goebbels or Gayda in Washington," said Congressman Starnes of Alabama.

When the National Resources Planning Board published its recommendations for social insurance—the "American Beveridge"—Congress abolished the Board and ordered its material to be handed over to the National Archives, putting them beyond the convenient reach of any future Planning Board. All of the President's appointees who were suspected of "Liberal" or New Deal sympathies were harried as "Communists"; in some cases their salaries were held up. Government agencies like the National Youth Administration were summarily abolished.

But the President's most serious defeats came over the question of inflation. The Treasury's official estimate, published in February, showed that the colossal war effort would place in the pockets of private individuals the sum of 130 milliard dollars of which income tax, at its current level, would mop up only 15 milliards, leaving 115 milliards available for loans to the Government and the purchase of goods and services valued then

only at 75 milliards. Even if the Treasury succeeded in surpassing all previous records in coaxing loans from the public, there must inevitably be a huge spendable sum left exerting an upward pressure on the prices of a dwindling supply of goods and services.

Rationing was not ruled out, but the size of the population, its varied composition, the immense distances, all pointed to administrative difficulties on a scale unknown in the British experiment. So the Administration decided to attack the problem from the earning rather than the spending end. If prices of consumers' goods and services could be stabilised, then there should be less political difficulty in "freezing" wages and putting a "ceiling" upon salaries. This done, income tax should be steeply raised until the Government, through loans and taxes, had reduced the country's spendable income to something close to the current value of the goods available. But the President was defeated in each of these approaches.

Back in October, 1942, the President, by executive order, had placed a "ceiling" upon salaries; no salaries exceeding 25,000 dollars per annum were to be paid to anybody, himself included. But one of the first acts of the new Congress was to abolish this ceiling, leaving film stars and big business executives to draw and enjoy their accustomed incomes.

The new Congress had other fixed ideas. For one thing, it was determined that the Administration should not deprive the farmers of their big chance to enjoy soaring prices for farm products. Four "pressure groups," purporting to represent the farmers, decisively vetoed the President's plan to "roll back" farm prices to the level of the previous September, making up the difference to the farmers by means of subsidies. The battle over this lasted for months, and eventually the President got the full attention of the country, including the farmers. A Gallup poll showed that the majority of farmers questioned were not anxious to cause inflation, and at this juncture a fifth organisation, representing the smaller farmers, came out strongly in favour of subsidies and the "rolling back" of prices. Chastened by the storm of Press criticism, the House sustained the Administration in June by 228 to 154, and the Senate, after backing and filling, by the very close vote of 34 to 33, with almost a third of the Senate abstaining.

In the meantime the recalcitrance of Congress, its refusal to do anything effective to control the cost of living, had upset both the big labour federations, the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations, which served notice upon the President that they could not keep their pledge—"no strikes in war-time"—if the cost of living continued to soar. They seemed to find it difficult to believe that Mr. Roosevelt was really exerting himself, for his personal ascendancy as the

war leader was so great that his concessions to the Conservatives and to "Big Business" seemed gratuitous. Criticism from the Left frequently exceeded that from the Right.

But the most serious trouble came from a third labour group, the United Mine Workers of America, whose head, Mr. John L. Lewis, made no secret of his personal hatred for the President. Mr. Lewis is credited with political ambitions, and certainly stood much closer to Mr. Roosevelt's enemies than any other leading trade unionist. The urgent demand for coal and the profits obviously accruing to the mine-owners gave Mr. Lewis his chance, and he pressed vigorously for an advance in wages. The advance was resisted, and the country was plunged straight away into a costly coal strike.

Coal-mining differs from all other industries in that it is a colonial type of enterprise, as remote from the American pattern of life as though it were carried on in the tropics. Miners live in separate communities, usually rather dreary-looking, with normally no alternative employment available if they leave the mine. Despite the widespread mechanisation, labour costs still remain the major item in all costs, and wage scales are stubbornly negotiated. During strikes, miners are more familiar with cavalry and mounted police than are other sections of the trade union movement. Industrial disputes are frequent and almost invariably bitter. Economic security is unknown.

In March, when negotiations between the miners and the owners took a serious turn, Mr. Roosevelt sent a cautionary telegram to Mr. Lewis urging that the dispute be settled without interruption of work, and that any wage adjustment should be in accordance with the Stabilisation Act of October, 1942, which pegged wages.

The President followed this up on April 8 with an order forbidding the War Labour Relations Board to grant any increases in wages and salaries. This was disconcerting, for the American wages structure was full of anomalies and the trade unions had understood that the War Labour Relations Board—on which they were directly represented—was empowered to remove inequalities. Another order forbade workers on essential war work to switch, for the sake of better pay, to other work unless they could show that the new job increased their contribution to the war effort. By a third order he instructed the Price Controller, the Food Controller, and the Secretary of Agriculture to control the prices of all commodities entering into the cost of living. In the meantime, some of the defence departments had begun to press for an Industrial Conscription Act which would enable them to direct labour into those fields where they were most needed.

These measures needed full public support to be effective, but they did not have it. The new Congress had already shown that war profits were in no serious jeopardy, and Mr. Lewis—however

mixed his motives may have been—stood on fairly strong ground. He cocked a snook at all this State apparatus and demanded an increase of 2 dollars a day for his miners—they were then getting nominally 5.08 dollars, less numerous deductions. Their average weekly wage of 35.05 dollars compared with 46.44 dollars in aircraft construction and 60.75 dollars in shipbuilding. Miners who had quit coal and gone into a tank factory in the anthracite district were making nearly 60 dollars a week. If coal is so important to the national effort, argued Mr. Lewis, now is the time to pay the miners a living wage. He put May 1 as the deadline, and the miners came out promptly.

Apart from the uproar, this strike opened a new and serious chapter in the history of American trade unions, for Congress, ignoring the exemplary war-time behaviour of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations, struck as hard as it knew how. First it hurriedly passed an Act empowering the Government to seize and operate plants and mines where strikes had been called. Mr. Roosevelt used this Act to take over the coal-mines.

More important than this was the sweeping, rather helter-skelter anti-strike Act which followed. This provided a fine of 1,200 dollars or a year in jail for any one found guilty of " instigating " a strike in war plant or mine. Strikes were forbidden unless they were approved by a majority of the workers in a secret ballot, and even then a " cooling-off " period of thirty days was stipulated. All trade unions were required to register with the War Labour Relations Board and submit to the latter a full statement of their finances. The Board was given power to subpoena witnesses.

This Bill, despite the many signs of hasty draftsmanship, was passed by Congress, vetoed by Mr. Roosevelt, and passed again over his veto—in the House by 244 to 108, and in the Senate by 56 to 25. One interesting clause forbade trade unions to raise, or contribute to, political funds ; this was pretty obviously inspired by the decision of the pro-Roosevelt Congress for Industrial Organisations to raise a fund of several million dollars for the Presidential campaign of 1944 ; the fund would be used chiefly to make sure that the disfranchised war workers took steps to establish their right to vote in the new districts into which they had moved.

That the middle class very largely approved of this legislation is suggested by the fact that a number of States, beginning with Republican Kansas, passed Bills closely modelled on the Federal Act. Some of these State laws forbid picketing. This wave of legislation was unquestionably inspired by the popular belief that many trade unions were simply private money-making " rackets " operating for the benefit of self-perpetuating officials who were quite indistinguishable from " gangsters." But, broadly speaking,

American employers have never been reconciled to trade unions—the Federal legislation barring company-controlled unions has long been a dead letter—and it seems not unlikely that employers, especially in the Southern States, will be tempted to push through legislation still more hostile to the trade union movement.

The coal strike, which brought about all this, was eventually settled on November 3. The miners, who had been working a seven-hour day, agreed to work eight hours and received 8.50 dollars a day.

Judged by the prodigious war production, there was little justification for the bellicose anti-labour language used in Congress, for the rule, "no strikes in war-time," was almost universally observed. The President, in a message to Congress in September, reviewed with justifiable satisfaction the huge output of the "arsenal of the Democracies." Since the arms programme had seriously started in May, 1940, the country, he said, had produced 123,000 aircraft, 349,000 airplane engines, 53,000 tanks, 93,000 pieces of artillery, 9½ million small arms, 1,230,000 trucks and lorries. In most categories, he said, more than half the total had been produced within the preceding six months. On the naval side the country had built and launched 2,380 fighting ships and auxiliaries and 13,000 landing barges. On September 19 the Navy announced that it had 613 warships compared with 383 three years before. During the preceding six months more warships had been launched than in the entire year 1942.

The country knew that it had been a tremendous feat, accomplished on big lines congenial to the national temperament. Huge aircraft factories with giant cranes which turned over the big bombers so that men could reach them quickly and conveniently; war factories so large that motor-driven canteens went to the workers instead of the workers going to the canteen; shipyards which were swift assembly points for pre-fabricated materials; thousands upon thousands of training schools where workers were coached and quickly upgraded. In Washington, which was a mad-house, there were raging arguments over priorities and considerable extravagance in smashing bottle-necks, but the flow, once started, rarely stopped. Indeed, by the end of the year, many quotas were completely filled and some war plants were, rather gingerly, switched over to peace-time production or put on short time.

But the very scale of production, not to mention its success, produced in many an attitude towards the post-war world which filled some American commentators with alarm. Perhaps the most important single remark made during the year was that of the President of the Export-Import Bank when, speaking in April at a business men's luncheon in Detroit, he observed: "The American industrial machine has grown too big to be healthy in its own backyard." Much of this plant was obviously transient,

but some of it, even the newest, already had a permanent air—shipyards constructed only yesterday, as it were, which already had residential areas for the workers complete with water, sewer, bungalows, trees and lawns. With even a fraction of all this plant and skilled labour, thousands of things could be made, by mass production, so cheaply that all markets could be stormed. The man who called this " the American Century " was expressing, no doubt, the sense of national power with which the sight of these giant plants had filled his breast.

The first business group to visualise the world as, in a new and lucrative sense, patently America's world was that of the commercial aviation companies. They were quickly off the mark. Their publicity pictured American air lines girdling the globe, serving every country, and their spokesmen in Congress kept prodding the President about air bases abroad. But they met discouraging replies. About the only support they received came from the Secretary of the Navy, who ranked air and naval bases in the Pacific as essential for American security ; he never failed to stress that the United States was not interested in acquiring territory as such.

On the whole, the Republican Mr. Willkie, did more than Mr. Roosevelt to combat the idea of post-war " American imperialism." His lively and persuasive book, " One World," which sold a million and a half copies, was primarily an anti-imperialistic tract. The nascent nationalism which he met in the Far East and in the Middle East had, he found, a strong threat of Communism in it which, in his opinion, would not tolerate much longer economic exploitation at the hands of self-styled superior races. The British belief that its colonies would not be ready for self-government for many decades he dismissed as already out of date. The British, he said, must hurry or they will quickly lose the Colonial Empire and India altogether.

Surveying the year on the home front, the President could have drawn very little satisfaction from the picture. No problems were really settled. Thanks to Congress, taxation of soaring war incomes was completely inadequate, and the machinery for controlling prices far from effective. Labour had a grievance, for the sacrifice of higher wages demanded of it was not matched by corresponding sacrifices exacted of the salaried and professional classes. True, machinery for ironing out inequalities in wage scales still existed, but—rightly or wrongly—it appeared not anxious to function. The only labour leader who defied the Government was the only one with a substantial gain to his credit.

What of the mood of the country, its outlook upon the war, and the peace ? The most notable change was the reappearance of the " Isolationists " in the trappings of " Nationalism." They transferred to the post-war period the " America First " ideology

which they had used unsuccessfully to impede the war. They were completely routed when they sought to show that " Lend-Lease " was being abused by the British ; furthermore, the innumerable groups which became interested in the problems of peace took it for granted that America's post-war co-operation would be permanent and disinterested. Towards the end of the year Congress itself began to talk in these enlightened terms, so it is probable the Republicans as well as Democrats sensed something in the country which demanded the continuance post-war of full co-operation with the other United Nations. However, there was no unanimity regarding the terms which should be imposed upon the Axis Powers when they were defeated.

Politics acquired increasing importance, with the inexorable approach of the Presidential campaign of 1944. Mr. Roosevelt continued to keep his own counsel as to whether he would run for a fourth term ; as the war leader and the nation's spokesman he towered above everyone else, and it was generally agreed that if he consented to run again, no one could defeat him—providing the war was still on—but if the war was over or if, for any reason, he was not the Democratic candidate, then the Republicans felt that they stood an excellent chance of recapturing the Government. Of the Republican possibilities, Mr. Willkie was the most colourful and positive, but many Republicans found him too " Leftish," and the leaders of the various political machines wrote him off as quite impossible. Other possibilities were Governor Dewey of New York State, Governor Bricker of Ohio, and ex-Governor Stassen of North Dakota.

Regarding the progress of the war in Europe and the Far East, about the only public criticism was over the slowness of the Allies. Those who had husbands and sons in the forces overseas probably took a more personal view, and approved the notable tendency of the British and American High Commands to conserve lives, but even they found the slow " island-hopping " in the South-west Pacific rather trying. Mr. Roosevelt declared that this was not the official policy, and that when the Allies were ready, they could and would cut Japan's far-flung life-lines and reach Tokyo. On the other hand, the Vice-Chief of Naval Operations told a Committee of Congress that the Navy was ready for a war which might last until 1949.

The Army reached by the end of the year 7,390,000, while the Navy's personnel exceeded 2,000,000.

While the successive conferences between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill—at Casablanca, Washington, Quebec, Cairo, and Teheran—furnished the Press and the broadcasters with millions of words of subtle analysis, the public got only two things which seemed to stick in its mind. One was the emphasis laid at Casablanca upon " unconditional surrender " as the unalterable policy of the Allies towards the Axis Powers. The other was

Mr. Roosevelt's account of his meeting with Mr. Stalin at Teheran : " I got along fine with Marshal Stalin. . . . He combines a tremendous, relentless, determination with a stalwart good humour."

Russia's prestige was extremely high throughout the year, but her very successes against the Nazis alarmed a good many people, both high and low. They were felt to be a challenge to the whole American pattern, the challenge of communal property to private property. The leaders of the American Federation of Labour found it extremely difficult to express their feverish anti-Communism without being anti-Russian. Some newspapers which had paid handsome tributes to the military skill and valour of the Russians were, occasionally, inclined to see "Russian Imperialism " as Post-War Problem No. 1. On November 13 the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church put out a statement for the guidance of their people on the Moscow Declarations : " They do indeed open the way to necessary international co-operation for peace as well as for war," but " they do not dispel the fear that compromise on the ideals of the Atlantic Charter is in sight." The phrasing was a little vague but the coolness was clear. Most, though not all, of the Polish-American organisations were openly anti-Russian.

Regarding the war, the public found little trouble in holding mutually exclusive views. It was widely and strongly held that the war would be over in the very near future, but the same people pointed out that in almost a year the Allied forces had not been able to penetrate more than half the length of the small Italian peninsula.

The authorities tried hard to dynamite the idea of imminent victory. A high officer in the Military Intelligence pointed out in September that Germany had nearly three times as many combat divisions in the field as she had when she attacked Poland ; the Luftwaffe also was larger than it was at the beginning. The Germans, he said, now have 300 well-trained divisions, and during 1943 alone they had raised or re-formed and equipped more than 60 divisions, each with 600 machine-guns and 300 heavier weapons. The war industries in Germany and Occupied Europe had a labour force of 35 million men and women compared with 23 million in 1939. " Some of the weapons they produce are better than any possessed by the United Nations." Madame Chiang Kai-shek, addressing both Houses of Congress in February, had declared that Japan, far from being a brittle war machine, actually commanded more war resources than Germany, " and the longer she is left in undisputed possession, the stronger she will become."

" Lend-Lease " became a gigantic two-way system for re-distributing physical resources and services among all the United Nations. By the end of the year American " Lend-Lease " shipments for that year alone reached 2,933,000,000Z. compared **with**

1,752,000,000Z. in 1942 and 311,000,000Z. in 1941. Shipments to the British Empire or British forces from the beginning up to the end of 1943 totalled 1,649,000,000Z., while shipments to Russia reached 1,060,000,000Z. Up to the end of the year Russia had received from the United States 7,800 airplanes, 4,100 tanks, 173,000 trucks, and many thousands of other vehicles ; the Red Army had received 6,000,000 pairs of boots. British services and goods furnished to the United States forces in 1943 were valued at 337,000,000Z., but the figure excluded many items which could not be valued in monetary terms. This was the cement of the United Nations, perhaps the greatest single invention of the war.

ARGENTINA

The year 1943 opened in Argentina under the shadow of a Presidential Election which was due in September. The great question at issue was whether the Argentine should retain her neutral status or should implement the decision taken at the Rio Conference in the beginning of 1942 and break off relations with the Axis Powers. There could be little doubt that the majority of the population—not, however, the wealthier classes and the military—were in favour of the latter course, though a statement made by an aviation official of the Argentine Government at Los Angeles in March, that 99 per cent, of the population was pro-Ally, was probably greatly exaggerated. In any case, President Castillo showed no sign of budging from the position he had taken up in the preceding year. In a public statement made on February 20 he declared that Argentina would continue her policy of neutrality, and at the same time he recommended as his successor the Vice-President, Dr. Patron Costas, a man of his own ideas.

In closing his statement, Dr. Castillo added the usual tag, that Argentina's policy of neutrality would not exclude the active and effective co-operation she was extending to other nations of the American Continent. Apparently he made this assertion in all sincerity ; but it was hardly borne out by the Government's actions. A certain show was indeed made of curbing pro-Axis activities in the country, and in particular the German naval attache, Captain Niebuhr, who had already been condemned by the courts, was sent out of the country at the beginning of February. But the German agents still found means of eluding the watchfulness of the Government, and by supplying information to the enemy continued to constitute a serious danger to the United Nations' shipping.

President Castillo's policy brought him severe rebuffs, both from Great Britain and the United States. On the last day of 1942 the British Foreign Office, apropos of a somewhat disingenuous attempt of the Argentine Government to make out that Great Britain did not disapprove of their policy, issued

a statement in which it said that it deplored the **Argentine policy** of remaining in diplomatic relations with "the enemies of humanity," and that it had been at pains to leave the Argentine Government in no doubt as to these views. Shortly afterwards the United States Government pointedly omitted to send to the Argentine an invitation to participate in the Food Conference at Hot Springs, in spite of her great importance as a food producer. Even before this the State Department had curtly refused a rather naive request from the Argentine Government for military supplies under Lend-Lease. The other Latin-American Republics were equally disgruntled, and on the Argentine national holiday on May 28 not one of them sent a message of congratulation, as had always been their custom in previous years. Significantly enough, such messages were received from Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito.

The pro-Ally movement at the beginning of the year had a strong leader in the person of the former President, General Augustin Justo, who had led the revolt against President Irigoyen ten years before. President Castillo, however, making full use of the powers which his position placed in his hands, took steps betimes to manipulate in his own favour the electoral machinery, and it was doubtful whether, even with such a candidate as General Justo, and with the bulk of the electorate behind them, the pro-Ally sections would win the election. The death of General Justo in January further weakened their chances considerably, as they were unable afterwards to form a united front.

While the Castillo Government made itself odious to the more liberal elements of the population by its foreign policy, it also gave deep offence to certain elements in the Army by its corruption and mismanagement at home. To prevent the regime from being perpetuated at the next Presidential Election, a number of Generals determined to take the law into their own hands and overthrow President Castillo by force. At their head was General Rawson, a man who had hitherto taken no part in politics, and with him was associated General Ramirez, the Minister of War in Castillo's Government, who seems to have been the real ring-leader. On June 4 Generals Rawson and Ramirez, with some 11,000 men, marched on the capital from the military station of Campo del Mayo, north of the city, and from Palomar, the airport west of it. President Castillo appointed General Rodolfo Marquez, a former War Minister, to defend the capital, but the opposition collapsed almost immediately. The only resistance met with by the insurgents was from some naval units which had been called on to surrender, but which refused to do so without a fight; they afterwards joined the revolutionaries. General Castillo fled in a gunboat, but was soon captured, and released, and on June 6 General Rawson was declared President. The whole *coup d'etat* had cost about fifty lives.

General Rawson immediately issued a manifesto declaring that the new Government would fight "to maintain a real and complete national sovereignty and to make effective an absolute, true and loyal American union with the fulfilment of international pacts and understandings." This was taken on all sides to mean that the new Government intended to reverse the foreign policy of its predecessor, and to break off diplomatic relations with the Axis. Such seems to have been the genuine intention of General Rawson ; but he was not allowed to carry it out. After holding office for twenty-eight hours he found himself unable to form a Cabinet and resigned, being succeeded by General Ramirez. The new President formed a Government consisting entirely of military men, with the exception of the Minister of Finance, and leaning strongly to the Right. His statements of policy laid more stress on internal reform and less on a change of foreign policy than that of his predecessor ; nevertheless, in the course of the next few days the new regime was both accepted by the Radicals at home and acknowledged by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain and of the Latin-American Republics.

It was not long before the hopes which had been raised both at home and abroad that Argentina would at length sever relations with the Axis began to fade away. For a time the new Government seemed to blow hot and cold on the matter. One of its first acts was to suspend the use of codes in international radio-telegraph and radio-telephone services ; and it refused to withdraw the ban on the request of the Axis representatives. On the other hand, at the end of June it appointed as chief of the Information section at the Foreign Office the son of the former Foreign Minister, Senor Guinazu, who was like his father a strong supporter of neutrality. In July it dissolved both the Federation of German Leagues of Welfare and Culture—which had in fact been dissolved in the previous September but had been allowed to go on existing—and the Accion Argentina, the great pro-Allied organisation which claimed 400,000 members. By the end of July, however, it had become fairly evident that the Ramirez Government had not the faintest intention of reversing the foreign policy of Sefior Castillo, and that if anything it was more, and not less, favourable to Germany, though it continued to use the same language about co-operating with the other American States and serving their best interests.

In its internal administration it was not long before the new regime began to show decided Fascist leanings ; its ideological affinities were with Madrid, just as those of its predecessor had been with pre-war Paris. As an earnest of its desire to combat corruption, on June 16 all the members of the Government renounced their official salaries. For the rest its policy was one of sheer repression. The state of siege was not only maintained, but was enforced with far greater strictness. On June 19 a decree

was issued forbidding the application to the Government of the title "provisional"; and shortly afterwards the Chamber was dissolved and the holding of the Presidential Election was postponed indefinitely. Already before the end of July reports were circulating in the American Press that the Government was planning to introduce a regime called "Corporative Democracy," which would be anti-Semitic, anti-Communist, anti-Labour, anti-foreigner, and above all anti-United States. These reports were indignantly denied by the Government, but its subsequent conduct showed that there was at least a considerable amount of truth in them. In August a vigorous campaign was started throughout the country for the suppression of Communism, a term which was given the wide meaning usual in Fascist quarters; a number of alleged Communists were arrested and sent without trial to Patagonia, among them being a Radical deputy, Eduardo Araujo, and a number of trade unions were closed on the ground that they were impregnated with Communism. The anti-Jewish bias of the Government was first shown by the suppression in October of the Yiddish papers in the Argentine. This step brought down upon the Government a stinging rebuke from President Roosevelt, and was revoked, but it was soon followed by the dissolution of a number of Jewish—along with Masonic—institutions in the Province of Entre Rios, where the brother of General Ramirez was Governor; and towards the end of the year the Jewish community found itself compelled to complain to the Minister of the Interior about the "intense propaganda of insult and calumny waged with impunity" against it. The intention of the Government to bring workers and employers into a joint corporative organisation was also distinctly announced by the Secretary of Labour and Welfare in December.

As time went on and the Ramirez Government showed no sign of breaking with the Axis Powers, both the United States and the British Governments plainly showed their irritation. This did not prevent the Foreign Minister, Admiral Storni, from addressing, on August 5, a letter to the U.S. State Secretary, Mr. Hull, asking him to make a "gesture of genuine friendship" to the Argentine by allowing her to purchase munitions in the United States. Mr. Hull replied on August 8 with a blunt refusal, pointing out that the Government had failed to implement the undoubted sentiments of the Argentine people in the matter of foreign policy, and charging it with allowing Axis agents to engage in systematic espionage against the United Nations and with giving facilities for vicious propaganda against them. The publication of the correspondence a month later led to such an outcry in the country that Admiral Storni resigned.

Not all the members of President Ramirez's Government agreed with his policy, and opposition to it gradually developed within the Cabinet. The upshot of the conflict was that on

October 12 the Ministers of Finance, Justice, and Public Works resigned, and were replaced by firmer supporters of President Ramirez. At the same time the discontent of the public with the Government's policy was voiced in a declaration signed by 150 prominent personages, and published in *La Nation* and *La Prensa*, demanding a "fundamental solution" of the existing political crisis, and "American solidarity through the loyal fulfilment of Argentina's international obligations," along with liberty of assembly and of the Press. The reply of the Government was to dismiss all public officials and university professors who had signed the document, and to announce that it would not tolerate any attempts against the regime.

On August 25 three economic conventions were signed in Buenos Aires between the Argentine and Chile. The first provided for the appointment of a mixed commission to study the establishment of a customs union between the two countries. By the second both agreed to hasten the completion of the trans-Andine railway from Salta to Antofagasta, and to discuss the question of building new roads and railways linking Argentina with Chile. The third granted to each country free transit through the other's territory for goods going to or from a third country.

On September 1 the Government published its reply to the Notes presented on July 30 by Great Britain, the United States, and Canada, urging that sanctuary should not be granted to Axis war criminals. It expressed the intention of abiding by the terms of a draft convention submitted to the British Government in 1937, which stipulated that internal and external sanctuary should be granted only for political reasons and offences, and in case of doubt reserved the right to decide any case on its merits.

BOLIVIA

The strike which took place in the tin mines at the end of 1942 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 296) forcibly called the attention of the Government to the unsatisfactory labour conditions prevailing in the industry. With a view to improving them, and true to his policy of co-operating with the United States, President Penaranda invited that country to send experts to collaborate with Bolivians in studying the labour situation. The report of the Joint Commission issued in April recommended a rise in wages and improvement in housing, sanitation, and education. Bolivian friendship with the United States was confirmed by the visit of the President to the United States at the beginning of May. His reception was extremely cordial, and on May 6 he addressed Congress in Washington, proposing an inter-Parliamentary Union for the nations of America.

While in Washington President Penaranda signed the Atlantic Charter, having already on April 7 declared that a state of war

existed between Bolivia and Germany and Italy. He **also**, about the same time, obtained support for his general policy both at home and abroad from his opponent in the Presidential Election of 1940, Dr. Arze. Towards the end of the year, however, a plot was formed against him by some of the younger Army officers and members of the Right-wing political party called *Movimento Nacionalista Revolucionario*. Their leaders, Senor Estensoro, a former Minister of Economy, and Major Taborga, were known to be in close touch with the new Argentine regime, and were thought to have been instigated from that quarter. A *coup d'etat* was carried out on December 20; after some fighting in La Paz, General Penaranda was forced to resign, and a new Government was installed with Major Vollaruel as President, Senor Estensoro as Minister of Finance, and Major Taborga as Minister of the Interior. The new Government declared that it would respect the international situation and support the United Nations in their fight with the Axis. Up to the end of the year, however, it had not yet secured recognition from any other country except Ecuador, and the attitude of the United States was distinctly suspicious. •

On June 24 Bolivia was granted the use of the Brazilian port of Santos. A request to Chile, however, to cede a port on the Pacific met with a firm refusal on August 15. A state of tension between the two countries ensued, which was mitigated by the efforts of Argentina and Brazil.

BRAZIL

Brazil in 1943, under the direction of President Vargas, devoted herself with all energy to the prosecution of the war against Germany into which she had entered in the previous July. On January 29 President Roosevelt, on his return from Casablanca, met President Vargas in a flying boat in the Bay of Natal, and received from him an assurance of the most active co-operation of which Brazil was capable. For the present this chiefly took the form of fighting the U-boat menace in the Southern Atlantic, a work in which Brazil took an important part, destroying at least six U-boats in the course of the year. She also applied herself with great energy to the task of building up an Army of 300,000 men for overseas service, and by the end of the year the force was nearly ready. To make herself more useful as a source of supply she greatly increased her output of minerals, and developed the production of rubber to a marked degree.

Brazil's war effort gave a great impetus to a process of industrialisation which had already been going on in the country for some years. In an address delivered in England in July, the Brazilian Ambassador pointed out that Brazil's economy was no longer based on a **purely** rural civilisation with vast coffee and

sugar plantations and cattle-breeding estates, but had to-day 76,000 factories working for Allied requirements. To increase rubber production the Government had mobilised 100,000 men for work in the Amazon basin, opening up roads and other means of communication. Other war products included manganese, iron ore, nickel, bauxite, rare alloy materials, cotton, sugar, tobacco, meat, hides and skins, oilseed, fats, industrial diamonds, rock crystals, cocoa, and coffee. On November 25 a convention was held to discuss Brazil's economic position in the world after the war, and among other things it recommended increased industrialisation of the country, and the sending of experts to the United States, Great Britain, and Canada to study industrial development.

Brazil's good relations with the Argentine remained unaffected by the change of Government in the latter country, and on August 17 she welcomed General Rawson, the leader of the revolt, as Argentine Ambassador. In June President Vargas gave assurances to the President of Bolivia that the port of Santos, on the Atlantic coast, would be open to Bolivian use. In the summer Brazil gave up her extra-territorial rights in China, and on September 1 the first Chinese Ambassador arrived in Rio de Janeiro. On December 29 a covenant was signed with Portugal to ensure the "defence, expansion, and prestige" of the Portuguese language in the world, and the control by mutual agreement of its orthography.

Speaking to a mass meeting of workers on November 11, President Vargas promised that when the war was over the political structure of the nation would be readjusted with the greatest guarantees for freedom of opinion. The Brazilian people would be consulted, and in the representation of the nation preference would be given to the organised classes of workers, namely, to employers, workmen, business men, and farmers. The leading positions of direction and control would be given to producers and workers.

CHILE

On January 7 the Chilean Foreign Ministry issued a statement saying that decisive information shaping the course of Chilean international policy was now in the possession of the Government, after the return of Don Raoul Morales, Minister of the Interior, from Washington. This announcement was generally taken to mark the imminence of a break with the Axis Powers, a step for which President Rios had long been preparing. The President, however, still held his hand in the hope that Argentina, the only other South American country which retained relations with the Axis, might be induced to join him. There was some talk of a meeting between him and President Castillo, but the latter continued to hold back. He therefore determined to act without

him, and on January 20 formally severed relations with Germany, Italy, and Japan. His action was debated by the Senate on the same day, and was confirmed by 30 votes to 10, with 2 abstentions. The news was received by the Santiago public with acclamation. In a broadcast address delivered on the next day, President Rios said that the agreements concluded at the Havana and Rio Conferences obliged Chile to make common cause with the other countries of the Continent to defend their democratic institutions. Although the recommendation of the Rio Conference did not involve any juridical obligation to break off relations, Chile considered that a great moral obligation was involved.

On March 27 Mr. Henry Wallace, the United States Vice-President, visited Santiago, and was accorded an enthusiastic reception [*vide* also Argentina and Bolivia].

MEXICO

The excellent relations which had for some time subsisted between Mexico and the United States were confirmed by two meetings between President Camacho and Mr. Roosevelt on April 20 and 21 at Monterey and at Corpus Christi, on the Texas side of the border, respectively. This was the first time the heads of the two States had met for thirty-four years.

A further sign of United States good-will was the sending of General Marshall, Chief-of-Staff, to attend the celebrations of the 133rd anniversary of Mexican independence in September. The chief subject discussed at the Presidential meetings was the disturbance in the balance of payments between the two countries due to war conditions, and its repercussions on Mexican economy. While exporting to the United States much more than ever before—chiefly in the shape of metals required for war purposes—Mexico was unable to procure from that country, absorbed as it was in production for its own purposes, the farm machinery and electrical appliances which she urgently needed for the development of her agriculture and industry. As a result, prices rose in Mexico and there was grave labour unrest. After the meetings of the two Presidents a joint commission was appointed to study the question. Its report, issued on July 19, made recommendations for the development of the Mexican food supply, and of immediate and long-range industrial projects, for a programme of public works, and for the expansion of transport facilities, merchant shipping, and fisheries. The report also strongly deprecated exploitation or economic imperialism, whether by nations or by powerful private groups.

In his address to Congress on September 2, President Camacho stated that relations between Mexico and the United States had never been better, and praised the financial, social, economic, and industrial aid which the United States had given Mexico in the past year. He said that so far Mexico's contribution to the war

had been wholly represented by the supply of strategic materials, but that if necessary she was ready to take a direct part. More than 11,000 Mexicans were already enlisted in the American forces.

On June 18 the first Soviet Ambassador, M. Umansky, arrived in Mexico City. On April 5 it was stated that the Government had accepted some 3,000 Spanish refugees from Algeria and Morocco under long-standing arrangements made with the former Vichy authorities there.

URUGUAY

On January 16 Dr. Guani, the Foreign Minister and Vice-President elect, paid an official visit to the United States and Canada. While in Washington he saw M. Litvinov, the Soviet Ambassador, and soon after his return to Uruguay diplomatic relations between that country and Russia, which had been broken off in 1936, were resumed. Another result of his visit was that Uruguay was assured of an increased supply of liquid fuel to the extent of 34,000 tons annually, which was 16 per cent, of the existing supply.

On March 1 Dr. Amezaga formally assumed office as President for a term of four years. In his inaugural address to Parliament he said that the accepted policy of continental solidarity would be upheld, and that Uruguay would continue to condemn the nations which had been guilty of provoking the most criminal of wars and to collaborate with those which were serving the noblest ideals of humanity.

As a result of a drought which did not break till the beginning of March, Uruguay lost 1,000,000 head of cattle, valued at 40,000,000 pesos (about 5,000,000/.).

PART II

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1943

JANUARY

1. In the New Year Honours List baronies were conferred on Admiral of the Fleet Sir Roger Keyes, Bt. [Baron Keyes, of Zeebrugge and of Dover in the County of Kent], Sir Miles Lampson, British Ambassador in Cairo, [Baron Killearn], and Sir Charles Wilson, President of the Royal College of Physicians [Baron Moran, of Manton in the County of Wilts].

— Women were admitted to membership of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

8. It was announced that Dame Margaret Helen Greville, D.B.E., of Charles Street, Berkeley Square, and Polesden Lacy, Dorking, who died on September 15, 1942, widow of Captain the Hon. Ronald Greville, M.P., and daughter of the late Mr. William McEwan, M.P., Scottish brewer, left 1,564,0382. gross, with net personality 1,505,120l. (duty paid S30,120l.). She left, "with my loving thoughts," all jewels and jewellery to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth ; 20,000/. to Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret Rose ; 12,500l. to Her Majesty Queen Victoria Eugenie of Spain, "with deep affection and in memory of great kindness and affection which her Majesty has shown me"; 10,000l. to the National Anti- Vivisection Society. (For her bequest of Polesden Lacey to the National Trust, see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1942, p. 312.)

13. It was announced that Lieutenant-Colonel A. E. D. Anderson, of Glen Etive, Argyll, had presented to the nation 12,000 acres of land, comprising practically the entire Glen Etive deer forest, on the understanding that it shall become a centre of demonstration for Highland farmers.

21. A barony was conferred on Sir Dennis Herbert, since 1931 Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons [Baron Hemingford, of Watford in the County of Hertford].

26. It was announced that Mr. and Mrs. P. Vaughan Morgan had made a gift to the University of Oxford of 10,000Z., in memory of their daughter, for founding entrance scholarships to the University in English Literature,

FEBRUARY

4. It was announced that Lord Nuffield had contributed 35,000l. towards 50,000/., the sum required by the Honourable Company of Master Mariners for extending its work.

11. Partly by gift (from Colonel Raymond ffennel), partly by bequest (from the same benefactor), and partly by purchase (from funds amounting to 100,000l provided by the Nuffield College Trust, the Oxford Preservation Trust, the Pilgrims Trust, and All Souls' College), the University of Oxford is to become the owner of the historic and noble estate of Wytham Abbey, comprising 3,108 acres on the western outskirts of the city of Oxford.

13. Lord Nuffield intimated his intention of founding forthwith a charitable trust, which will be known as "The Nuffield Foundation." He desired to make this donation from resources which have been built up through private enterprise, in the essential importance of which he is a firm believer. He wished, in so doing, to record his view that the spontaneous contributions which came from such sources to the service of the community are, and must always remain, a vital factor in the life of the nation. Lord Nuffield will, therefore, hand over to trustees his shareholdings in the Nuffield Organisation to the value of 10,000,000l. as a capital fund. The income from this fund will be administered by seven trustees, who will endeavour to assist the following objects :—

1. Medical research and teaching.
2. The organisation and development of medical and health services.
3. Scientific research and teaching in the interests of trade and industry.
4. The pursuit of social studies.
5. The care and comfort of aged persons.

18. Centenary of the Charter of Incorporation granted to the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain.

26. Sir Richard Acland presented to the National Trust his two great estates of Killerton and Holnicote, extending to over 16,000 acres of some of the finest woodland, moor, and agricultural land in Devon and Somerset.

27. At Oxford University, in the presence of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and at the request of the Czechoslovak Government, a number of degrees of Czechoslovak Universities were conferred on a group of medical students.

— At Wembley, in the presence of King George and Queen Elizabeth, and of some 75,000 other spectators, England beat Wales in an Association Football Match by 5 goals to 3.

MARCH

1. The British Government received an anonymous donation of 30,000Z. for "the promotion of better mutual knowledge in regard to culture and social welfare between Great Britain and the Republics of **Latin America.**"

2. The National Trust announced the acquisition by purchase of Fullwood Holmes Farm, 38 acres in extent, in Edale, Derbyshire.

9. Col. Douglas Clifton Brown was elected Speaker of the House of Commons.

13. London's "Wings for Victory" week ended with a total collection of 162,015,8692. (the target set was 150,000,000/.).

19. A gift of 20,000l. was made to the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund by Mr. Allan Miller, a United States citizen who has lived in this country since 1931.

22. It was announced that the National Trust had acquired 950 acres of land at Avebury for the nation.

24. Mr. Henry Ellison, of Calverley, near Leeds, who recently gave 50,000l. to Leeds University to establish post-graduate fellowships for scientific research, made a gift of 25,000/ to Sheffield University for a similar purpose.

APRIL

1. Twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of the R.A.F. For the first time in its history the R.A.F. mounted guard at Buckingham Palace.

2. The National Trust acquired Alcock Tarn, Grasmere, and nearly 70 acres of adjacent land through the generosity of the late Mr. C. H. Merz, the electric traction engineer.

4. Double summer time commenced, to continue until August 15.

9. *The Times* announced that, as the result of an appeal launched in 1940, the sum of 264,700/ was contributed by the public in South Africa for the benefit of seamen of the Merchant Navy and their dependants who have suffered hardship as the direct consequence of the war.

10. The Pilgrim Trust purchased Sir Isaac Newton's library, consisting of 858 volumes.

20. Mr. E. E. Cook, of Sion Hill Place, Bath, who anonymously presented to the National Trust both Montacute House estate in Somerset, and the Assembly Rooms at Bath, made another gift to the National Trust of Boarstall Tower, Buckinghamshire, situated near the village of Brill, between Thame and Bicester.

— The Prime Minister announced that Dorneywood House, Buckinghamshire, and over 200 acres of land, together with an endowment fund for its maintenance, are now the property of the nation by the gift of

Sir Courtauld Thomson through the National Trust. On the death of the donor and his sister, Miss Winifred Thomson, the house with its present and future benefits will become available for the use of a Minister of the Crown.

21. At a meeting of the Youth Committee of the Church of Scotland it was intimated that a member of the Church had provided trust funds of over 100,000£ for the development of youth work—for training youth leaders, both lay and clerical, the establishment of youth centres, and the development of youth work generally within the Church.

22. Mr. Thomas C. Dugdale, A.R.A., painter, was elected a Royal Academician, and Mr. William Coldstream, painter, and Mr. Steven Spurrier, painter, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

23. Mr. Algernon C. Newton, A.R.A., painter, was elected a Royal Academician, and Mr. Edward Wadsworth and Mr. Edward Le Bas, both painters, were elected A.R.A.

25. Easter Day fell on the latest possible date—for the third occasion since 1700, the other two having been 1734 and 1886.

28. A gift of 55,000£ was made by an anonymous donor to St. David's College, Lampeter, to enable it to maintain and develop its work of preparing young men for the Ministry of the Church in Wales.

30. The National Trust announced that Mr. Bertram Philipps had presented to the Trust Dinton Park, of some 200 acres, together with the mansion and Hyde's house (formerly the Rectory House) and some cottages. The village of Dinton, where the Trust already owns Little Clarendon and other property, lies 9 miles west of Salisbury on the Wincanton road.

MAY

5. Centenary celebration of the *Friend*, the Quaker journal which made its first appearance in February, 1843.

6. *The Times* reported a new record flight across the Atlantic by a British Overseas Airways pilot, flying a fully laden Liberator. The journey of 2,200 miles was made in 7 hours 16 minutes.

7. A Fitness Centre for Miners was opened by the Secretary of State for Scotland at Gleneagles.

15. Lady MacRobert presented her residence, Alastean House, in Aberdeenshire, together with funds for its upkeep, to the R.A.F. for the use of its members on leave.

19. Mr. Richard Coppock was elected Chairman of the L.C.C.

20. The Bishop of Guildford announced that an anonymous donor had sent him 10,000l. with which to buy the green slopes which surround the site of the new Cathedral.

24. On the occasion of his 73rd birthday Field-Marshal Smuts received a personal gift of 250,000l., subscribed by South Africa in his honour. He has handed the money over to war funds.

27. The National Trust accepted a gift from Colonel Austin T. Porritt of the Stubbins Estate, extending to 435 acres and consisting of a number of small farms near Ramsbottom, in East Lancashire, as a memorial to his son, Captain Richard W. Porritt, M.P., who was killed in France in May, 1940. It is intended that the farms shall be preserved as agricultural land, and at the same time form a valuable " private open space " in an area that is largely industrialised.

JUNE

2. In the Birthday Honours List a peerage was conferred on Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding [Baron Dowding, of Bentley Priory in the County of Middlesex].

— In his will Mr. Ralph Wardlaw Thompson Walker, of Stirling, bequeathed 4,000l. to the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow, for further research into rheumatism ; 4,000i. to Glasgow Royal Cancer Hospital for research ; 2,500Z. to Stirling Royal Infirmary ; 500l. to the Victoria Convalescent Home, Stirling ; 1,000l. to the Church of the Holy Rude, Stirling ; and 500l. each to Glasgow Poor Children's Fresh-Air Fortnight Fund, Royal National Lifeboat Institution (Glasgow Branch), and Glasgow Shipowners' and Shipbrokers' Benevolent Association.

4. Lord Burghley and Group Captain C. P. Wincott, of the British Air Mission to Washington, arrived in Sydney, Australia, in a Lancaster bomber flown from Britain *via* the Atlantic, Canada, and the Pacific by an all-Australian crew, a total distance of some 13,000 miles.

9. Woolsthorpe Manor, near Grantham, the birthplace of Sir Isaac Newton, was purchased by the National Trust for preservation for the nation.

— The National Trust also announced the gift from Sir Stephen and Lady Tallents of their house in Kent, St. John's Jerusalem, a property in the Darenth Valley of 45 acres.

19. The New Derby at Newmarket was won by Miss Dorothy Paget's colt, Straight Deal.

30. A viscounty of the United Kingdom was conferred on Field-Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell, on his appointment as Viceroy-designate of India [Viscount Wavell, of Cyrenaica and of Winchester in the County of Southampton],

JULY

1. At the wedding of Professor W. E. S. Turner, head of the Glass Technology Department of Sheffield University, and Miss Helen Monro, at St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, the bride's wedding gown, hat, shoes, and handbag were all made of glass.

3. *The Times* announced that St. Thomas's Hospital, London, had received a gift of property to the value of over 20,000l. on the outskirts of London, the donor being Mr. E. Hayes Dashwood, of Aston Rowant House, Oxfordshire, who had made the gift in recognition of treatment which he received in St. Thomas's Home many years ago after a severe hunting accident.

5. For the first time in history a fully laden glider was successfully towed across the Atlantic by a transport aircraft, the journey of 3,500 miles from Montreal having been accomplished in 28 flying hours

7. Jubilee Meeting of the Navy Records Society.

8. In celebration of the centenary of the foundation of its Fellowship, the Royal College of Surgeons conferred honorary Fellowship on Mr. Winston Churchill.

12. The Duchess of Atholl presented to the National Trust a stretch of land in Strath Braan, extending for about a mile above the village of Inver, near Dunkeld.

16. For the promotion of astronomical research, the late Mr. Robert Cormack, of Edinburgh, left 30,000l. to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. It is intended to found scholarships for University students to pursue their studies at foreign and Dominion observatories.

19. The 1,475-mile "big inch" oil pipe-line, built across nine States from the Texas oilfields to the eastern seaboard in 350 days, was opened at Phoenixville, Pennsylvania. The line, which cost 95,000,000 dollars to build, will bring to east coast refineries 12,600,000 gallons of petroleum daily.

20. It was announced that the grand total contributed to "Wings for Victory" week amounted to 607,000,000l.

21. Celebration of the centenary of Rothamsted Experimental Station, Harpenden.

26. The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press provided 44,000l. for the endowment of a Professorship of American History and Institutions.

AUGUST

1. Mr. Harold Cloughton was appointed Principal of the University of London.

2. The Old Theatre Royal, Richmond, Yorkshire (first opened on September 2, 1788), one of the oldest theatres in Britain, and scene of performances by Kean, Macready, Kemble, and Mrs. Siddons, was reopened after being closed for over a hundred years.

3. It was announced in the House of Commons that two new war awards are to be instituted—the Africa Star, to commemorate the expulsion of the enemy from North Africa ; and the 1939-43 Star, to recognise services rendered in operations during the first four years of the war. The Stars will not be manufactured until after the war, but ribbons will be issued as soon as supplies are available.

— It was announced from Chungking that the " Encyclopaedia Britannica " was to be translated into Chinese. It was expected that the work would take some two years to complete.

11. The National Trust announced that it had purchased Flatford Mill, the Mill House, and Willy Lott's Cottage, on the Suffolk bank of the Stour.

12. *The Times* announced that a new township, costing over a million pounds, had arisen in the West Midlands since the beginning of the war, designed and built to provide peace-time homes for workers.

14. Centenary of the death of Robert Southey celebrated at Greta Hall, Keswick.

15. Double summer time ended at 3 a.m.

17. In his will, Mr. Theodore A. W. Hance, late Chinese Government officer at Nanking, left 10,000l. to the Zoological Society of London for use at Whipsnade.

18. Mr. E. H. W. Wilmott, of Ubley Warren House, conveyed to the University of Bristol some 450 acres of land on Mendip, comprising Ubley Warren Farm and Temple Down Farm, together with some adjacent fields.

24. Centenary of the incorporation of Sheffield as a borough.

27. The Garrison Circulating Library at Gibraltar celebrated the 150th year of its foundation.

31. The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, founded in 1855, and regarded as one of the leading dailies in Germany, ceased publication by order of the Nazi Party.

SEPTEMBER

1. It was announced that the National Trust had purchased Blaise Hamlet, near Westbury-on-Trym, a group of cottages laid out by John Nash, the famous Regency architect.

2. The *Economist* celebrated the centenary of its foundation.

3. In his will Lt.-Col. John Dane Player, formerly in the tobacco trade, among other legacies left a large part of his estate to the Diocese of Leicester, for the benefit of the living of Wartnaby : " no incumbent to be appointed who does not approve of hunting, shooting, football, and other manly sports."

27. Mr. Eric Arthur Barber, Fellow and Senior Tutor, was elected Rector of Exeter College, Oxford.

28. Major T. C. E. Goff presented to the National Trust The Court (a 16th-century house), Holt, with about 10 acres of gardens and grounds, and an endowment for the upkeep of the property.

29. Sir Prank Newson-Smith was chosen Lord Mayor of London for the civic year beginning November 9.

OCTOBER

1. The *News of the World* celebrated the centenary of its foundation.

5. At the Norwich City Council, the Lord Mayor read a letter from Mr. Russell J. Colman, Lord-Lieutenant of Norfolk, in which the writer stated that, in token of his affection for the city of his birth and in acknowledgment of the honour and unfailing courtesy and kindness he had received from his fellow-citizens, he would bequeath to Norwich his famous collection of over 1,300 pictures and drawings by artists of the " Norwich " School, and sufficient funds to erect and equip a building in which to house them.

6. It was announced by Lord Sackville and the trustees of the Knole Estate, near Sevenoaks, that they had offered Knole, one of England's most historic estates, together with 53 acres of park, to the National Trust.

14. It was announced that Mr. W. H. Collins, chairman of Cerebos Ltd., had given 100,000Z. to the Royal College of Surgeons to endow their

Department of Pathology and found a Chair of Human and Comparative Pathology at the College. He has also made provision in his **will** for the bequest of another 100,000l. to endow the Department of Anatomy and found a Chair of Human and Comparative Anatomy.

17. The King approved a recommendation by the Canadian Government for the institution of a distinctive Canadian medal to be known as "the Canada Medal." Recipients will be entitled to add the letters C.M. after their names in the case of English-speaking recipients and M. du C. in the case of French-speaking recipients.

22. The Swedish Government decided not to award Nobel Prizes this year.

30. The Royal Anthropological Institute celebrated the centenary of its foundation.

NOVEMBER

3. The National Trust announced that it had received two gifts, the first, of Sir Edward Fry's former Somersetshire estate of over 400 acres at Foiland and Easton-in-Gordano, west of Bristol, and the second, from Lord Fairhaven, of Anglesey Abbey, Kirtling Tower, and Thorney Abbey House, all three houses being in Cambridgeshire, a total area with woodland of about 717 acres.

14. The B.B.C. celebrated the 21st anniversary of its foundation.

17. The National Trust announced that it had received three small properties—27 acres in Dorset, 7 acres of cliff lands and fields, west of Portloe in Cornwall, and a small addition to the Glastonbury Tor property.

23. In grateful recognition of what he owed to his University, Dr. William Bevan, of Alton, Hants, left the residue of his estate—about 22,000l.—to the University of Edinburgh.

26. A training college for officers and N.C.O.'s of the National Association of Training Corps for Girls, the gift of Mr. George Cadbury, was opened by Mr. Chuter Ede, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education.

DECEMBER

4. *The Times* announced the establishment of the Foundation **for** Educational Research.

8. King's College, Newcastle, was left a sum of about 160,000l. under the will of Mr. J. W. Luccock, sweet manufacturer, **of Gosforth**, Northumberland.

10. The Council for the Promotion of Field Studies was formed.

14. The Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust offered the University of Oxford 8,000l. a year for ten years towards the cost of establishing and maintaining a plastic surgery unit there, and the University accepted the offer and appointed Mr. Thomas Pomfret Kilner, M.B., F.R.C.S., as the first director of the plastic surgery unit, with the title of Nuffield Professor of Plastic Surgery.

22. The Rt. Rev. Bernard W. Griffin, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop Auxiliary to the Archbishop of Birmingham, was appointed by the Pope Archbishop of Westminster, in succession to Cardinal Hinsley [see under Obituaries].

31. The number of broadcast wireless receiving licences issued in Great Britain and Northern Ireland during 1943 was approximately 9,436,000.

— The rainfall during 1943 over England and Wales was rather less than the average, 33.3 inches against 35.2 inches, while over Scotland and Northern Ireland there was a substantial excess, 54.1 inches against 50.3 inches and 41.8 inches against 39.7 inches respectively.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1943

LITERATURE

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section)

DURING the year 1943 the war continued to weigh heavily on publishing. Paper was difficult to obtain, and the shortage of labour in printing and bookbinding made itself felt in reduced supplies of books. But the public bought largely, perhaps because there was a genuine demand for reading, perhaps also, to a certain extent, because books were not subject to the purchase tax. The demand of the public was met by the publishers, and the number of volumes issued during the year was certainly large. Yet no outstanding books were forthcoming, though a good average was maintained in all branches of publishing.

The year was noteworthy as marking the centenary of two well-known publishing houses—Macmillans and Batsfords. In each case the occasion was marked by a centenary volume to which attention is directed in the general survey of the books of the year.

Biographical studies were surprisingly well sustained. Among the lives of writers, Evelyn Hardy's *Donne: a Spirit in Conflict* (Constable) attempted to interpret Donne with somewhat excessive confidence in psycho-analytic methods. William Hazlitt, whose work and life have been explored so patiently by P. P. Howe, was the subject of an independent and sympathetic study by Catherine Macdonald Maclean in *Born Under Saturn* (Collins). From the *Liber Amoris* to the politics to which he was so faithful, Miss Maclean portrayed all aspects of Hazlitt, in whom she saw a conflict between a Puritan upbringing and an artistic nature. A minor figure in the romantic period was also reassessed in *Against Oblivion* (Cassell), in which the Countess of Birkenhead placed on record, for the first time since William Sharp's book in 1892, the life of Joseph Severn, the young artist who accompanied Keats to Rome and nursed him in his last illness. Severn, who lived on until 1879 and became Consul-General at Rome at the age of sixty-seven, had a buoyant personality and a varied career to which the Countess of Birkenhead's volume does justice. Many readers have apparently found an "escape" from the war into the novels of Charlotte Yonge. It was therefore appropriate that a biography should appear, and fortunate that Mrs. Georgina Battiscombe should have produced one, both methodical and accomplished, in *Charlotte Mary Yonge* (Constable). Mrs. Battiscombe's conclusion was that though Charlotte Yonge lived to be seventy-seven she did not change from the date of her confirmation at the age of fifteen. Another and more powerful figure, active in the romantic period, was commemorated in Derek Hudson's study,

Thomas Barnes of The Times, to which was added "Selections of his Critical Essays never before Reprinted," edited by Harold Child (Cambridge University Press). Thomas Barnes was a formidable editor, and a critic of plays, politicians, and poets. The anonymity which his service with *The Times* imposed may account for the sparsity of biographical attention to Barnes, but Mr. Hudson went far to illuminate him from such materials as are available. American literary biography presented no notable volume throughout the year. Everything that touches on "Mark Twain" is inevitably interesting, and so a welcome may be given to *Young Sam Clemens*, by Cyril Clemens (Leon Tebbetts' Editions), which presented a picture of the writer before he was famous.

The most impressive of the literary biographies was probably Joseph Hone's life of *W. B. Yeats* (Macmillan). This will be for some time to come the official biography. Mr. Hone had the assistance of Yeats's family and friends, and his book contains much fresh material. His task was conducted with measure and sobriety, and his volume will be indispensable to students of Yeats. * *South Lodge* (Constable), by Douglas Goldring, was a readable story of personages connected with the *English Review*. One of the most entertaining biographies of the year was Hesketh Pearson's life of *Conan Doyle* (Methuen). The biographer emphasised the ingenuousness of Doyle, who described himself as "the man in the street, the average man." The mystery which Mr. Pearson did not wholly explain was how this seemingly bluff, simple personality came to create the best-known figure in English literature, for Sherlock Holmes is no less. Meanwhile in *Lucky Poet* (Methuen), Hugh MacDiarmid, poet, scholar, and Scottish Nationalist, produced a lively and vehement autobiography. Andre Maurois also wrote his memoirs in *Call No Man Happy* (Cape). The story of a painter's life was effectively told in Marguerite Steen's *William Nicholson* (Collins): the emphasis was on the narrative of Nicholson's life rather than on a study of his art, and the theme was vividly conducted. Lord Vansittart's *Lessons of My Life* (Hutchinson) was largely devoted to his opinions of Germany. In *Fate Has Been Kind* (Hutchinson) F. W. Pethick-Lawrence gave an account of his long public career, both in the Feminist movement and in politics.

There were also published a number of volumes of biography and memoirs of scholars. One of the most attractive and important was Joan Evans's * *Time and Chance* (Longmans), in which she portrayed Sir Arthur Evans, the discoverer of Knossos in Crete, and his father John Evans, who combined his business duties with archaeological and particularly numismatical studies which gave him an international reputation. Another figure, learned in an unusual field, was remembered in the autobiography of Sir E. Denison Ross, *Both Ends of the Candle* (Faber). No volume can possibly do justice to the geniality and dynamic quality which Sir Denison Ross so happily possessed, but his memoirs revealed how he came to acquire that knowledge of Turkish and Persian to which his own references here and elsewhere are so modest. Less well known to the general public but notable in his own field was Humfry Payne, the archaeologist, and director of the British School at Athens. His untimely death broke the

hopes of those who had watched with interest his work, particularly in archaeological synthesis, and *The Traveller's Journey is Done*, by Dilys Powell (Hodder & Stoughton), was a poignant study of his achievement and of the country whose past he had illuminated. The life of another distinguished scholar was recorded in *The Letters of George S. Gordon* (Oxford University Press). In literature he was the pupil of Sir Walter Raleigh ; in his later years he was President of Magdalen. It is a sensitive self-interpretation of a mind which found potent the inhibitions which the academic life imposes on the writer. A more genial and expansive spirit who sought, particularly through the medium of the microphone, to interpret music to the masses of his time was recorded in H. C. Colles's life of *Sir Walford Davies* (Oxford University Press). Dr. Colles wrote with intimate knowledge of Sir Walford Davies's career, his chorister days, his teaching at the Royal College, his organ work at the Temple Church and Saint George's, Windsor, his directorship of music in Wales, and for seventeen years his role as the best-known interpreter of music in the English-speaking world. Sir Walford Davies's successor in the office of Master of the King's Music, Sir Arnold Bax, also wrote his memoirs, or rather his memoirs until the age of thirty, in *Farewell My Youth* (Longmans). Sir Arnold, in a vivid manner, gave episodes of his life, and though the musical reader may be disappointed, there is justice in a plan which allows music to speak for itself and concentrates on the incidents of a richly emotional life. G. G. Coulton's autobiography was published as *Fourscore Years* (Cambridge University Press) : the great medieval scholar provided a most readable account of the many wanderings which preceded his residence in Cambridge. W. J. Brown, M.P., in *So Far* (Allen & Unwin), wrote the account of his early life from a beginning in poverty, through the Civil Service into Parliament.

It is more difficult to group the general biographical works which appeared during the year. One volume, which justly attracted considerable attention, dealt with France, both of to-day and of a century ago : this was Philip Guedalla's *The Two Marshals : Bazaine, Petain* (Hodder & Stoughton), a lively volume of two French military leaders, both of whom suffered defeat. The second section, devoted to Petain, was necessarily slight, but the defence of Bazaine, who was made the scapegoat for the French defeat in 1870, was admirably planned and executed. Mr. Guedalla's knowledge of Latin-America as well as his close study of the whole period of the Empire of France, were brought into service : Bazaine's career in Mexico, prior to his fateful commandership in France, was depicted with confident knowledge of the background. *The Lieven-Palmerston Correspondence, 1828-1856*, translated and edited by Lord Sudley (John Murray), took one from the world of war to the duplicities and intrigues of the diplomatic world in the nineteenth century. Madame de Lieven, wife of the Russian Ambassador in London, was a diplomatist herself, a hard, brilliant woman ; at one period the mistress of Metternich, she was later loved by Guizot in what was possibly the most satisfactory of all her emotional relations. Her English acquaintance was considerable, and included Wellington, Castlereagh, Canning, and Grey. With Lady

Palmerston she had a long and genuine friendship, and their letters show them both as intelligent, and ambitious women, and sharing the penalties which the possessors of these two qualities have to endure. America was represented by one considerable biographical study, Saul K. Padover's *Jefferson* (Cape). The epitaph at Monticello describes Jefferson as the "author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia." This triple achievement was enough, but there were other attainments added to them to make Jefferson one of the greatest of Americans. His life has consequently made a frequent appeal to American biographical talent, and if Mr. Padover's volume lacked some of the distinction in style of Jefferson's more formal biographers, he had in compensation an excellent gift of easy narrative. Only one world figure of the British Commonwealth was commemorated, namely *Rhodes*, in J. G. Macdonald's study (Chatto & Windus). The book may appear too uncritical of Rhodes's limitations, but it did service in calling attention to his vision ; first, his race in South Africa against German influence ; and secondly, his belief that the world needed the ultimate reunion of the English-speaking peoples of Great Britain and the United States.

Of the more miscellaneous biographies, one group may be found in those which dealt with figures who have played a part in British history or in some other aspect of the national life. John Cammidge portrayed Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall and Aquitaine, in a volume entitled *The Black Prince* (Eyre & Spottiswoode). He gave all the colour which his narrative of fourteenth-century warfare permitted, and his sub-title, "an historical pageant," was justified as adequately describing his aim. Sean O'Faolain furnished an admirable portrait of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, in *The Great O'Neill* (Longmans). He is best remembered in England as the opponent of Elizabeth's Earl of Essex : Mr. O'Faolain, seeing him from an Irish angle, suggested that he had no desire to attack England, and had "at most, only an ambiguous sympathy with what he found himself so ironically obliged to defend with obstinacy." Miss Gladys Scott Thomson, under the title *Letters of a Grandmother, 1734-1735* (Cape), presented the correspondence between Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, and her granddaughter, Diana, Duchess of Bedford. Sarah has been pilloried by Pope : "By spirit robb'd of pow'r, by warmth of friends." Yet this volume of letters, which illuminated many aspects of manners and personality in the eighteenth century, showed that the Duchess of Marlborough had at least a genuine affection for her granddaughter. Mrs. Janet Whitney re-told the story of *John Woolman* (Harrap), the Quaker whom any member of the Society of Friends must regard as a hero, and others admire, both for his life, his travels, his endurances, and his journals. S. Hutchison Harris prepared a detailed biography of *Auberon Herbert* (Williams & Norgate), who followed an independent career in Oxford, in the Army, and in the House of Commons. He died in 1906, and the number of those who remember him must be decreasing: he was worth recalling as an individualist, a rebel, a "voluntarian," and an active disciple of Herbert Spencer. To these

biographies may be added Miss Margaret H. Watt's more general study, *The History of the Parson's Wife* (Faber). This was a commendable volume, learned, witty, and honest. It revealed what England owed to clerical wives who have been the mothers of so many distinguished sons.

The miscellaneous studies of lives other than British cover a wide field, though there is no outstanding volume. A. D. Wintle, in his life of * *Æsop* (Gollancz), added fiction to the meagre basis of available fact. *This Was Cicero* (Seeker & Warburg), a study by an American writer, H. J. Haskell, gave an interesting if not flattering picture of Cicero, contrasting the opponent of Catiline with the author of the essay on Friendship : " too literary to be a philosopher and too philosophic to be a politician," is one of the author's summaries. In a compact study Hampden Jackson published the first English life of *Jean Jaures* (Allen & Unwin). He wrote with enthusiasm of one who can justifiably be claimed as the greatest figure in French Socialism. It may be thought that Mr. Hampden Jackson was too uncritical in his commendation, but he did establish that Europe would have been different had not Jaures been murdered in 1914. Mr. Harold Nicolson, in *The Desire to Please* (Constable), moved from biographical study of contemporary figures to the portraiture of his great-great-grandfather, Hamilton Rowan. Mr. Nicolson employed his skill in depicting one who gave up everything to the cause of the United Irish rebels, and who, despite many vicissitudes of fortune, lived on to the age of eighty-three. Dr. Walter Lowrie followed his full-length biography with *A Short Life of Kiekegaard* (Milford). As Dr. Lowrie stated, this was " not merely an abstract or condensation of the larger study but an independent survey of the life and thought of the Danish theologian whose thought is still active, now nearly a century after his death." Father Frederick Copleston wrote a penetrating analysis of *Frederick Nietzsche* (Burns Oates & Washbourne), in which, though the author fully comprehended the anti-Christian elements in Nietzsche's thought, he was just to the " good qualities." It was possible from this volume to see how more cultured and European were many of Nietzsche's doctrines than those of Nazi Germany. Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson, in *Masaryk in England* (Cambridge University Press) collected a number of papers : among others were three documents by Masaryk himself, namely " Independent Bohemia," " The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis," and " At the Eleventh Hour." Dr. Seton-Watson also wrote a miscellany on Masaryk in England which included a number of letters. Stefan Zweig, who was himself a biographer of distinction, left, in *The World of Yesterday* (Cassell), a picture of the world which he left so tragically. A fragment of an autobiography by a new, and a very young writer, Denton Welch, *Maiden Voyage* (Routledge), had a refreshing sincerity in its English and Chinese scenes. To these biographies of men and women may be added three memorable books which summarised the lives of institutions. In *The House of Macmillan* (Macmillan) Mr. Charles Morgan gave an account of the first hundred years of one of the most famous of all British publishing houses. Mr. Morgan told the story well, from the day in February, 1843, **when** the firm published its first book. The **two Macmillan brothers had**

started as booksellers, but Scottish industry and integrity led them to establish a name with which many of the greatest writers of the century have been connected. Hector Bolitho, in *A Batsford Centenary* (Batsford), described the achievement of another remarkable firm, which also began as a bookselling business. The partners in this family firm assisted Mr. Bolitho, while Mr. Rex Whistler and Mr. Randolph Schwabe are among the living artists whose work adorned a volume worthy of the Batsford standard in illustrated book production. Here, too, may be mentioned 6. M. Trevelyan's "historical sketch" of a great institution in *Trinity College* (Cambridge University Press). Primarily written as a "freshman's guide/* this admirable volume was a masterly brief memorial of a "noble and magnificent college."

Among the pictures of other countries, A. F. Tschiffely gave what he himself described as "a simple, yet vivid and scrupulously accurate and clear account" of the Conquest of Peru in *Coricancha (Garden of Gold)* (Hodder & Stoughton). E. Allison Peers, in *Spain in Eclipse* (Methuen), examined the tragic years from 1937 to 1943. Spain was also the subject of study in Gerald Brenan's readable * *Spanish Labyrinth* (Cambridge University Press). Emil Ludwig produced a popular account of *The Mediterranean* (Hamish Hamilton) from the times of Ulysses to that of the pre-war Mussolini. Edward Thompson, in *The Making of the Indian Princes* (Oxford University Press), dealt with the past of India, particularly the first eighteen years of the nineteenth century, while R. Coupland presented the third part of a Report on *The Future of India* (Oxford University Press). In a volume of remarkable quality Mildred Cable, with Francesca French, described * *The Gobi Desert* (Hodder & Stoughton) and its people. *Islam To-day* (Faber) contained an attempt by a number of writers to add to the meagre literature of Islamic studies in English; the volume was edited by A. J. Arberry and Rom Landau.

The war years were full of constructive thought, social, philosophical, and religious, and among the books which attempted to guide thoughtful people, pride of place belongs to Harold J. Laski's * *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (Allen & Unwin). Esme Wingfield-Stratford was responsible for a modification of the same theme in *The New Patriotism and the Old* (Macdonald), in which he contrasted the values of Fascism and Nazism and those of the British Commonwealth. The mental and emotional basis of the Nazi creed was considered by Peter Nathan in his * *Psychology of Fascism* (Faber). Sir J. A. Marriott, in *Federation and the Problem of the Small State* (Allen & Unwin) approached the problem of world reorganisation with an historian's recognition that provision must be made for small communities. John MacCormack, in *Pax Britannica* (Routledge), argued the case for a considerable delegation of sovereignty. Herbert Agar, addressing his plea in the first instance to American audiences, pleaded in * *A Time for Greatness* (Eyre & Spottiswoode) that the democracies stand for the individual as opposed to the abstractions of the State. Rom Landau, in *Letter to Andrew* (Faber), examined the "spiritual basis of reform." C. E. M. Joad, in *The Adventures of the Young Soldier in Search of a Better World* (Faber), employed his powers of

philosophical analysis in considering the various solutions set out for the reform of the universe. In a more ambitious volume, *God and Evil* (Faber), Mr. Joad abandoned his earlier agnostic position and accepted a theistic explanation of the universe, though he rejected the validity of the Christian claim. Joseph Needham collected his essays (1932-42) as *Time, the Refreshing Stream* (Allen & Unwin). Joseph McCulloch, in *The Faith that Must Offend* (Hodder & Stoughton), maintained that the modern Englishman is not religious but lives on his religious capital. K. W. Monsarrat, in *My Self, My Thinking, My Thoughts* (Hodder & Stoughton), analysed the nature of human thought. Canon Charles E. Raven collected a series of lectures in ** Science, Religion, and the Future* (Cambridge University Press), in which he analysed the conflict between religion and science which developed, particularly in the nineteenth century, laying definite stress on man's "capacity for religious experience of the kind known as mysticism." In the analysis of mystical experience Robert Sencourt, in *Carmelite and Poet* (Hollis & Carter), discussed the great Spanish mystic John of the Cross, and gave his poems in Spanish, while in *The Eagle and the Dove* (Michael Joseph) V. Sackville-West contrasted the lives of Teresa and of the Carmelite Terese of Lisieux, who died at the age of twenty-four in 1897. Christopher Dawson, in *The Judgment of the Nations* (Sheed & Ward), saw in the reaction against the totalitarian state a possible reconciliation of Liberalism and Catholic Christianity. E. C. Mascall, in a more precisely theological volume, *He Who Is* (Longmans), examined the doctrine about God and the universe in the Christian Church. In *Jesus the Messiah* (Hodder & Stoughton) William Manson studied the development of the conception in the Early Church, of the Christian revelation.

A number of volumes dealt with the more social and secular aspects of human relations. Lionel Curtis, in a pamphlet entitled *Faith and Works* (Oxford University Press), analysed the implications of the Atlantic Charter, and suggested that an international State of the democracies of Western Europe would prove to the American mind that such co-operation was workable and produced peace. In the first volume of *The Modern Democratic State* (Oxford University Press), A. D. Lindsay re-examined the nature of democracy. Gustav Stopler's *The Age of Fable* (Harrap) dealt with the possibilities of a new world through a constructive and reformed capitalism. Denys Thompson, in *Voice of Civilisation* (Muller), considered the place of advertising in the modern world. Mrs. Susanne K. Langer, in *Philosophy and Language* (Milford), explored the relations between language, thought, and symbolism, which are fundamental in all these other discussions. A concrete example of planning was to be found in *County of London Plan* (Macmillan), prepared for the London County Council by J. H. Forshaw and Patrick Abercrombie. "Bruce Truscott" considered the possible reforms of the Universities in England in *Red Brick University* (Faber), while Harold Herd, in *Panorama* (Allen & Unwin), dealt in retrospect with the first forty years of this century. Aldous Huxley, handling the problem of vision in a more literal sense, encouraged the reader in *The Art of Seeing* (Chatto & Windus) to do without spectacles.

E. F. M. Durbin, in *What Have We To Defend ?* (Routledge), wrote to explain how an international Socialist came to gain a sense of nationalism through the war. A similar plea for British leadership in a crisis which is "moral and spiritual" was found in *Britain's Third Chance* (Faber), by Stephen King-Hall. The late Raoul de Roussy de Salles, in *The Making of To-morrow* (Allen & Unwin), furnished an acute analysis of the reasons which led to the weakness of the democracies.

The war itself was responsible for a number of volumes. Sir Frederick Maurice provided a useful and lucid account of *The Armistice of 1918* (Oxford University Press). On one important aspect of the present situation the outstanding volume probably was Walter Lippmann's * *U.S. Foreign Policy* (Hamish Hamilton), in which the author stressed the fact that America's foreign policy was based on the assumption, often unrealised and unformulated, of the permanence of British naval power. D. W. Brogan, in *The American Political System* (Hamish Hamilton), suggested that the working of the Government machine in America had changed less than is often imagined. The period between the two wars is examined by Robert M. Rayner, in * *The Twenty Years' Truce* (Longmans), and in *World in Trance*, by Leopold Schwarzschild (Hamish Hamilton); the latter volume, which took the less traditional view, regarded the German Social-Democratic Party as the tool of the High Command, and contained warm praise of Poincare's policy. Further interpretation of the German mind was found in Thomas Mann's collection of political essays and speeches, *Order of the Day* (Seeker & Warburg). Mr. Wendell Willkie narrated his rapid world tour in *One World* (Cassell), a volume important as showing the conception of foreign affairs and foreign countries of an outstanding American leader. Meanwhile, London has never before been the residence of so many foreign Governments and statesmen, and H. R. Madol, in *The League of London* (Hutchinson), gave a picture of them and of their opinions. Maurice Hindus, in *Mother Russia* (Collins), described the nature and the values of the Russia which is now at war. Michael Berchin and Eliahu Ben-Horin gave an historical sketch of *The Red Army* (Allen & Unwin). Somerset de Chair published, by permission of the War Office, in *The Golden Carpet* (Golden Cockerel Press), an account of the remarkable thirty days' campaign of May and June, 1941, by which the Iraqi revolt was overcome; the whole course of the war might have been different had it been otherwise.

A number of historical volumes have appeared, and many of them, though they deal with other times, are affected by the values of the war period. An American, Leland Dewitt Baldwin, gave an analysis of England in *God's Englishman* (Cape), and a number of Englishmen discussed the same theme, foremost among them being D. W. Brogan, who made a witty but not unjust analysis of *The English People* (Hamish Hamilton). A. L. Rowse concentrated *The Spirit of English History* (Cape) into a brief but brilliant volume. By a happy coincidence two American writers, J. B. Brebner and Alan Nevins, described *The Making of Modern Britain* (Allen & Unwin). Sir William Beveridge collected his war-time essays and addresses as *The Pillars of Society* (Allen & Unwin). Miss

Dorothy Margaret Stuart provided the background of the Regency period in *Regency Roundabout* (Macmillan), while J. M. Thompson wrote one of the best modern accounts of a great event in Europe in * *The French Revolution* (Blackwell). The Oxford Pamphlets, published at sixpence each, included R. P. McCallum on *How Britain is Governed*; Ivor Thomas on *The Newspaper*; A. C. Pigou on *The Transition from War to Peace*; and R. F. Harrod on *Britain's Future Population*.

The year produced some distinguished work on literary criticism. Lord David Cecil published a penetrating study of *Hardy the Novelist* (Constable). Miss Edith Sitwell, in *A Poet's Notebook* (Macmillan), provided an analysis of her literary loyalties. Outstanding in its merit was C. M. Bowra's *The Heritage of Symbolism* (Macmillan), which contained penetrating studies of Valery, Rilke, Stefan George, Blok, and Yeats. E. Stuart Bates wrote five useful essays, *Intertraffic* (Cape), on the art of translation. W. J. Entwistle and Eric Gillett wrote a short study of *The Literature of England* (Longmans), while J. Dover Wilson added to his lively interpretation of Shakespearean drama in *The Fortunes of Falstaff* (Cambridge University Press), in which he analysed and demolished the romantic conception of Falstaff. A delightful and scholarly volume was E. M. W. Tillyard's * *The Elizabethan World Picture*, which appealed to the general reader no less than to the specialist. Two women novelists, Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith and Miss G. B. Stern, combined to pay a tribute, a vivid if discursive one, to Jane Austen in *Talking of Jane Austen* (Cassell). Norman Nicholson, in *Man and Literature* (Student Christian Movement Press), inquired into the assumptions into the nature of man to be found in modern literature. To these must be added, as a masterly piece of editing, James Sutherland's * *The Dunciad*, being the fifth volume in Methuen's edition of Pope. Charles Williams, in *The Figure of Beatrice* (Faber), studied the meaning of Dante's work, and the connexion between Beatrice, the woman, and the poet's allegory: the volume was a notable continuation of Mr. Williams's earlier literary interpretations.

In the consideration of the more general problems of art, Mr. Herbert Read's iconoclastic volume, *The Politics of the Unpolitical* (Routledge), pleaded, with revolutionary ardour, for the individual and a "natural society."

The year's work in poetry produced two notable anthologies. Walter de la Mare prepared an anthology of over seven hundred passages on the theme of *Love* (Faber), with a long and interesting introduction, in which his sensitive mind explored the subject. In *Landmarks* (Cambridge University Press) G. Rostrevor Hamilton and John Arlott compiled an anthology of topographical verse, which calls to mind the ponderous and single effort of Michael Drayton in the *Polyolbion*. Among the modern poets W. H. Davies's *Collected Poems* (Cape) were published with an introduction by Sir Osbert Sitwell, who also issued a collection of his own, *Selected Poems Old and New* (Duckworth). John Masefield turned in a Wordsworthian manner to the intimations of his childhood in *Wonderings* (Heinemann). Laurence Binyon left as a posthumous volume a translation in the *term rima* of the original of *Dante's Paradiso* (Macmillan). One of

the most distinguished volumes on the contemporary theme was Richard Church's * *Twentieth-Century Psalter* (Dent), which was much appreciated. C. Day Lewis, in *Word Over All* (Cape), chose a title from Walt Whitman for his examination of our contemporary discord. Robert Frost, with *A Witness Tree* (Cape) helped to establish himself in some minds as the most considerable American poet of to-day. *A Private Country* (Faber) was Lawrence Durrell's collection of complex but effective poems, with a frequent setting in the Eastern Mediterranean. In *Legacy of Love* (Collins) John Gawsworth made a selection of his poems from 1931 to 1941, while E. R. Reynolds composed a poetic fantasy, *Mephistopheles and the Golden Apples* (Heffer). Dorothy Wellesley collected some of her later verses as *Poets and Other Poems* (Baldwin).

Of works connected with the theatre, one of the most impressive was J. B. Priestley's collection of *Three Plays* (Heinemann); these included *Music at Night*, a serious play written for the Malvern Festival of 1938 ; *The Long Mirror*, a play on the time theme ; and *They Came to a City*, in which present ill and future hopes were forcefully presented.

Vivian Connell's * *The Nineteenth Hole in Europe* (Seeker & Warburg) was a bold, stark dramatic effort. Among other plays which were published during the year there were Rodney Ackland's *The Dark River* (Samuel French) ; D. G. Bridson's *Aaron's Field* (Pendock Press) ; Austin Clarke's *As the Crow Flies* (Williams & Norgate); *Kindled Flame* (Muller), by Walter Cranmore and Joseph Best; John Davison's *Wuthering Heights* (Muller); *Behold Your King, a Play for Lent and Easter* (Muller), by Thomas Doran ; *The Fur Coat* (Macmillan), by A. G. Macdonell; *The Duke in Dara* (Constable), by Patrick Hamilton ; *The Devil in the Cathedral*, by V. A. Pearn (Eyre & Spottiswoode); *Flare Path*, by Terence Rattigan; *Theon of Alexandria* (Sedgwick & Jackson), by Louis Singer; F. Sladen-Smith's *Diminutive Comedies for Women* (Muller) ; Edward Thompson's *Elizabeth and Essex* (Gollancz); Peter Ustinov's *House of Regrets* (Cape); R. H. Ward's *Holy Family* (The Playhouse, Ilkey), and Franz Werfel's *Paul Among the Jews* (Grey Walls Press). Further, the University of Melbourne Press issued plays by young Australian dramatists : *Interval*, by Sumner Locke-Elliott; *Red Sky at Morning*, by Dymphna Cusack; *The Touch of Silk*, by Betty Roland ; and *Daybreak*, by Catherine Shepherd.

Apart from these editions of plays for the regular theatre, the Cuala Press published a handsome edition of *La La Noo*, by Jack B. Yeats. Miss Dorothy Sayers published her broadcast plays on the life of Christ, * *The Man Born to be King* (Gollancz). The volume also contained Miss Sayers' notes on the action and characters, an introduction on the anthology of the plays, Dr. Welch's note on the controversy which the radio production aroused, and Val Gielgud's note on production.

Alfred Loewenberg compiled a sumptuous volume, *Annals of Opera, 1597-1940* (Heffer), with an introduction by E. J. Dent. The volume of over 900 pages began with Peri's *La Dafne* (1597) and extended to Zanella's *Il Revisore* (1940). Ernest Newman prepared an amply illustrated anthology of opera, in *Opera Nights* (Putnam).

On works of criticism and history of the drama, one of the most timely

was Joseph Macleod's *The New Soviet Theatre* (Allen & Unwin). Victor Ehrenberg, in *The People of Aristophanes* (Blackwell), used the **plays for** a sociological study of Athenian life. Thomas C. Kemp surveyed **the** history and present needs of the *Birmingham Repertory Company* (Cornish Brothers), and Jean Anderson, in *Late Joys at the Players' Theatre* (T. V. Boardman), recounted Peter Godfrey's revival of the Victorian midnight burlesque entertainment.

Of fiction there was an ample production during the year. C. S. Forester attracted wide attention with *The Ship* (Michael Joseph), a story of **the** sea which recalled memorably the sea-war in the Mediterranean when a convoy is fighting its way against heavy odds to Malta. The war was the theme in two outstanding novels, * *Cloudless May*, by Storm Jameson (Macmillan), and * *Caught*, by Henry Green (Hogarth Press). Mr. C. S. Lewis's * *Prelandra* (Lane) found many readers. Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith, in *Tambourine, Trumpet and Drum* (Cassell), went back to the last three wars in narrating the story of four sisters, the daughters of a retired Indian Colonel. Robert Henriques, in verse and prose, used a Channel raid in *Captain Smith and Company* (Heinemann) to portray the mind of the contemporary fighting man. Gerald Kersh, in *The Dead Look On* (Heinemann), attempted to convert into fiction the tragedy of Lidice. *The Edge of the Sword* (Heinemann) was Vladimir Pozner's novel of the French retreat, based on his own experience as an army driver. On the edge of the war was Mrs. Honor Croome's *O Western Wind* (Christophers), which dealt with a quartet of women evacuated with their children to the United States after the fall of France. Norah Hoult, in *Scene for Death* (Heinemann), and Denis Mackail, in *Upside Down* (Hutchinson), used the war scene in England for their themes. Nigel Balchin, in *The Small Back Room* (Collins), was satirical of governmental bureaucracy in war-time. Anthony Thorne, in an autobiographical novel, *I'm a Stranger Here Myself* (Heinemann), employed the life of the lower deck as his theme. Pamela Hansford Johnson, in *Winter Quarters* (Collins), illustrated how the Army and the civilian population interacted in rural England. In *Curtain, Mr. Greatheart* (Faber), Anne Meredith led the scene back to the life of an Anglican clergyman between the 'sixties and the First World War.

The American scene appeared in a number of novels, and notably in Sinclair Lewis's * *Gideon Planish* (Cape), which was marked by all the attractive qualities of the author's pen. *The Career of Philip Hazen* (Hale) was John Harriman's picture of an American stockbroker in success and failure. An unusual American-Canadian scene was portrayed in Roderick L. Haigh-Brown's *The Tall Trees Fall* (Collins), which was the story of the lumbermen of the Pacific Coast. Christopher Morley combined England and America in * *Thorofare* (Faber), a study of a Suffolk boy's migration and his life in America. Miss Nellise Child, in *Wolf in the Fold* (Peter Davies), chose religious revivalism in the United States as her theme. Mr. Kenneth Roberts, in *Oliver Wiswell* (Collins), employed the American Revolution as his subject and a loyalist as his hero. William Saroyan wrote his first novel, *The Human Comedy* (Faber), a collection of episodes **around** two **small** American boys. The critics also gave **a welcome to**

a new American short-story writer, Eudora Welty, who provided *A Curtain of Green* (John Lane). Leon Feuchtwanger, in *The Lautensack Brothers* (Hamish Hamilton), described the Nazi movement from 1931 until a year after Hitler's appointment as Chancellor.

Ireland figured in Miss Daphne du Maurier's *Hungry Hill* (Gollancz), which was the story of an Irish copper mine and of the family connected with it. Mary Lavin's short stories, *Tales from Bective Bridge* (Michael Joseph), which were introduced with a preface by Lord Dunsany, also employed an Irish scene, while Kate O'Brien, in *The Last of Summer* (Heinemann), set her novel in County Clare, and drew some shrewd pictures of Irish temperament. Maura Laverty, in *Alone We Embark* (Longmans), set her theme in a small town in County Kildare, and was equally successful in her study of types. Neil M. Gunn, in *The Serpent* (Faber), provided the bare but not unimpressive story of a brief period in Glasgow. Miss E. Arnot Eobinson, in *The Signpost* (Cape), also made sound use of a local background. Australia was represented by Kylie Tenuant's satire, *Ride on Stranger* (Gollancz), and Russia more profoundly by E. M. Almedingen's * *Frossia* (John Lane). A translation of Wanda Wassilewska's Russian war novel appeared as *Rainbow* (Hutchinson). Ignazio Silone, in *The Seed Beneath the Snow* (Cape), pilloried Fascist Italy with a story set in the Abruzzi countryside at the time of the Abyssinian war. Philip Toynbee, in *The Barricades* (Putnam), wrote of a schoolmaster and a pupil with the Spanish Civil War as a theme between them. Away from these realities Robert Payne employed with some detail the Malayan scene as the background for a love story in *David and Anna* (Heinemann).

For other novels published in the year, it is difficult to find categories. English literature provided the figures and the setting for Mr. Robert Graves's lively *Wife to Mr. Milton* (Cassell), while Neil Bell took some liberties with the life of Chatterton in giving it a fictional rendering in *Cover His Face* (Collins), and Miss Iris Morley, employing a wider canvas, dealt with 1688 and William of Orange in *The Mighty Years* (Peter Davies). Miss Beatrice Kean Seymour's *Buds of May* (Heinemann) was a family chronicle of an English middle-class family from 1878 to 1914. J. D. Beresford, in *The Long View* (Hutchinson), contrasted an idealist and a successful business man. Miss Sylvia Townsend Warner's * *A Garland of Straw* (Chatto & Windus) was a collection of short stories which deservedly attracted attention. Woodrow Wyatt edited a fourth series of collected contemporary short stories under the title *English Story* (Collins). Cyril Connolly made a collection of stories from *Horizon* as *Horizon Stories* (Faber). H. E. Bates successfully tried his hand at a long short story in *The Bride Comes to Evensford* (Cape), while Mr. J. B. Priestley used his talents of portraying character and of analysing the contemporary scene very effectively in *Daylight on Saturday* (Heinemann), a novel about a war-time aircraft factory. Russell Green, in *Flow Gently Isis* (Rich & Cowan), continued the story of Roland Eyre to Oxford, of which he gave a mildly caustic picture. Vicki Baum showed in *Marion Alive* (Michael Joseph) that her talents for the cosmopolitan romance are undiminished. Elizabeth Myers's first novel, *A Well Full of Leaves* (Chapman & Hall),

a tale of slum children who become famous, had some favourable comment from the critics. Josephine Bell also went to a slum to find her heroine, *Alvina Foster* (Longmans). Meanwhile Mr. James Agate, who gave up novel writing because he always chose himself as a hero, re-wrote his first novel, *Responsibility* (Hutchinson). The *Saturday Book* (Hutchinson), edited by Leonard Russell, was only in part fictional, but it was an entertaining miscellany, making its third appearance. A further volume of the collection of verse, prose, and criticism by young writers, under the editorship of John Lehmann, was published as *New Writing and Daylight* (Hogarth Press).

Of the above books the following have been chosen for special notice ; they are placed in the order in which they happen to appear in the General Survey:—

GENERAL LITERATURE

Douglas Goldring's **South Lodge** (Constable) is an easy mannered study of the lives of Ford Madox Ford and of Violet Hunt. Not a well-balanced book, it preserves a certain effortless grace which compensates for its casual construction. South Lodge itself was Violet Hunt's house on Campden Hill, and its associations, which Mr. Goldring revives, begin with Pre-Raphaelite memories, and centre on the personal relation of Madox Ford and Violet Hunt, to which so much contemporary attention was paid. They include a history of the *English Review* circle, and of Ford, or Hueffer, as he was then named, making one of the most notable contributions to modern English editing. Mr. Goldring has the talents of a novelist, and he has made truly living portraits of the two main protagonists in this volume.

Time and Chance, by Joan Evans (Longmans).—This book, though it carries the sub-title "The Story of Arthur Evans and his Forbears," is no biography in the generally accepted sense. The canvas has wider limits than just the portrayal of one man and his immediate family. Herein lies its great attraction: that the fortunes of the Evans and of the Dickinsons, with whom they intermarried, are so closely interwoven with so important a transition period of English life and development. Perhaps the most striking change of outlook is apparent at a cursory glance at the two genealogies of the families: in the 200 years covered by the tales the size of the family dwindles from nine children down to four or less.

It is obvious that within that same period the changes in every phase of life and action must have been as remarkable. It is the great merit of the volume that its author, while busily engaged in doing full justice to her period, has never lost sight of the eminent father and no less eminent son who are the crowning glory of these two families. John Evans, directing the famous Dickinson Paper Mills to success and fortune, took up as his leisure occupation the study of Palaeolithic Man, became a member of the Royal Society, and yet continued to render outstanding services to the industry which was the source of this wealth; his son, Arthur Evans, vitally interested in the archaeology as well as in the development of the

political freedom of South-eastern Europe, devoted himself in the face of **stout opposition, to the** revitalisation of the Ashmolean, and found the supreme **reward for** study **and** perseverance in the discovery of the Bronze Age civilisation at Knossos of Crete. It is with this last aspect of Arthur Evans and his fascinating story that we are most concerned, and as we follow him through his long and vividly interesting struggles and achievements, we **are** as entranced by the successive scenes as was the author, Arthur's so much younger sister, Joan.

Æsop, by A. D. Wintle (Gollancz).—Mr. Wintle used a direct and not unmoving realism in portraying a fictional life of Æsop. Taking such incidents as have been traditionally associated with the life, he combined these into an imaginative and not uneffective narrative. He portrayed Æsop in his early days as a slave to his rise as a counsellor of kings, and his tragic death. Mr. Wintle is respectful of his material, but this has not prevented him from maintaining a theme which is arresting in an individual way.

The Spanish Labyrinth, by Gerald Brenan (Cambridge University Press).—With the challenge to democratic traditions by Fascism have students of politics, only in our generation perhaps, come to appreciate the inadequacy of applying a uniform yardstick to the different nations. Because he has studied Spanish problems first-hand as well as in books and sees them in their proper Spanish setting, Mr. Brenan has written a really important national biography. The first requirement for any sound judgment on Spain and the Spanish people, as he emphasises in a brilliant Preface, is to discard the accepted idiom and concepts of Western Europe. Nationalism, as Europe knows it, has never struck root in Spain; the unity that once held together the distinctive regional entities was a religious not a political phenomenon. Nor has economic liberalism, child of the industrial revolution, had any appeal in a country which still bears the characteristics of an undeveloped primitive economy. Since the loss of her Catholic faith Spain "has been above everything else a country in search of an ideology." Hence, from the political standpoint, the chronic state of disintegration. The classes that should have assumed leadership have provided only sectionalism and selfishness—the Monarchy itself in **1931** had become just a vested interest of those Army, Church, and land-owning groups which Arturo Barea has dubbed "the Caste." Mr. Brenan's book sets out clearly and dispassionately the tremendous problems waiting **to** be solved. He shows us the enduring weakness of "the State" contrasted with the astonishing periodic upsurge of "the people"; demonstrates that all the sap and vitality of Spaniards in their social context is **in** the small local group, "Ia patria chica," perhaps because of a continuing affinity with their Berber kinsmen, and gives instances of Spaniards' remarkable capacity for co-operation within the small unit, *e.g.* the Water Tribunal (Cort de Ia Seo) at Valencia and certain village communes of Northern Spain; and he writes with rare understanding of the role of the Church, once essentially a harmonising influence—until the fatal impact of Liberalism, the disentailment measures of Mendizabal, which threw **clergy and monks into** the **arms of** the wealthy classes. The author's main

contribution is his detailed study of Spain's widely differing agrarian problems and his racy yet profound analysis of the working-class movements, particularly Anarchism. There is only a brief Epilogue on the Civil War and its gloomy aftermath. Here is the essence of Spain distilled through a remarkable mind, and presented in a lucid, vivid, and concrete style.

Mildred Cable and Francesca French have written, in **The Gobi Desert** (Hodder & Stoughton), the most impressive topographical volume of the year. This remarkable book is the result of the wanderings as a missionary of Miss Cable and the two Misses French who were her companions, and one of whom collaborated in the preparation of this volume. They had twenty years' experience in Shansi province before they were drawn to the great tracts of the Gobi desert. They were not scientific observers, but apart from writing a wholly delightful volume, they have made notable contributions in the field of social and human geography. Their archaeological descriptions are also of importance, as are observations on the physical and botanical nature of life in the Gobi. These missionary observers have written "a classical survey of a great region."

Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time, by Harold J. Laski (Allen & Unwin).—Mr. Laski has written a tract for the times. His thesis is that the world to-day is experiencing a revolution comparable to that which brought about the fall of the Roman Empire, or that which followed in the wake of the Reformation, or the French Revolution itself. Previous upheavals may have been religious or political in character; the present crisis in civilisation is in the sphere of economic activities. The main feature of our time is the absence of security, and this produces a fear in men which paralyses action. "Fear is the parent of Revolution," and Mr. Laski surveys with much learning, closely knit reasoning and wise reflection the Russian and the Fascist Revolutions, both of which he evaluates with judicial fairness. His purpose is to consider ways and means of avoiding revolution in this country after the war. Changes in our economic life there will inevitably have to be; Mr. Laski suggests that those changes be made now, in the atmosphere of self-sacrifice generated by the war, and that they be made by consent. "This, then, is the appropriate moment to organise the basis upon which we have at least the chance of maintaining the conditions of a democratic society. There will be no moment more appropriate than now." In a word, the choice before the Western World is either revolution by consent or anti-revolution of some sort akin to Hitler's. Mr. Laski advocates changes along Socialist lines; these alone, in his view, will make possible the continuance of our democracy and the movement from an economics of security to an economics of abundance. We shall not have won the war unless we are able to establish a more just society, and "we cannot build a more just society now unless the forces of privilege are willing to co-operate in that task." This theme is argued with vigour. In the course of his volume Mr. Laski has some exceedingly interesting reflections on political developments in this country in the inter-war years, and many a caustic judgment on political leaders which, if all his readers cannot accept, most of them will

find stimulating to serious thought. Indeed, Mr. Laski has an immense capacity for making his readers think. His book is full of political wisdom. That does not mean that its thesis will find universal acceptance, but it does mean that Mr. Laski's *Reflections* will have to receive attention. For he has written a book that matters—deeply serious, closely argued, and eminently readable; one, moreover, that must attract, if it does not fascinate, all who care for the condition of the post-war world.

The Psychology of Fascism, by Peter Nathan (Faber & Faber).—Many accounts have been published to explain and account for the rise of Fascism from the political or economic point of view, but there are few books on the psychological aspect of Fascism, and Mr. Nathan has made a notable contribution, possibly the only one, or one of a comparative few on the subject. Under Mr. Nathan's guidance we come to understand Hitler's madness. The evils he preaches are but the projected wickedness in his own soul; the peoples or the countries he hates are only the personification of hatreds lodged in his inner consciousness. "A man who projects his internal emotional life on to reality will always need discipline and restraint, enemies and heroes. His attitude to things will always be passionate, never rational." At bottom the need arises from fear of life, or perhaps fear of death, and therefore any creed which makes it unnecessary to think, which tells you what to do, which assures you that there is One who cares for you and loves you—a creed of this kind will appeal to certain types of under-developed Europeans. Fascism makes them feel good. From this fear, too, springs the over-valuation in Fascism of masculinity and the relegation of women to the role of comforting the warrior. Mr. Nathan shows in a most interesting chapter how Fascism satisfies "the frightened male"; he also ventures an explanation of the attitude of Fascism to Christianity. The book as a whole is both instructive and entertaining, but if it leaves the reader wiser, it also makes him sadder. "Fascism is a morality believing in the power and the glory of the magnificent animality of man. It wants to be barbaric. It believes in hatred, revenge; it is proud of being cruel; it glories in the will to power and tries to accentuate it." Such is the disease which is afflicting large tracts of Europe and spreading to South America. It thrives on war, and, in Mr. Nathan's view, as long as nations continue to exist, war must be expected to occur, not necessarily as international upheavals, but perhaps as inter-class conflicts. Be that as it may, this erudite physician has diagnosed the disease of the age, and many readers will be grateful to him for his instruction.

A Time for Greatness, by Herbert Agar (Eyre & Spottiswoode).—Mr. Agar's book, written in the first instance for the public in the United States, enjoyed a wide circulation throughout the English-speaking world. Perhaps its popularity was due to the intense earnestness of Mr. Agar, reminiscent of the zeal for righteousness which characterised the ancient Hebrew prophets. Indeed, the book might be regarded as a modern elaboration of Isaiah's message that it was essential "to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free." It was because these ideals were neglected, so Mr. Agar maintains,

that the Barbarians are upon us. Unless these ideals are made a reality, even when we have won the war, Barbarism in the shape of Fascists and Nazis will still have triumphed, for it was necessary "to think in terms of the moral purpose of our culture." Economic and technical progress is not enough. What the world requires is the practical application of Christian teaching to all aspects of life. Mr. Agar's time for greatness is now—now, while the struggle is being fought, and his remedy for "the sickness of the West" is a determination to establish civilisation in our midst. "Civilisation means rules and promises which are kept." Civilisation means the equality of man; it means the four freedoms; it means a change of attitude to the coloured races, an abhorrence of anti-Semitism, the end of oppression of man by man. Mr. Agar also advocates an intelligent interest in politics. He throws out the suggestion that in politics as in economics there is a Gresham's Law. "If we do not cultivate high politics, low politics will dominate the scene to the world's undoing." Mr. Agar's is a fine message to the age, and it is couched in an attractive style. The book richly deserved the widespread attention it received in the Press of two Continents.

Science, Religion, and the Future, by C. E. Raven (Cambridge University Press).—The conflict between Science and Religion is of old standing; the Master of Christ's College, in these eight lectures, considers the relationship between the two from the modern standpoint. He is eminently fitted for the task, for he is both biologist and theologian in one. His theme in brief is that Science should enlarge its scope by extending its vista beyond the material things that can be measured and weighed, while Religion should not shrink from using scientific method in establishing its teaching. The latter suggestion must inevitably lead to bold conclusions; Dr. Raven faces them with equanimity. It is time, he urges, for Christians to give up a set of beliefs emanating from the thirteenth century—"this strange medley of fact and fable, of truth and falsehood, of good and evil"—and work out for themselves a system of Christian doctrine along scientific lines. With the Scientists he pleads that the universe we live in is mysterious, and that they cannot leave out of their calculations in the study of the universe such characteristic human experiences as wonder and worship, penitence and dependence, morality and religion. That there are difficulties in the situation Dr. Raven is clearly aware. For one thing he holds that the universe and life upon it must have a purpose; he realises, however, that many distinguished Scientists do not agree with him in this: "it is indeed testimony to the disintegration of our intellectual life that so many who are profoundly concerned with the search for truth and the achievement of personality should ignore or lightly dismiss the founder of Christianity." In a thinker who lives by his faith this statement is understandable. But perhaps the weakness of the last stages of Dr. Raven's argument in these lectures is that those who do not share his faith will not be able to go with him all the way. Nevertheless he has rendered a great service to his contemporaries by placing this important problem before them in clear outline; his manner of approach, his sympathetic understanding, and his attractive and forthright style deserve a large measure of praise.

U.S. Foreign Policy, by Walter Lippmann, with an Introduction by D. W. Brogan (Hamish Hamilton).—It is unnecessary to introduce Walter Lippmann. His name is familiar enough on both sides of the Atlantic as one of the best-informed students of current affairs. In this little but important book—it extends to only 109 pages—Mr. Lippmann sets out to argue in favour of a permanent alliance between his own country and ours, with the addition, if possible, of Russia and of China ; " the inexorable logic of their alliance demands that they recognise the liberties of the peoples outside the alliance." Such an alliance, even though tacit with Britain, he argues, existed from the day of the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, which he says was possible only with British support, until the end of the successful war with Spain. From the beginning of the present century, however, the United States has had no foreign policy, or at any rate no coherent one. It has lived from hand to mouth. In its own interests and in the interests of civilisation, we are told, this must change. Mr. Lippmann contends also that " the Founding Fathers " never had the prejudice against alliances that is generally attributed to them, and, in support, points to the alliance with France in the War of Independence and later ones. He overlooks, however, that in all of these alliances the direct benefit came to the United States only, with no obligations on their part in return. These alliances were very different from the mutual obligation alliances that Washington and Jefferson had no doubt in mind. The failure of the United States to accept the Covenant of the League, he suggests, was due to the fear that it might mean some call on the American people. Flowing as an undercurrent, there is a tinge of aggressive imperialism which presumably in certain circumstances would excuse similar aggressive imperialism on the part of America's partners. Even the re-incorporation of the Baltic States in the Russian Empire would be excused, since the United States and Russia need one another's help. These two Powers have never been politically unfriendly, and in the periods of the Crimean War and the Congress of Berlin " American neutrality was belligerently benevolent to Russia, no doubt in order to clip the power of Britain."

Professor Brogan writes an interesting introduction explaining to English readers the basis of the American point of view in a study which may claim to be a " public document " of international significance.

The Twenty Years' Truce, 1919-1939, by R. M. Rayner (Longmans).—This book gives, within reasonable compass, a very clear account of the development of events in the foreign field during the twenty years stated in the title. In fact, it is an excellent introduction to the diplomatic history of the past generation. It leans perhaps a little too much to one side to be considered absolutely impartial, but it cannot be said to be unfair. Few will quarrel with it, for there are not many advocates left of appeasement as a policy, nor any presumably who still hold the view that President Wilson was an inspired diplomatist and statesman, even if he were a prophet. Versailles, the French policy culminating in the Ruhr occupation, and that of the United States, as illustrated in its attitude towards the Economic Conference of 1933, in Mr. Rayner's judgment, led

directly to the present state of the world. In these days when the doctrine that all Germans are evil, and the only difference between them is one of degree, it is good to be reminded how "by one of the most heroic deeds in the history of parliamentary institutions they (the Socialist members of the Reichstag) voted against (the Nazi proposal for a law giving Hitler absolute and complete power), despite bloodthirsty threats inside and outside the hall. Very few of the eighty-nine were alive a year later." The value of the book is increased by a number of clear and very useful maps and a table of events which shows at a glance the relationship between one and another during the twenty years.

The French Revolution, by J. M. Thompson (Basil Blackwell).—So great a social upheaval as was the French Revolution, fraught with such far-reaching consequences for the whole of mankind, must inevitably invite each age to approach and examine the story anew. Let it be said at once that Mr. Thompson has provided a reliable guide for the present generation, incorporating as it does the latest research on the events of those fateful five years, 1789 to 1794, and illumined by wise reflection throwing light on the revolution of our own times. Mr. Thompson writes well; his narrative flows steadily and carries the reader with it chiefly because the writer succeeds in winning confidence as being dependable, with the result that Mr. Thompson's book may bid fair to remain the standard work on the French Revolution for many a year. It is a vivid picture of men and affairs that he draws. He shows the conditions which must inevitably have led to the explosion, and he rightly stresses the economic burdens of the common people in France at the end of the eighteenth century. The first enthusiasm for the brave new world about to appear was extraordinary. Yet before long the Revolution had to adopt the methods and speak the language of the Revolutions which have troubled our own time. Mr. Thompson has much to say on the spies and secret police, the appeal to force rather than to persuasion, the executions and cold-blooded murders, the graft and corruption in high places, the flood of paper money, the need for rationing, the devotion to a new cult, the glorification of war as an instrument of national regeneration, and total mobilisation to wage war. Fundamentally the struggle was between the "haves" and the "have-nots," between the privileged classes and the disinherited, between the Old Religion and the New Thought. Mr. Thompson writes not only with a fullness of knowledge but also with a fund of humour. "If his priest disapproved of him, a man might starve in this world, and burn in the world to come": a telling summary of religious conditions in France before 1789. Just as the reader quickly senses Mr. Thompson's reliability as a narrator of events, so he appreciates his introduction to the men who shaped them. With a phrase or two he sketches a miniature which remains in the memory. Robespierre "was consumed by a little man's ambition to play a big part"; Danton was characterised by "Rabelaisian honesty"; Lafayette was "a Peter Pan of Revolution"; of Barere, the Trimmer: "no one knew better how to make a friend of the mammon of unrighteousness"; of Madame Roland: "the quickness and shallowness of her mind were a Parisian birthright." Though he deplores the fate of the King

and Queen, Mr. Thompson inclines to the view that if only they had shown a little more tact and some appreciation of the trend of events, the end might have been different. But the King was a stubborn fool and the Queen a rebel and plotter. Yet who can blame them? They were not the only ones who tottered uncertain amid the upheaval. Girondins opposed Jacobins: the middle classes struggling against the proletariat; the "Bobbers" sought their private gain at the expense of the State; local patriotism boldly opposed the influence of Paris. On all these aspects of the Revolution Mr. Thompson is illuminating; he speaks out of an abundance of knowledge, in a smooth style garnished with mature contemplation. His book certainly stood out as one of the distinguished publications of the year.

The Elizabethan World Picture, by E. M. W. Tillyard (Chatto & Windus).—The author analyses the degree to which medieval ideas persisted in the Renaissance, and sees them as so persistent that the Renaissance is described by him "as a phase of culture which nowadays tends ever more to lose its identity and to turn out to be simply the late Middle Ages." The unity is to be found in the amalgam of Plato and Christianity which are common to both periods. Among the most interesting features of Dr. Tillyard's work is his illustrating of his theme in its various aspects from Sir John Davies's *Orchestra*, Ulysses's speech on order in *Troilus and Cressida*, Spenser's *Hymns*, and passages from *Paradise Lost*.

The Dunciad, edited by James Sutherland (Methuen).—This is easily the most interesting and impressive piece of editing within the year. The poem itself, with its two versions of 1728 and 1742, and the numerous variations on them, with the introductions and apparatuses, present the editor with problems of unusual difficulty. It is enough to say that Professor Sutherland has mastered them, with complete effectiveness. The material is set out so that the scholar may read from the single page the text, its history, and all relevant commentary. He prints in full, of the earlier version, "The Dunciad Variorum" of 1729, and of the later, "The Dunciad in Four Books, 1743." Particularly valuable is a biographical dictionary of the "Dunces" and of others involved in and around the poem. Professor Sutherland combines skill as an editor with effectiveness as a critic, an unusual and enviable accomplishment. His introduction is among the best things written on Pope: he knows and sympathises with the modern supporters of Pope, without permitting his critical balance to be unsettled. The volume is the fifth in a standard edition of Pope's work, of which the General Editor is Mr. John Butt.

Richard Church's **Twentieth-Century Psalter** (Dent) can well claim to be the most distinctive volume of verse published within the year. The poet contemplates his reactions to life during the months of the attack on Britain. The nature descriptions seen against the havoc of war are in themselves moving: the poet has discovered a new experience in the contrast of that "miraculous, discreet detachment," and the "barbarians, screaming destruction from the skies." Beyond this he has been able to discover for many men and women their own inner thoughts during the hours of personal and national peril. Sir. Church has a compact and

imaginative vocabulary which saves his poetry from the rhetoric which is the main danger of this type of verse.

Vivian Connell's **The Nineteenth Hole in Europe** (Seeker & Warburg) has attracted attention as a play from the reviewers of books, though as yet it has not had a trial on the stage. It is a fearless attempt to describe a Europe in which civilisation has only become a memory, and when life is a tortured and infected disease. Horror has possibly a greater sense of degradation when expressed in prose than in verse, and it is in prose that Mr. Connell conducts his ruthless argument. It is as if the figures of one of Tourneur's plays had been brought out to illustrate a gruesome political argument. If one asks the artist for vision and hope Mr. Connell does not respond, but he presents sincerity and conviction, with an imagination which is bold, though possibly unduly mixed with rhetoric.

The Man Born to be King, by Dorothy Sayers (Gollancz).—Miss Dorothy Savers' plays on the life of Christ were prepared for broadcasting, and are now printed with some interesting prefatory material by Dr. T. W. Welch, the Religious Director of the B.B.C., and by Val Grelgud, the Dramatic Director. The plays aroused a storm of controversy in the midst of which much that was unreasonable and untrue was advanced. Miss Sayers was returning to the old medieval tradition of the miracle plays. She uses realistic situations, and modern speech, which give the plays an admirable vividness. Her invention is disciplined by reverence, and the plays must have brought the actuality of the Christian story nearer to many people in Great Britain than it had ever been brought before. Miss Savers' introduction declares with admirable perspicacity the purpose of the plays and the history of their composition. The plays were received by an ever-increasing audience, and obviously Miss Sayers has started a new and important activity in contemporary drama.

FICTION.

In the fiction of the year an outstanding place must be awarded to Storm Jameson's **Cloudless May** (Macmillan). The story is of the effect on the varied characters of the expected invasion of Germany as it is seen in a town in the Loire valley. Finally, a portrayal is given of the German troops entering the town. Greed, ambition, fear, treachery, and intrigue, are all there, and the characters are revealed layer on layer in their reaction to events. At the end one is left with a vivid and terrible picture of the cloudless May of 1940 and also with a nostalgic picture of the French countryside and the French way of life. The images and descriptions are deliberately of the soil and of everyday life. The novel is long but never tedious. Its amplitude and precision are reminiscent of Balzac. It is probably Miss Jameson's greatest achievement, and certainly one of the most considerable novels that the war has yet produced.

Henry Green's **Caught** (Hogarth Press) is an authentic if brutal picture of the war on the "Home Front." He portrays a group in a sub-station of the London Fire Force in the period which preceded the main air attack on London. The characters are unattractive but real, and

however one may wish it were otherwise, one sees the life of the early years of the war faithfully portrayed in this novel. Some critics have found the novel forced, and exaggerated, but there must be many who knew the London Mr. Green describes, and feel that he presents it as authentically as does Mr. John Piper in his paintings of bombed London.

Prelandra (Lane) is Mr. C. S. Lewis's continuation of *Out of the Silent Planet*, though it can be read as an independent novel. Professor Ransom, who in an earlier novel brought back an account of life on Mars, now relates his year's experience on Venus, a planet still at an early stage of its history. Ransom, and his opponent, the physicist Edward Weston, who has also arrived on Venus, struggle as Good and Evil for the control of the first woman of the planet. Ransom is successful, and life on Venus promises to avoid some of the failures of Earth. Mr. Lewis has shown a rare imagination in this narrative which combines vivid description with philosophical speculation.

Gideon Planish (Cape) reveals Mr. Sinclair Lewis in the mood which once made Babbit famous and Babbitty notorious. He satirises the arts of philanthropy as it is alleged they are exercised in the United States. The story has a certain mechanical movement, inevitable when the author has so clearly made up his mind that his characters are contemptible, but the narrative has energy and fun as well as venom. His mam character, Gideon, and the female counterpart, are so wedded to the corrupt that any reader with faith in human nature may be permitted a little incredulity. Still, Mr. Lewis in this lively novel serves to show some of the dangers to which democracy exposes itself in allowing rhetoric and propaganda to supplant reason and sober thinking.

Thorofare, by Christopher Morley (Faber).—It is a daring experiment to start a story with a finely-drawn engraving of a family-group in a town in East Anglia, nearly fifty years ago, and then, by way of contrast, to give the impressions and reactions of three members of that group after they have been re-planted in a small, rapidly-growing community in a Western State in America. In spite of the fact that uncle, aunt, and eight-year-old nephew settle down sturdily in their new environment, the author manages with delicate touches to suggest the secret nostalgia of the elders and the hidden discomfort of the boy which obtrude themselves so frequently in the years through which we follow their fortunes.

The profession of Lecturer on English Literature at a Women's College, which is the domain of uncle Dan Barton, inevitably brings acquaintances and friends into the circle who have similar interests. Thus the cultured background of the youngster Geoffrey is continued throughout his formative years, and helps him to acclimatise himself in the rougher and more vigorous atmosphere of his adopted country. All the characters are clear-cut, and stand out as individuals, mostly extraordinarily sympathetic, whether English or American. This helps to sustain the attraction of the tale, and to make the reader almost a friend of those he meets in the pages of the book. If there is one failing it is the continued and over-stressed occupation of Uncle Dan and his companions with Wordsworth and his poets who were his contemporaries. This is to be deplored, for it **breaks**

the thread of the story and develops in the reader a sense of being once again an Undergrad. (or should it be Undergradurette, seeing that Uncle Dan has only girl-students), with particular emphasis on Literature.

In **Frossia** (Lane) E. M. Almedingen has written a long and patiently conceived portrait of Russian life, after the Revolution. Frossia is the daughter of a wealthy merchant family. All her relations have killed themselves and she alone lives to adjust herself to the new life. It is a long story of misery on a non-heroic scale ; of the bleak discomfort of an existence sordid almost beyond endurance. Through it all the Russian people go on, incredibly long-suffering, tenacious, almost oblivious of death by hardship. "No matter what life is like," Frossia says, "it is still life, with room in it for effort and hope." In the endless talk of the varied and untidy characters a picture of the Russian mind emerges ; on a daily ration of two ounces of rye bread in the brutal Russian winter they go on talking, discussing, and building up the future.

A Garland of Straw, by Sylvia Townsend Warner (Chatto & Windus).—Those slight themes which seemed, when Katharine Mansfield was writing, to be significant enough to bear the weight of a story, have since diminished in the fierce light of our cataclysmic world. They are more difficult to catch and dress with sufficient importance. Miss Townsend Warner does not make her own task any easier, for in these twenty-seven stories she mixes stark and realistic themes, as in *A Red Carnation* and *Apprentice*, tales of the war in Spain and of occupied Poland, with trivialities that do not bear the contrast. A tale such as *Out of My Happy Past*, for instance, has not even a twist of story nor stroke of character to give it point; but her more realistic tales are brave and strenuous and capture the sinister background of modern life. *A Garland of Straw*, a penetrating study of women in a mental home, is perhaps the best example of Miss Townsend Warner's skill and artistic economy. *Noah's Ark*, a whimsicality of two evacuees from Bristol (surprisingly called Malcolm and Venice), and *From Above*, which tells how a land-mine caused a wife to be a refugee for a day from her household gods, are two examples of Miss Townsend Warner at her best, giving humour and the unexpected. There is pathos, too, in her characters : the little servant in *An Unimportant Case* and the old lady in *Rainbow Villa* are living figures and memorable. In some of the stories, perhaps, one travels hopefully and never arrives ; but there is often coloured phrase and mordant humour to cheer one on the way.

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC

I. ART

IN spite of the growing intensity of the World War, the Fine Arts in Great Britain flourished apace. At certain seasons, indeed, London enjoyed a veritable spate of art exhibitions. The Royal Academy kept "open house" during the greater part of the year, increasing its popularity by extending hospitality to homeless Art Societies and other exhibiting bodies. Its own 175th summer exhibition was the most successful for some time, the number of visitors, and also of sales, exceeding those in any year since the war.

For the third time, the United Artists' Exhibition was held during the winter at Burlington House, the Royal Academy collaborating with twenty-six other Societies in this show of contemporary art. It opened to the public on January 1, and consisted of over 1,000 exhibits, including oils, water-colours and other drawings, engravings, and sculpture. Part of the proceeds went to the Red Cross and St. John Fund and to the Artists' General Benevolent Institution.

The Summer Exhibition opened on May 1 and closed on August 7, the Sunday afternoon opening during these months proving extremely popular. There were relatively few war pictures, but numerous purchases of landscapes and figure subjects were made for public and private collections. Among exhibitors whose paintings and sculpture found their way into Public Galleries were the following: Sir Walter Russell (Huddersfield), Oliver Hall (Blackpool), T. Mewburn Crook (Blackpool), Hesketh Hubbard (Newport, Mon.), J. B. Manson (Hull), E. le Bas (Preston and Hull), V. Pitchforth (Cardiff), and G. Ackermann (Nottingham). The Royal Academy (Stott Bequest) purchased pictures by Sydney Lee and R. O. Dunlop, and (under the Chantrey Bequest) works by Eliot Hodgkin and David McFall, in addition to three paintings, by Lucien Pissarro, Gilbert Spencer, and Sir William Rothenstein, which will be shown in the Summer Exhibition of 1944. The Contemporary Art Society acquired drawings by **John** Wheatley.

Later in the year, five different exhibitions were open simultaneously in various rooms of Burlington House. The London Group occupied three rooms, their show being opened in October by Sir Henry Wood. It included notable work by Polish artists in addition to that of its members. The L.C.C. County of London Plan was shown in November, and also paintings by Firemen Artists, constituting valuable records of the people's ordeal during air raids in London and elsewhere. The exhibition of the **Royal** Society of Portrait Painters contained portraits of many well-known people, and the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours, which completed the quintette, showed vigorous examples of modern, water-colour art.

At the National Gallery, the popular exhibition of nineteenth-century

French paintings, **which** had continued into the New Year, **was** closed on **January 17** to make **way** for the Rebuilding Britain Exhibition organised by the Reconstruction Committee of the Royal Institute of British Architects. This was opened by Sir William Beveridge on February 25, and remained at the National Gallery until the end of April, when it was taken on tour throughout the country by C.E.M.A.

War pictures were again on exhibition at the National Gallery, and a new selection arranged early in March included Sir Muirhead Bone's drawing of the Painted Hail, Greenwich, in war-time, " St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury," showing raid damage, by E. Boye Uden, portraits by Anthony Devas and William Dring, and drawings by V. Pitchforth and by Captain Anthony Gross, the latter being also given a " one-man-show " in November of his water-colours of " India in action." In a further selection of pictures placed on view in August, there were new works by Edward Ardizzone, G. Sutherland, R. Eurich, Stanley Spencer (a continuation of his large " Shipbuilding " frieze), Henry Carr, and others.

The Memorial Exhibition of the works of Philip Wilson Steer, O.M., arranged by the Trustees of the Tate Gallery, and opened in June at the National Gallery, aroused widespread interest, and provoked discussion on the influence and relative merits of the great English landscape painters of the past.

Continuing their " safety first " policy of showing one Old Master for a month at a time, the Trustees of the National Gallery gratified numbers of the public by allowing them a sight of such masterpieces as Constable's " Hay **Wain**," " The Entombment," by Drerick Bouts, Chardin's " The Lesson," Botticelli's " Mars and Venus," the Rokeby " Venus and Cupid," attributed to Velazquez, Holbein's " Duchess of Milan " (to mark the 400th anniversary of the artist's death), " The Adoration of the Magi," by Filippino Lippi, and David Gerard's painting of the same subject, the last two being on view during the Christmas season. Reviewing this successful experiment in the March number of the *Burlington Magazine*, the editor gave remarkable " statistics " relating to visitors to the " Picture of the Month " during 1942, when paintings by Rembrandt and Turner attracted the largest numbers.

Eight pictures bequeathed to the National Trust by Mrs. Ronald Greville of Polesden Lacey, were loaned to the National Gallery, the three most important being works by the Dutch painters Jacob van Ruisdael, Pieter de Hooch, and Gerard ter Borch.

The third and last of the exhibitions of drawings recording "Changing Britain," made possible by the generosity of the Pilgrim Trust, was opened at the National Gallery in August. It consisted of nearly two hundred drawings, the majority in water-colour, and contained a section devoted to London and the Home Counties. A striking example was G. W. Hooper's drawing of the decorative early eighteenth-century Clayton Monument in Bletchingley Church, Surrey. Other contributors were Edward Walker, with views of Richmond, John Piper, and Charles Knight. The whole collection will eventually be housed in the Victoria **and** Albert Museum.

Towards the end of the year, two exhibitions were arranged at the National Gallery by the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, a loan collection of " Designs for the Ballet," and " English Book Illustration since 1800." The latter covered the work of illustrators from Thomas Bewick to modern times, Blake, Stothard, Rowlandson, Turner, and " Phiz " being among those represented.

Official war artists were also represented at the National Portrait Gallery, where an exhibition of paintings and drawings illustrating the Middle East Campaign was opened in May. Some noteworthy pictures by South African artists were included. Later in the summer another " Service " exhibition at this Gallery consisted of pictures and handicraft by members of the W.A.A.F. During the last days of the year some of the Gallery's recent acquisitions were placed on view. These included several portraits of artists, notably MacArdell, the mezzotinter, by Reynolds, and a self-portrait of Reynolds's pupil, the Dorset painter, Thomas Beach.

Considering the very limited space for exhibitions left at its disposal by the encroachment of war necessities, the Victoria and Albert Museum had a remarkable record for the year. After the close of the C.E.M.A. loan exhibition of English landscapes, which continued to attract visitors until well into January, its place was taken for the next three months by another important loan exhibition, that of Old Master Drawings from the collection of Sir Robert and Lady Witt. These included works of the English, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Flemish, and German Schools, among the English School drawings being examples by Kneller, Thornhill, Richardson, Laroon, Gainsborough, and Romney.

A small collection of historical costumes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum, accompanied by early fashion plates and books of fashions, was shown in June. The Holbein Memorial Exhibition, in honour of the 400th anniversary of the death of Hans Holbein (who died in England in October or November, 1543), was opened by the Swiss Minister on November 15. Like the Van Dyck Exhibition in 1941, it consisted chiefly of reproductions of the artist's work, but there was one original oil painting, a portrait of Alice, wife of Sir Thomas More, lent by Lord Methuen, and some very beautiful miniatures of " Mrs. Pemberton " and " Ann of Cleves " (Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Collection), and " George Nevill, third Lord Abergavenny," from the Buccleuch Collection.

Guildhall Library resumed its artistic activities in February by showing a collection of London views of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which included good drawings by George Scharf and R. B. Schnebbelie, and prints after Girtin and Rowlandson. In September, the Lord Mayor opened an exhibition of paintings and drawings from the late Lord Wakefield's collection, which Lady Wakefield had presented to the Corporation of the City of London, the National Gallery, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. The most important among the oils was a large portrait group of the Hales Family by Sir Peter Lely, while the water-colours included examples by Turner and Birket Foster.

An exhibition of prints, drawings, and photographs, illustrating London life since the time of the Romans, was on view for several months at the London Museum, Lancaster House, **from July onwards.** It was sponsored by the Army Bureau of Current Affairs, and dealt mainly with architecture, commerce, and social life during nineteen centuries. Another exhibition, to illustrate "The Amenities of London," was to have followed. This was in active preparation and due to open in November, when Lancaster House was unfortunately requisitioned by a Government Department, and to the disappointment of prospective visitors, the Museum is **now** closed, presumably for the duration of the war.

At the Wallace Collection, Hertford House, the sale of Chinese and British work at the "Artists Aid to China" Exhibition in May added a substantial sum to Lady Cripps's United Aid to China Fund. Later in the year examples of ancient Chinese art were seen at the Berkeley Galleries in aid of the same Fund, and modern Chinese paintings at the Royal Water Colour Society's Gallery, where the Chinese Ambassador opened an exhibition of contemporary work, presented by the British Council at the request of the Ministry of Information.

The Royal Society of British Artists and the Royal Institute of Painters in Oils held a combined show at Suffolk Street in the summer, and in the winter the Royal Society of British Artists opened the 200th exhibition since the Society's formation in 1823. The occasion was marked by the arrangement in one of the rooms of a loan collection of drawings by past members and exhibitors. The majority of these, such as Millais, Sir F. Grant, Mulready, Landseer, and Frith, belonged to the Victorian era, but there were also examples by earlier men, including Cotman, Constable, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and John Varley. Among the works shown by present members of the Society were good paintings by the President, Mr. Bertram Nicholls, the Vice-President, Mr. Hesketh Hubbard (who was responsible for bringing together the loan collection), Mr. P. H. Padwick, Miss Ethel Gabam, and Mr. John Cole, among others.

The 23rd annual exhibition of the United Society of Artists occupied the Suffolk Street Galleries during September, followed, in October-November, by the 94th exhibition of the New English Art Club. In the latter show, the drawings, which included excellent examples by Sir Muirhead Bone, Professor Randolph Schwabe, Mr. Philip Connard, Mr. Alfred Hay ward, Miss Fairlie Harmar, Lord Methuen, and Mr. Ronald Gray, were on the whole more successful than the paintings, but Mr. Richard Eurich, Mr. Thomas Carr, and Mr. Anthony Devas contributed interesting work in oils.

The annual exhibition of the Royal Society of Painter-Engravers and Engravers contained competent examples of every process of engraving by living members, and also work by three members who died in **1942**, George Soper, Ray Jones, and Frederick Marriott.

The Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, founded in **1804**, held its customary shows in the spring **and autumn**, the **latter** being its **220th** exhibition. There was plenty of competent **work in the traditional English**

manner. The Royal Society of Miniature Painters held its 20th annual exhibition on the Water Colour Society's premises.

There were also numerous smaller exhibitions in the spring and autumn. Messrs. Agnew began the year, as usual, by showing Water Colour Drawings, the 70th of this annual series. A group of sketches by Constable was included, with examples by J. R. Cozens, Girtin, Turner, Cotman, and other artists of the English School, a few foreign drawings, and small groups of water-colours by the late P. Wilson Steer, Mr. A. M. Hind, and Sir Walter Russell. The drawings were replaced later in the year by an exhibition of oil paintings, "English Landscapes and Figure Subjects," followed by another of "Figures in Landscape." In the former exhibition much interest was attracted by "The Flute Player," by J. Coles, a forgotten painter of the early eighteenth century. Another early figure painter, Gawen Hamilton, was represented by "The Card Party," formerly attributed to Hogarth. The most striking pictures in the second collection of oils were Van Dyck's "Holy Family" and Turner's "Snowstorm in the Aosta Valley," with figures in the foreground.

The Fine Art Society, in March and April, showed eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century water-colours of London and the Thames Valley, the interest of which was mainly topographical. This was followed by a popular show of Sporting Pictures and Prints, and later by Early English Water Colours, which included an important series by Rowlandson. In November an exhibition was held of paintings and water-colours by the late Arthur Briscoe.

The Leicester Galleries, London, held the following exhibitions: "New Year Exhibition" of modern pictures and sculpture; paintings by the late Roger Pettiward ("Paul Crum"), Stephen Bone, and Kenneth Martin; pictures by Sir William Nicholson and Eve Kirk; drawings by Augustus John; paintings by Gilbert Spencer; work by three generations of the Pissarro family: Camille, Lucien, and Orovida; paintings and drawings by Lord Methuen; "Artists of Fame and Promise"; pastel portraits by Eric Kennington; famous French posters; paintings by Nadia Benois; "Portraits for Collectors"; water-colours by Thomas Carr; and paintings and drawings by Philip Connard, John Farleigh, and Marie Laurencin.

Among pictures shown at the Leger Galleries were eighteenth- and nineteenth-century oils and water-colours: "Hogarth to Turner"; Messrs. Tooth also exhibited early English paintings, "From Hogarth to Crome"; while "Hogarth and English Caricature" was the title of an exhibition arranged by the Artists' International Association. Walker's Galleries held their 39th annual exhibition of early English Water Colours; the Nicholson Gallery had several interesting collections of small pictures, including one of "Artists at Work"; and the Redfern Gallery, after hanging various shows by English and French artists, ended the year with an amusing and seasonable exhibition, "Aux Spectacles," comprising over five hundred pictures and prints illustrating the theatre and other entertainments, sport, public ceremonies, and even disasters, such as spectacular fires.

Outside London there were three important loan exhibitions. At the

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, part of Captain and Mrs. Bruce Ingram's extensive collection of drawings was on view ; at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, there were English and French pictures from Lord Rothschild's collection ; while Sporting Pictures at the Harris Art Gallery, Preston, attracted special attention owing to awakened interest in this typically British branch of painting. King George VI lent examples by George Stubbs and Ben Marshall, and other artists represented included John Wootton, James Seymour, Sawrey Gilpin, H. B. Chalon, Charles Towne, John Ferneley, J. N. Sartorius, J. F. Herring, James Ward, and Sir Edwin Landseer.

In the sale room emphasis was also on sporting pictures, the outstanding feature being the high prices paid for paintings by Stubbs and Marshall. Two portraits of race-horses by Stubbs, from Lord Bolingbroke's collection, fetched 4,410l. each, and a picture from an unknown source, of " A Gentleman on a Grey Hunter," by Marshall, reached the unexpected figure of 2,940l.

A few pictures sent to Christie's by the Countess of Oxford and Asquith sold well in April, the highest price (997l. 10s.) being paid for a " View of Venice," by Canaletto, from the Baring Collection. There was another good sale in July, of English paintings, the property of Sir Berkeley Sheffield, when 4,200. was given for Lawrence's portrait of " Miss Juliana Copley." Interest was also focussed on a conversation piece of " The Pitt Family," catalogued as by Francis Wheatley, but formerly attributed to Gainsborough. Experts were of the opinion that it might prove to be one of John Downman's rare works in oil.

Early English water-colours continued in demand, a marked rise being noticeable in the price of those by Birket Foster. At Sotheby's, modern etchings also fetched better prices than in recent years, while a complete set of Canaletto's " Vedute," thirty-one etchings in the original paper wrappers, sold for 255l.

II. DRAMA

The wave of prosperity which carried the theatre on its crest throughout the year 1942 continued with undiminished force almost to the end of 1943. From the beginning of the year until early November almost any play for which a theatre could be secured was nearly certain of a prosperous run.

In November a change came, not in people's desire to go to the theatre, but in the conditions of theatre-going. The Germans, who had not attempted any air raids on London for more than two years, began a series of nuisance raids. The actual danger from enemy action was not great, but the risk of injury by shell splinters from our defensive barrage was by no means negligible. A certain proportion of regular playgoers stayed at home, and in the last weeks before Christmas only the most firmly established successes played to full houses. In all other respects, however, the boom continued to manifest itself. During the Christmas holidays the pressure of the demand for seats was such that even, the timorous began to

venture to evening performances, since tickets for matinees quickly became unobtainable.

Theatre statisticians remarked that the number of new productions in the West-end of London during the year was only just over half of the annual peace-time average, drawing the obvious deduction that the expectation of life of a play in war-time is almost double that of normal times.

This was satisfactory ; but much more satisfactory was the continued absence of any marked deterioration of the public taste such as was seen in the war of 1914-18. Indeed, at the end of the year under review, J. B. Priestley said roundly that the quality of the plays was up to peace-time standard. It is arguable that Mr. Priestley may have been a little prejudiced in favour of a public which had just given a run of 278 performances to his own play, *They Came to a City*—a piece of serious speculation on a Utopian theme. But the real point of importance is not so much the degree of truth in this judgment as the fact that a dramatist of Mr. Priestley's standard could make it at all. Such a remark at any comparable period of the earlier war would have been quite impossible from such a quarter.

Certainly there is much evidence besides the run of Mr. Priestley's own play to show that the public was ready to be elevated as well as entertained. James Bridie's *Mr. Bolfry* (Playhouse), a witty conversation piece in the author's best vein, had for theme the nature of good and evil. Noel Coward's *This Happy Breed* (Haymarket) was a recantation of some of his earlier lofty sneers at the common man, and marked his arrival at full adult stature as a dramatist. The American Robert Sherwood's *There Shall Be No Night* (Aldwych) dealt with the overrunning of Greece by the Nazis. All were successful. The Bridie play was still running at the end of the year with 158 performances to its credit, the Sherwood play (with the enormous prestige of Alfred Lunt and Lynne Fontanne to support it) ranked as London's greatest attraction; and the Coward play, limited by its author to a short season, was packed at every performance. John Steinbeck's play on the occupation of Norway, *The Moon is Down*, had only a comparatively short run of 112 performances, but even so this represented a much greater success than the play had scored in America. Two authors new to the theatre, Enid Bagnold and Graham Greene, scored runs of 100 or more performances with *Lottie Dundass* (Vaudeville), and *Brighton Rock* (Garrick). Both these plays were studies of abnormal mentality culminating in murders at Brighton. Curiously enough, another successful play of the year, Roland Pertwee's *Pink String and Sealing-wax* (Duke of York's) also centred round a murder at Brighton, though it had not the same pretensions to psychological subtlety.

The year's revivals reflected the same readiness on the part of the public to take its theatre-going seriously, though not solemnly. John Gielgud's magnificent production of Congreve's *Love for Love* (Phoenix—later Haymarket) was still running at the end of the year with 292 performances. Turgenyev's *A Month in the Country*, hitherto only seen for limited seasons, had a run of 313 at the St. James's. Ibsen's *Ghosts* (Duke of York's) had its longest London run (74). His *Hedda Gabler* (Mercury and Westminster)

totalled 99. Shaw's *Heartbreak House* (Cambridge) ran for 236. Barrie's *What Every Woman Knows* (Lyric) and *The Admirable Crichton* (His Majesty's), though both had dated badly, ranked as successes. John Drinkwater's *Abraham Lincoln* (Playhouse), and Oscar Wilde's *An Ideal Husband*, also went to swell the list.

Of the light plays still not too light to be worth mentioning, Noel Coward's *Present Laughter* was the most outstanding. Like its companion piece referred to above, it showed that the author's mind had moved on. It dealt with the theatrical circles he knows so well, but with a new detachment. Instead of looking at them from inside the coterie and exaggerating their personal importance, he took a wider view. Apart from their work, he said, they amount to very little. *Present Laughter* and *This Happy Breed* were run concurrently at the Haymarket, and were limited to 40 performances each. Nevertheless, both ranked among the year's successes, for they would undoubtedly have had very long runs if they had been allowed.

The Fur Coat (Comedy) was a posthumous play by A. G. Macdonell. It was a lively though faulty piece, and although it ran for 175 performances it served to show its author as a dramatist of high promise rather than actual achievement. But for his early death he would undoubtedly have written better plays. Ben Travers, in *She Follows Me About* (Garrick), showed his old facility for dialogue, but his plot was thin. Agatha Christie's *Ten Little Niggers* (St. James's) was a thriller of great ingenuity which contrived, in spite of its gradually narrowing field of suspects, to keep the issue in doubt to the end. Of American imports, *Junior Miss* (Saville) and *My Sister Eileen* were highly efficient entertainments, which were in the middle of long runs when the year ended.

Several plays ran throughout 1943. Foremost among these were Noel Coward's *Blithe Spirit* (Duchess) and Esther McCracken's *Quiet Week-end*, both of which passed the 1,000 mark during the year. *Flare Path* (Apollo), *Claudia* (St. Martin's), and *Arsenic and Old Lace* (Aldwych) all survived into 1944.

There were two distinguished failures during the year. One was Rodney Ackland's *The Dark River* (Whitehall), and the other, Peter Ustinov's *Blow Your Own Trumpet* (Playhouse). Both pieces had unmistakable quality, and both failed for much the same reason, that they laid their emphasis on a group of people too futile to be interesting. In spite of these two setbacks, Mr. Ackland is still plainly among the best of our established dramatists, and Mr. Ustinov the most promising of the new generation.

III. THE CINEMA

Once again it was the Films Division of the Ministry of Information that was responsible for the marked improvement in British films during 1943. The Ministry set a high standard. They presented fact as against fiction, and the actuality made any but the best studio pictures look woefully artificial. They did not rely on stars, but showed that real

people doing real jobs could move the emotions of an audience more effectively than trained actors. These pictures had a national feeling, and they gained by not trying to do what Hollywood does better. They demonstrated to producers and renters that the public was ready for a more adult type of picture, and was not exclusively interested in love stories.

In 1943 the Ministry was responsible for 200 films which included most of the year's best pictures. Among others to their credit were "Desert Victory"—generally acknowledged the best picture of the year; "Close Quarters," a submarine story; "The Silent Village," in which a Welsh village was shown as suffering the fate of Lidice; "Fires Were Started," a tribute to the A.F.S.; and "World of Plenty," dealing with food and its distribution. Under an agreement with America there was an exchange of documentary films. The first to be shown here was "The Battle of Britain," compiled from shots supplied from England with American production and commentary.

From the Ministry propaganda shorts also came in a steady flow, according to the demand of the moment, their length varying from a flash to five minutes.

Mobile units were busier than ever during the year, some 59,800 shows being given, beside 2,000 special shows in cinemas out of ordinary hours, and 3,000 films lent to organisations. It was estimated that during the year an audience of 15½ millions was reached.

Propaganda did not limit its activity to the home market. The Overseas Dispatch Department every week handled some 300 copies of 80 different films, and sent them to over 100 different territories, some "dubbed" and some with foreign commentaries or foreign subtitles.

The influence of all this was seen clearly in the major British films of the year. A mixture of fact and propaganda was found in such productions as the long and elaborate Technicolour production of "Colonel Blimp"; in "We Dive at Dawn," a submarine picture which would have been in the front rank if the Ministry of Information "Close Quarters" were not even better; in "The Demi-Paradise," a story of a Russian engineer's reaction to pre-war and post-war Britain. Women's war work was well described in "The Gentle Sex," which dealt with life in the A.T.S.; "Millions Like Us," a glimpse into a munitions factory; and "The Lamp Still Burns," which showed a London hospital and a genuine film discovery in Rosamond John.

Only one British picture of any importance had nothing to do with the war. "Dear Octopus" was an adaptation of the stage play, and seemed to belong to a world very remote and rather trivial.

British pictures made up in quality what they lacked in quantity. Yearly output dropped from a five hundred mark to a war-time fifty. The cheap second-feature film almost disappeared. Studios struggled with considerable difficulties—lack of floor space, lack of stars and technicians, and raw materials. In February the Board of Trade obliged the industry to cut its celluloid consumption by 25 per cent. Nevertheless, profiting by the lesson of the last war, there was a desire to protect the industry. In August the Board of Trade requested the Producers' Association to

make suggestions as to post-war marketing abroad. Government circles were becoming aware of the tremendous influence of the cinema.

Controversy was acute as to the best means to obtain for British pictures a showing in America. The independent producers favoured the 100,000l. picture, which serves the British market and can sometimes get into the American market, while the 250,000l picture, which aims directly at America, had the support of the great combines. Prominent in these circles is Mr. J. Arthur Rank, who now controls most of Britain's studio space and the 600 cinemas of the Odeon and British Gaumont circuits. He has post-war plans for acquiring cinemas in Europe and the Empire for showing British films. He also aims either to join forces with one of the big distributing circuits in America or to start his own British-American company. He is a firm believer in big expenditure and the import of Hollywood stars. So is Sir Alexander Korda, who has the Metro-Goldwyn stars at his disposal. He plans, as head of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer London Films Co., to spend 5,000,000l. in the next three years. Another exponent of enterprise on a large scale is Mr. Filippo del Giudice, of Two Cities Films, whose "Henry V" is almost ready for showing, and cost 5,000,000l. to produce.

The Independents are headed by Michael Balcon, of Ealing Studios, who has been making pictures for twenty-one years. He argues that the importation of stars has been tried and has failed. His idea is that the only solution is to make British pictures so good that there would be a demand for them in America, and so native that they could not have been made anywhere else. Other independent producers who share this view are Mr. Maurice Ostrer, of Gainsborough pictures, and Mr. G. W. Parish, of British National. Both these firms have made successful pictures for home consumption at moderate production costs.

It was a golden year for the renters. There was plenty of money to spend and little to buy, and despite high prices for seats the cinemas were packed.

America did not make so many war pictures, and those that dealt with Europe were not very successful on this side. Many of them were unconvincing stories of the underground struggle in Europe. "Bataan," however, was a fine picture, and so was "Cry Havoc," an all-woman story of nurses on the Pacific front. Less successful were "Watch on the Rhine," from the play; and "Journey for Margaret," a story of an orphan of the blitz. A curious attempt to portray living people was made in "Mission to Moscow," in which the American lawyer Dudley Field Malone played Mr. Winston Churchill.

Hollywood believed that people paid to escape the war, and much of their production was lavish, spectacular, and light weight. The idea of crowding as many stars as possible into one picture was tried several times. All the entertainment world was in the cast list of one musical picture, called "Stage Door Canteen," and all the Warner stars in another, called "Thank Your Lucky Stars." Something of the same policy was seen in two pictures made up of a number of short stories, "Tales from Manhattan," and "Flesh and Fantasy."

Orson Welles was busy and influential both as actor and producer. He gave the cinema "The Magnificent Ambersons," "Journey Into Fear," and "Jane Eyre," which gave him opportunities to show his versatility. His reputation at the end of the year stood very high. He was one of the few names of the year in which the emphasis was rather on stories than on stars.

"For Whom the Bell Tolls," from the novel by Ernest Hemingway, was a grand-scale production running for nearly three hours. There were complaints that it falsified the book, giving it a pro-Fascist tendency. Acting honours went to the Greek repertory actress, Katina Paxinou. On the lighter side Gracie Fields played her first straight screen part in "Holy Matrimony," a version of Arnold Bennett's "Buried Alive."

To the surprise of many people, Walt Disney was found in the propaganda field with two full-length features. His "Victory Through Air Power" started as a history of aviation and comprised the views of Major Alexander P. de Seversky, while "Saludos Amigos" was a sermon in support of the "good neighbour" policy of the U.S.A. to the Latin American States.

Animal stories, which had almost disappeared from the screen, came back into popularity with "My Friend Flicka," a picture full of beautiful horses in Technicolour; and "Lassie Come Back," the story of a collie dog.

From Russia there came "One Day of War" and the first two parts of the trilogy of "The Childhood of Maxim Gorki."

IV. MUSIC

The state of musical Britain in 1943 was confused and to a large extent paradoxical. On the one hand, it was fairly evident that music of a good class was being more frequently and widely performed than ever before; on the other, this new stream of activity flowed in so limited a channel that it was viewed as doing possibly more harm than good. There was a boom in orchestral music. Full-sized professional orchestras were to be met up and down the country competing for box-office favour, often clashing with each other's dates, imposing their own haphazard time-table on local musical life, and hurling symphonies and concertos at a vast new population that had had no previous experience of that order of music. This sudden propagation of the masterpieces was no bad thing in itself: nobody wished to complain that Beethoven was being listened to by more people than ever before. It was the misdirection of the new industry that aroused misgivings. The new audience was being taught to believe that the highest musical ideal lay in the colourful, emotional, and impressive effect produced only by a large and varied body of instruments. Moreover, this one-sided view was being further narrowed by a limited choice of music. Travelling orchestras and their impresarios were more concerned with box-office returns than with the spread of appreciation; so they fell into the easy habit of repeating the works that drew the biggest

crowds, and the crowds fell into the easy habit of assembling for the works that were most often repeated. Thus the musical experience brought to vast numbers of people by this war-time movement ranged little beyond a few symphonies headed by Beethoven's fifth and seventh, and a few concertos headed by Rachmaninov's in C minor and Tchaikovsky's in B flat minor for piano. The vogue of the last-named work was carried to such a point that its title became a byword wherever musical affairs were responsibly discussed. To make matters worse, the standard of performance went down. No orchestra could maintain an artistic level at a time when the chief factors in its working life were the scramble and discomfort of constant journeying and ill-rehearsed performances under a succession of different and, in some cases, inexperienced conductors. This indictment represents what was being said frequently and at length in musical journals and the musical columns of the daily press. Nobody deprecated the orchestral boom as such ; but the course it was taking aroused widespread dissatisfaction. It is impossible to apportion the blame. It was shared by the orchestras, their conductors and committees, the outside agencies that engaged them, and, fundamentally, the conditions of the time.

Such was the drift of affairs in the uncontrolled market. To be set against it were three major influences, each beneficial and under central control. They were C.E.M.A. (Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts), E.N.S.A. (Entertainments National Service Association), and the B.B.C.

The origin and activities of C.E.M.A. were fully set forth in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1941 and 1942 ; it will suffice therefore to record here that the Council's work in 1943 was the steady continuation and expansion of its work in 1942, and to note a few changes. In January the Council took over the work which the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust had been doing for two years in support of seven leading orchestras. The intention was two-fold : to promote concerts in places where first-class orchestral music had formerly been unknown ; and to help the orchestras towards attaining a firm financial position. As Dr. Reginald Jacques, Musical Director to C.E.M.A., expressed it, the ultimate goal was " the assurance of regular, well-paid work, with concerts a good deal less tightly packed than at present, adequate time for rehearsal, and a pension scheme." The Carnegie-C.E.M.A. assistance was to be regarded, not as war-time relief, but as the groundwork of a plan for permanent betterment. The orchestras affected were the London Philharmonic, London Symphony, Halle, Liverpool Philharmonic, Northern Philharmonic, Bournemouth (Wessex) Symphony, and the Scottish. In the department of drama C.E.M.A. had from the beginning co-opted various stage organisations, from which opera and ballet companies were at first excluded to avoid too much complication. An important development early in 1943 was the inclusion of the Sadler's Wells companies. Two other ballet companies also worked for C.E.M.A. The reconstituted Jooss company became affiliated in February, and at the end of March the Rambert company began a tour of the hostels. In the central council of C.E.M.A. the panel of music appointed in 1942 consisted of Mr. Arthur Bliss, Dame Myra Hess, Mr.

Constant Lambert, and Dr. Thomas Wood, under the general chairmanship of Lord Keynes. In 1943 Sir Stanley Marchant was added as vice-chairman, and at the end of the year Mr. F. Bonavia was also added to the panel.

By 1943 the official name of E.N.S.A. was " Department of National Service Entertainment " ; but the old and well-known initials were retained. Although the work of E.N.S.A. had some common ground with that of C.E.M.A., the two organisations approached it from different planes. C.E.M.A. stood for the cultured section of the community and its spontaneous desire to spread the benefits of art to all classes. E.N.S.A. was set up within the military sphere, and its function was to bring entertainment to the forces and to war-workers. Its masters and paymasters were N.A.A.F.I. (Navy, Army, and Air Force Institutes), the Services, the Ministry of Labour, and the Treasury. For two or three years it tended rather to the standard of light and mixed entertainment, the more artistic forms being looked upon as unsuitable for the Services audience. (The same tendency prevailed in the B.B.C. Forces Programme during the early years of the war.) In the course of time both bodies discovered that a demand for better things could exist among men in uniform, and they not unwillingly set out to meet it. By the end of 1942 E.N.S.A. was dealing extensively with good-class music, and this department expanded greatly during 1943. In January a week's festival was given at Catterick with a Forces orchestra ; later a week's festival was given at Aldershot with the B.B.C. Orchestra ; a festival was also held for naval audiences at Portsmouth and Southampton, the average attendance being about fifteen hundred. Single symphony concerts for Service audiences became a regular order ; they were given chiefly with the Halle and Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestras. Half a dozen small parties of players and singers were wholly occupied in going round to Service centres ; between them they gave about twelve hundred concerts in the year. During the autumn civilian war-workers were included in the audiences, the uniform price of admission being a shilling. At the end of the year E.N.S.A. commissioned Sir Arnold Bax, Mr. Arthur Bliss, Mr. John Ireland, Mr. E. J. Moeran, and Mr. Alan Rawsthorne to compose short Overtures to be used as opening items at orchestral concerts.

The third body credited above with a beneficial influence was the **B.B.C.** For years the Corporation had been, for obvious reasons, the largest purveyor of music to the nation, and in the general opinion it had used its position with good artistic conscience and sense of responsibility. It was still felt, however, that attendance at concerts and listening to " live " performances belonged to a better order of things than the absorption of music from wireless transmission, with its acoustical hazards and lack of vital contact. The changes brought about by the war did not affect this fundamental comparison, but they did affect the comparison between what was done over the air and what was done within the walls of concert rooms. While enterprise dwindled in the concert world and gave way to routine and sameness, the B.B.C. (though not entirely unaffected in this direction) kept up much of the pre-war life of its pro-

grammes. During these times any person with a keen and roving appetite for good music would find himself more and more dependent upon his wireless set, and less and less tempted to abandon it for the concert room. This change in the balance of things, having been progressive from the beginning of the war, became very marked during the fourth year; and for this reason broadcast music is given precedence over concert music in the present record.

About thirty novelties or near-novelties were broadcast during the year. Of these the most important were: from America—Gough's "Pacific Image" (April 25), Piston's *Sinfonietta* (June 21), Copland's "Lincoln Portrait" (July 29), Roy Harris's *Fifth Symphony* (Sept. 12), and *Folk-Song Symphony* (Oct. 3), and William Schumann's *Third Symphony* (Dec. 9); from Russia—Alexandrov's *Overture on Russian Folk-Tunes* (July 1), Budashkin's *Festival Overture* (July 13), Khachaturian's "Ode to Stalm" (Sept. 25), Shostakovich's *Sixth Symphony* (Oct. 24), and Prokofiev's *Fourth Piano Sonata* (Dec. 12); British—Vaughan Williams's *Symphony in D* (June 24), Lennox Berkeley's *Diver-timento* (Oct. 1), Bax's *Violin Concerto* (Nov. 22), and Gerald Finzi's "Dies Natalis" (Dec. 21); also Stravinsky's *Symphony in C* (Nov. 17) and a *Piano Concerto in A minor* by the South African, Arnold Van Wyk (May 31). Valuable work was done by the repetition of works that had first appeared during the few preceding years and which had little chance of making their way in the concert room. The normal day-to-day provision of broadcast music was piecemeal in appearance, individual programmes being short and scattered; but actually they came under a comprehensive central plan to cover more or less the whole of the standard concert repertory in the course of a year. While this basic scheme was being worked out, there was abundant repetition of the most popular works. British music was greatly favoured, the reason being practical as well as patriotic, for the scores were accessible at a time when much else was out of reach. The B.B.C. must also be put down as the most effective concert agent of the time, for it managed the Albert Hall Promenade Concerts for the second year, and the season (the forty-ninth) was the most successful in Promenade history. One notable feature was the revival of the old tradition by which the Promenades were the chief trying-out ground for new works. Twenty-five were given their first performance or their first in England. Some that were broadcast have been mentioned above (their dates occurring in June and July). Others included Lamar Stringfield's "A Negro Parade" (June 19), Eugene Goossens's *First Symphony* (July 6), Lennox Berkeley's *Symphony* (July 8), Benjamin Britten's "Scottish Ballad" for two pianos (July 10), Arnold Cooke's *Piano Concerto* (July 27), Benjamin Dale's "The Flowing Tide" (Aug. 6), Rubbra's *Sinfonia Concertante* for piano and orchestra (Aug. 10), William Busch's 'Cello Concerto (Aug. 13), and Kabalevsky's Suite from "Colas Breugnon" (Aug. 17). The London Philharmonic Orchestra played from June 19 to July 16, the B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra from July 17 to August 21. The work of conducting fell almost entirely to the associate conductors, Basil Cameron and Sir Adrian Boult, for after

the opening night Sir Henry Wood was kept from his task by a long illness. The attendance at the fifty-five concerts totalled nearly a quarter of a million, the weekly average being about two thousand more than during the preceding season.

For the rest the London concert season more or less followed the pattern of the preceding war years. The highest standard of orchestral playing was represented by the concerts of the Royal Philharmonic Society, of which five were given. During the winter and spring months the Harold Holt agency was responsible, as formerly, for Sunday concerts at the Albert Hall with the L.P.O., and Mr. Jay Pomeroy for Sunday concerts at the Cambridge Theatre with the L.S.O. Mr. Pomeroy also organised two festivals. The first, entitled "Music for the People," ran for a month from March 8 at the Stoll Theatre with the L.S.O. The second was a festival of Russian music held from September 19 to 26 at the Albert Hall and the Cambridge Theatre; the works given included Shubert's Second Symphony and Kabalevsky's Piano Concerto, both performed for the first time. In the autumn the Holt agency substituted the National Symphony Orchestra (a recent formation) for the L.P.O. and added a long series of Sunday concerts at the Orpheum, Golders Green. The L.P.O. gave its own concerts at the Adelphi Theatre; these were less standardised than most of their kind, for the programmes included repetitions of two of the year's new symphonies—that of Vaughan Williams in D and the sixth by Shostakovich. A good deal of modern and other little-known music was given at the concerts which Walter Goehr conducted with a small orchestra at the Wigmore Hall during the early and late months. At the same hall the Boosey and Hawkes concerts added to their record of enterprising and well-chosen programmes of modern music. On March 27 the most significant of five British compositions was the second String Quartet by Michael Tippett, who may be put down as the composer of the year, though his concentrated modern style would appeal only to a limited audience. At the four autumn concerts of this series the list of composers included de Frumerie (Sweden), Bartok, Shostakovich, Berkeley, Webern, Britten (first performance of Serenade for tenor, horn and string orchestra), Stravinsky, Burkhard, and Bax (first performance of Legend-Sonata for 'cello and piano). The National Gallery concerts maintained both their artistic value and their popularity; the thousandth concert on July 23 was attended by H.M. The Queen. A similar series of lunch-hour concerts was held for some months at the Royal Exchange. Chamber music in London also owed a good deal to the concerts at the Wigmore Hall given during the early and late seasons by Gerald Cooper.

Sadler's Wells opera and ballet continued their roving existence with occasional visits to London. The principal new ballet of the year was "The Quest," by Frederick Ashton, representing a theme from Spenser's "The Faerie Queen," with music specially composed by William Walton; it was produced at the New Theatre, London, on April 6. On July 13 the International Ballet Company, in the course of a six weeks' season at the Lyric Theatre, presented "Everyman," a choreographic version by Mona Inglesby of the old Morality Play, to music from the tone-poems of Richard Strauss.

Music in the Provinces was largely conditioned by the work of peripatetic full orchestras, as described above. To their number was added the National Philharmonic Orchestra, founded by Mr. Harold Fielding in March. At Aberdare from February 26 to March 3 the B.B.C. and its orchestra gave a festival in conjunction with three leading Welsh choirs. Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra, now conducted by Mr. Montague Birch, celebrated its fiftieth birthday on May 23. In the summer the Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra held a short and very successful season of Promenade concerts under Dr. Malcolm Sargent. At Manchester the Halle Concerts Society announced that its eighty-sixth season (1943-44) would consist of twenty-four concerts with Mr. John Barbirolli as conductor.

The year's centenaries were those of Grieg (born in 1843) and Byrd (born in 1542 or 1543). To mark the end of the second year of Soviet-German hostilities an Exhibition of Music in the Soviet Union, with lectures, was held by Messrs. Novello at 160 Wardour Street from June 21 to July 4. Dr. Pedro de Freitas Branco, the leading conductor in Portugal, paid a visit to Britain under the auspices of the British Council in October and conducted four concerts with different orchestras.

The chief publications of the year were : " Annals of Opera," by Alfred Lowenberg, " Musical Instruments," by Karl Geiringer, " Farewell My Youth," by Arnold Bax, and " Eight Soviet Composers," by Gerald Abraham. Gramophone recordings included Roy Harris's third Symphony, Walton's " Belshazzar's Feast," and Bliss's Piano Concerto (all H.M.V.).

The obituary included the names of Clara Novello Davies, Dr. H. C. Colles (music critic of *The Times* and Editor of Grove's Dictionary), Rachmaninov (for a generation a particular favourite in British concert halls), Ben Davies, Dr. Geoffrey Shaw, Arthur Fagge (founder and conductor of the London Choral Society), Leslie Howard, Benjamin Dale, and Arthur Catterall.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Evolution and Genetics.—It was generally accepted that the evolution of an organism is an expression of the functional evolution of its genes and that, at least in animals, speciation is normally dependent on the geographical isolation of populations. Research on the genetic effects caused by X-rays, ultra-violet rays, and neutrons showed consistent differences between their action. The nature of the action of colchicine and other substances that modify the normal course of mitosis was elucidated: differences in plant response seem to be related to their lipid systems. Ethyl mercuric chloride proved to be a polyploidogenic agent, dibenzanthracene facilitating its action. The view was confirmed that polyploidy is correlated with geographical latitude and is more common among monocotyledons than dicotyledons: its role in the evolution and improvement of cultivated plants became clear. In practical breeding, great use was made of colchicine in inducing novelty and hybrid fertility: meadow saffron is not immune to the action of its own drug. Light was thrown on wheat origins by the synthesis of a bread wheat by crossing *Aegilops speltoides* with *Triticum turgidum*. Increased attention was given to tree breeding, especially to the induction of polyploids with higher growth rate. In Sweden, interesting work was done on monozygous twins in cattle. Books included de Terra and Movius' "Research on Early Man in Burma," Mayr's "Systematics and the Origin of Species," Roulet's "Mendelienne et analyse combinatoire," Sharp's "Fundamentals of Cytology," Lush's "Animal Breeding Plans," Cummins and Midlo's "Finger Prints, Palms and Soles," and Mather's "Statistical Analysis in Biology." A notable event was the Centenary of the Royal Anthropological Society.

Zoology.—Numerous memoirs on mammals, birds, and reptiles were published, and books included MacDougall and Hegner's "Biology," Grove and Newell's "Animal Biology," Storer's "General Zoology," Gabrielson's "Wildlife Refuges," Hamilton's "Mammals of Eastern United States," Allen's "Extinct and Vanishing Mammals of the Western Hemisphere with the Marine Species of all the Oceans," Drescher, *et al.*, "Studies in Cenozoic Vertebrates of Western N. America and of Fossil Primates," Yerkes' "Chimpanzees," Hamburger's "Manual of Experimental Embryology," Walls' "The Vertebrate Eye and its Adaptive Radiation," Smout's "Anatomy of the Female Pelvis," and Cowdry's "Microscopical Technique in Biology and Medicine." The construction of the Alcan Highway facilitated the biological exploration of hitherto inaccessible regions.

There was urgent demand for more rational exploitation of sea fisheries and great interest in the development and exploitation of fresh-water fisheries. Important monographs appeared on Australian mullet and on

American anchovies, and books included Eigenmann and Allen's " Pisches of Western South America," Schultz' " Fishes of the Phoenix and Samoan Islands," Graham's " The Fish Gate," and Muir Evans' " Sting Fish and Seafarer."

The demand for an international anti-locust campaign was stimulated by the recognition that the whole region from India to East Africa forms an interconnected migration area for the locust, with the peak of an outbreak expected in 1943-44. Progress was made in the control of insect pests of stored foods by fumigation and the use of pyrethrum-in-oil. Interesting work was done on insect moisture relations, and on the vitamins of the B group required by insects. A crustacean found on New England shores is, perhaps, the most primitive one known, and represents a new Order. A culture of *Paramoecium aurelia*, thirty-six years old, has maintained its rate of division and general mortality through 21,800 generations without cross-fertilisation. Numerous monographs on invertebrates were published, and books included Smart *et al.*, " Handbook for the Identification of Insects of Medical Importance," Metcalf's " General Catalogue of the Hemiptera," and Hill's " Termites from the Australian Region."

General Physiology.—The electrical and chemical theories of transmission of nerve impulses may be reconciled by the discovery that acetylcholine is an essential link in the generation of the electrical changes recorded during activity. In the excitation process of peripheral nerve acetylcholine formation seems to be related to the co-carboxylase activity of vitamin B₂. Brain tissue of all vertebrates was found to contain only true cholinesterase, which hydrolyses low concentrations of acetylcholine, and plays an essential role in the chemical transmission of nerve impulses. Work on lung physiology proved the existence of a nervous vasomotor control of the pulmonary circulation. Progress in amplifying and recording the electrical activity of the brain gave promise of increased accuracy in diagnosing mental diseases. In the treatment of war neuroses more attention was given to personality and constitutional type and greater use was made of physical, in addition to psychological, treatment. A method was discovered of storing fragments of nerves for future use as grafts. Books included Strong and Elwyn's " Human Neuroanatomy," Fulton's " Physiology of the Nervous System," Gellhorn's " Autonomic Regulations," Weiss and English's " Psychosomatic Medicine," Young's " Emotion in Man and Animals," Morgan's- " Physiological Psychology," Masserman's " Behaviour and Neurosis," and Tompkins' " Contemporary Psychopathology."

Knowledge of blood pigments and related substances was advanced, and work on blood groups emphasised the antigenic and genetic complexity of the Rh factor : a sex difference was found in the group frequencies of 0 and A. The pituitary adrenotropic hormone was purified : the pituitary gland hormones in rats play an important part in the production of stimuli that result in unlearned maternal behaviour. In hormone replacement therapy tablet implantation can apparently take the place of injections. Improved diabetic treatment resulted from a mixture of two forms of insulin. Books included a Cold Spring Harbor

Symposium on " The Relation of Hormones to Development," Van Dyke *et al.*, " Protein Hormones of the Pituitary Body," Corner's " The Hormones in Human Reproduction," Benedek and Rubenstein's " The Sexual Cycle in Women," and Lowsley *et al.*, " The Sexual Glands of the Male."

It was found that the hard material of bones contains up to 1 per cent, of citric acid, and citrates are important in the oxidation of carbohydrates and in the rejuvenation of bone. Ribonucleic acids, until recently thought to be confined to plants, were found to be widely distributed in high concentrations in mammalian tissues. Study of the cell nucleus showed it to consist of at least three amphoteric substances : chromosomin, nucleic acid, and histone. Nucleic acid seems to be the master constituent, and chromosomin the main characteristic substance of the chromosomes, **the** shape of the latter depending on the ratio of nucleic acid to protein. Ribose nucleotides seem to be of special importance in cell growth, and cytological analysis of malignant tumour cells showed that all chromosome abnormalities and the increased rate of division itself may be explained by assuming that there is a quantitative change in the nucleic acid synthesis due to alteration in the heterochromatic region of the chromosomes. The importance of glutathione in enzyme activity was stressed, and thiol groups were found to be widely distributed in plants. X-ray analysis threw light on the shape and dimensions of the haemoglobin molecule, leading to the computation of direct Fourier syntheses, and also showed that fibrinogen and fibrin are members of the keratin-myosin group.

Chromatography played a large part in the study of the action of drugs, and there was greater realisation of the fact that in the interaction of drugs and cell catalysts correlations between pharmacological and enzyme action apply for the most part in isolated instances only, and under strict and limiting conditions of dosage, physiological state, animal species, etc. Work on permeability and molecular constitution as factors in drug action indicated that a visco-elastic lipo-protein mosaic is a common factor in the organisation of living biological systems. A classification of the steroids according to their folliculoid activity showed pharmacological correlations which permit, within limits, prediction of their other activities. **Books** included Schoenheimer's " The Dynamic State of Body Constituents," Adolph's " Physiological Regulations," Davison and Danielli's " Permeability of Natural Membranes," Sumner and Somers' " Chemistry and Methods of Enzymes," Hoerr *et al.*, " Frontiers in Cytochemistry," Abramson *et al.*, " Electrophoresis of Proteins and the Chemistry of the Cell Surfaces," Smedley Maclean's " Metabolism of Fat," Bloor's " Biochemistry of **the** Fatty Acids and their Compounds, the Lipids," and Allport's " Chemistry and Pharmacy of Vegetable Drugs."

The physiology of war conditions and injuries was greatly developed. **Embryonal emulsion** and **red blood cell powder** were found to stimulate **wound healing**; plaster cast treatment of burns and wounds of limbs was widely used; **and, in the healing of wounds** by **skin transplantation**, **chloraclyde-treated dead** tissues proved successful. **Notable advance was made in plastic surgery and in the rehabilitation of workers and wounded.** **The psychophysiology of camouflage** and reconnaissance was developed

and a special laboratory was founded for its study in **Moscow University**. **Books** included Doherty *et al.*, "Rehabilitation of the **War Injured**," Wright's "Researches in Clinical Physiology," Van Liere's "Anoxia," Gemmil's "Physiology in Aviation," and Bert's "Barometric Pressure : Researches in Experimental Physiology." Other volumes published were the University of California's "Essays in Biology. In Honor of Herbert M. Evans," Haagensen and Lloyd's "A Hundred Years of Medicine," Blum's "Photodynamic Action and Diseases Caused by Light," Wolf and Wolff's "Human Gastric Function," and Reyniers' "Micrurgical and Germ-Free Methods."

Nutrition and Health.—The United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, U.S.A., showed a picture of world-wide under-consumption, malnutrition and its attendant evils, and the necessity for a world food policy based upon the physiological need of the individual and not upon superficial considerations of convenience and temporary economy. An interfering factor in any rational solution of the problem is that the food habits of man are as fixed and as unreasonable as many of his religious, political, and social habits. Widespread famine was experienced in China and Bengal, and in all the enemy Occupied countries the average calorie intake was less than 1,400 daily, dropping to less than 1,000 in Greece, Poland, and Spain. The result was starvation, widespread deficiency diseases, new diseases, *e.g.* epidemics of nephritis, and marked increase in tuberculosis and typhus. A virulent outbreak of tularaemia occurred in Poland and, late in the year, there was an epidemic of influenza in Europe, North America and South Africa. Food and health remained good in Great Britain, and a dental survey showed the war-time diet to have had no ill-effects on the nation's teeth. The value of an improved diet during pregnancy on the well-being of mother and baby became clear, and steps were taken to make it available. It was also evident that better food practices improved the work output of industrial plants. Scottish experiments in social medicine were described in "Health and Industrial Efficiency."

Much advance was made in knowledge of the vitamins, of which thirteen are now commonly accepted. Progress was made in the standardisation of vitamin A, which was found to be a regulator of bone growth. The existence of a ninth B vitamin (Be), an anti-anemia factor, was verified, and it was extracted in crystalline form from liver. Folic acid was proved to be linked with white blood cell production. Microbiological methods of vitamin research were developed, especially in relation to vitamin B, and it became clear that no real distinction exists between the "animal vitamins" of this complex and bacterial growth factors. Certain vitamins, particularly B₂, were found to occur in the soil. Work on vitamin C showed that foods may contain substances which react to the ascorbic acid test, but are not true vitamin C: evidence suggested **that** the action of vitamin C is similar to that of insulin. Vitamin H **was** synthesised. A standard was formulated for vitamin P, which controls capillary fragility, and promise was given of the use of this vitamin in **the** treatment of certain bleeding diseases. Fruits of **guava** and **the Chinese**

"emblic" were found to be rich sources of vitamin C which, in Russia, was mass produced from pine needles. Rose hips proved to be a rich source of vitamin A as well as C, with significant amounts of P. The vitamin content of soya beans was found to compare favourably with that of wheat and, except in riboflavin and nicotinic acid, with that of meats. The use was developed of a giant yeast which is a rich source of B vitamins and high grade protein; and a by-product in the alcohol distillation of wheat proved a new and cheap source of protein. Much research was done on milk, the consumption of liquid milk having risen in Great Britain by over 40 per cent, since 1939. Its chemical and nutritive value, especially its vitamin content, varies with the breed and health of the cow, and also seasonally, being lowest in early Spring. Great progress was made in the dehydration of many foods, new electronic methods being developed. It was found that the increased vitamin content of germinating seeds survives dehydration. Books included Harris and Thimann's "Vitamins and Hormones," Rutter's "Vitamins and Minerals," Bicknell and Prescott's "Vitamins in Medicine," Dewberry's "Food Poisoning," and Dack's "Food Poisoning."

Agriculture.—In Occupied Europe the production of crops has fallen by about 10 per cent., and of livestock by about 20 to 30 per cent., and much thought was devoted to the problems of restarting agriculture in the devastated regions. In Great Britain there was general acceptance of mechanisation and of ley farming, and it was realised that as national nutrition is bound up largely with milk production, this must play a primary role in future British farming. By the end of the year extensive tree-felling, the ploughing up of six million acres of grassland, and wide reclamations had produced a notable change in the agricultural face of Great Britain. The Rothamsted Experimental Station celebrated its centenary.

In animal husbandry more use was made of artificial insemination and hormone injection. The importance of trace elements in the soil for the health of grazing stock was stressed: "teart" disease was found to be due to molybdenum in the herbage and curable by copper sulphate treatment. In crop husbandry great advance was made, especially in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., in the application of photoperiodism; the use of hormones in plant culture; the vernalisation of economic plants; the use of complex organic compounds as herbicides; the improvement of yield and quality of crops; the breeding of new crop plants with new characters and able to meet special demands; and in the extension of cultivation to hitherto unproductive regions. There were interesting developments of practical potato culture from rose-ends, peelings, and detached eyes, sprouts and shoots. In Great Britain valuable work was done on the production of authenticated crop seed, and on ensilage and grass drying in relation to wastage of proteins and vitamins. Leaf analysis was developed as an index to soil fertility and, in the U.S.A., algae were recognised as an important factor in protecting soils from further erosion. The Luxmoore Report on "Post-War Agricultural Education in England and Wales" was published, and books included Dahlberg and Johansson's "Svenskt

Lantbrukslexikon," Scott and Paul's "Permanent Agriculture," Stapleton's "The Way of the Land," Peters' "Livestock Production," Prentice *et al.*, "American Dairy Cattle," Cox and Jackson's "Field Crops and the Land," Bather's "Field Crops," Bobbins *et al.*, "Weed Control," Chandler's "Deciduous Orchards," Merrill's "Emergency Food Plants and Poisonous Plants of the Islands of the Pacific," Fernald and Kinsey's "Edible Wild Plants of Eastern North America," and Hurst's "Poison Plants of New South Wales."

In plant disease much attention was given to nutritional deficiencies, and Wallace published "Diagnosis of Mineral Deficiencies in Plants." Interesting results were obtained by the use of specific bacterial antagonists in the protection of seedlings against attack by parasitic organisms. Study was made of wide crosses of rust and smut fungi and of the disease relations of the new forms. Investigation of the population shifts of physiologic races of wheat rust over a period of years stressed the basic importance of eliminating the alternate host in reducing the number of races and preventing the production of new ones. Many new cases of physiological specialisation were described, including the wart disease organism. Progress was made in the cyto-chemical interpretation of host-parasite relationships of fungi and bacteria. The methods of testing insecticides and fungicides were further standardised, and there was greater understanding of the principles underlying their action. Moore published a ten years' survey of "Diseases of Crop Plants in England and Wales," and Dodge and Bickett "Diseases and Pests of Ornamental Plants."

There was greater appreciation of the intimate relation of forestry to agriculture, especially in colonial administration and, in Great Britain, to bill-grazing requirements. Much research was done on forest products and their use in supplying cattle food, wood fuel, motor fuel, lubricants, textile material, fatty oils, etc. H.M. Forestry Commissioners published "Post-War Forest Policy," and books included Baxter's "Pathology in Forest Practice," and Record and Hess' "Timbers of the New World."

Botany.—Numerous monographs were published, and books included Blake and Atwood's "Geographical Guide to Floras of the World," Black's "Flora of South Australia, I," Webb's "Irish Flora," Baird's "Wild Violets of North America," Van Dersal's "Ornamental American Shrubs," Wulff's "Historical Plant Geography," Scott's "Bio Mayo Plants," Trochain's "Contribution a l'etude de la vegetation du Senegal," and Lloyd's "Carnivorous Plants." In England a Council for the Promotion of Field Studies was inaugurated. In Russia the Timiriazev Centenary was celebrated.

Plant physiologists advanced along classical lines and explored new ones. Synapsis and syngamy were recognised as important stimulating processes in plant development. New groups of physiologically active substances were discovered having formative effects on leaves as well as affecting cell enlargement. Work on increasing the activity of plant hormones by substituting halogen and other groups to activate the molecule found application in propagating plants from cuttings, preventing pre-harvest drop of fruits, inducing seedless fruits, inhibiting buds, and

regulating plant flowering. The importance of vitamins for normal plant growth and reproduction was recognised and used in elucidating problems of symbiosis and parasitism. In general, vitamins operate as coenzymes in plant respiration, which is catalysed by the same types of tetrapyrrolic compounds as are present in animal tissues, the cytochrome oxidase system being primarily responsible. For many plants the night temperature is an important factor influencing blossom induction and other reactions. Chemical tests for plant constituents which can be applied rapidly to the living plant were developed. A ten years old culture of excised tomato roots remained in excellent condition, and showed every evidence of potential immortality. Books included White's "Handbook of Plant Tissue Culture," Mayer and Cook's "Chemistry of Natural Colouring Matters," Meyer's "Natural and Synthetic High Polymers, IV," Jamieson's "Vegetable Fats and Oils," and Piper's "Soil and Plant Analysis."

Algal study revealed that the cell wall structure of *Valonia* is based on rhumb lines, and that diatoms and related plants contain chlorophylls different from those of land plants. A survey of the shores of Allied countries discovered new agar-producing seaweeds. Phytoplankton periodicity in Antarctic surface waters, and physiological aspects of Spring diatom flowerings were studied. Numerous monographs on the fungi were published, and books included Ainsworth and Bisby's "Dictionary of the Fungi," and Sparrow's "Aquatic Phycomycetes."

Microbiology and Disease.—Virology and chemotherapy again proved the most fruitful fields of research. All viruses so far purified have widely different properties and stabilities and are transmitted in different ways, but all are chemically similar nucleoproteins only varying significantly in their phosphorus and carbohydrate content. Some virus agents are simple, but others, like vaccinia, have a structural, chemical, and antigenic complexity comparable with many bacteria, making it probable that infective agents of basically different natures are to be found among the viruses. Infecting virus molecules may not necessarily function as exact patterns for reproduction, and a large proportion of certain functional groups of the virus molecule may be changed without appreciably altering the virus activity. On the other hand, promising results were obtained in the analysis of variation in viruses in relation to modification in their chemical structure. The constituent amino-acids of tobacco mosaic virus were determined: this virus kept twenty-eight years in a bottle was still able to produce disease. Evidence was submitted for a new theory of the evolution of phytopathogenic viruses from mitochondria and their derivatives.

Influenza viruses A and B have been isolated and studied: both consist of a lipo-protein complex containing nucleic acid, and electron micrography showed particles of A to be 77.6 m.u average diameter and of B, 98 m.u. The discovery of helminth intermediate hosts of the virus of swine influenza opened up promising new lines of work. In tumour formation each virus induces a specific type of tumour, whereas the type of tumour evoked by the carcinogens is primarily dependent upon the natural tendencies of the

host and the nature of the tissue to which the material is introduced. Although virus causation has not been proved for any mammalian malignant growth there was much indirect evidence that viruses may exist and multiply within the cells of a tumour from which no virus can be isolated. In immunisation against virus diseases advance was made in the substitution of inactivated for active virus. Promising results were obtained in the treatment of cancer by fast neutrons, and carcinoma of the prostate was successfully treated by oral administration of the synthetic oestrogen diethylstilboestrol.

In chemotherapy the focus of attention was the antibiotic substances produced by microbes. A large number of metabolic products of lower fungi were isolated in pure form, the chemical constitution of some of them was determined, and some were synthesised. The formation and function of antibiotic substances in the mould fungi seems to be linked with the enzymic oxidation of carbohydrate. More rapid and exact methods of penicillin assay were developed ; it was tried extensively in war treatments, and its crude application showed promise. Patulin seems to possess remarkable bacteriostatic properties, and gave promise in the treatment of the common cold where its action is apparently not on the virus but on the bacteria of the secondary stage of infection. Penatin was claimed to be more microbicidal than penicillin and to have a wider range of application. Clavacin seems to be especially lethal to plant pathogenic bacteria. Actinomycin is bactericidal but lethal to animals. Promising results were obtained in the " training " by cultural restriction of a soil bacillus to produce gramicidin. The routine use of the sulphonamides have made wound infections and gas gangrene relatively infrequent: simple tests were developed for hyaluronidase and lecithinase to detect wound infection. The sulphonamides and the diamidine compounds proved especially useful in the control of tropical diseases ; empyema was successfully treated by azochloramid plus sodium tetradecyl sulphate, and impetigo by sulphadiazine-methocel dressing; cattle mastitis was controlled by sulphanilamide. Evidence suggested a synergistic action in the simultaneous application of sulphapyridine and penicillin.

Increased attention was paid to the methods of spread of diseases and there was greater appreciation of the importance of air-borne infection, particularly within enclosed spaces: propylene glycol vapour showed promise as a chemical air steriliser. In the U.S.A. there was a serious outbreak of infantile paralysis, but its mode of spread remained obscure. It was discovered that leprosy can be transmitted by the bite of common ticks. Important work was done in India on the effect of climate on animal disease.

Of other fields of microbiology interesting results were obtained in the study of the biology of the bacteria sewage bed ; the physiology of microbial metabolism; the decomposition of hydrocarbons by soil microbes; the widespread occurrence of micro-organisms in apparently healthy fruits and seeds; microbial antagonism and synergism; the clarification of nomenclature, especially of bacterial plant pathogens ; and the application of an improved electron microscope to the study of virus and bacterial

structure. There was further evidence that bacteria contain nuclear apparatus comparable with that of higher organisms, and that their life histories may be complex. Important applications of microbiology were made to industrial and war-time problems. Numerous monographs in this general field were published, and books included Wright's "Studies on Immunisation, I," Boyd's "Fundamentals of Immunology," Rivers *et al.*, "Virus Diseases," Seiffert's "Virus Diseases in Man, Animal and Plant," Dieuaide's "Civilian Health in War-Time," Huddleson *et al.*, "Brucellosis in Man and Animals," Hagan's "Infectious Diseases of Domestic Animals," the U.S.A. Yearbook of Agriculture, 1942, "Keeping Livestock Healthy," Moulton *et al.*, "Aerobiology," and Jensen's "Microbiology of Meats."

Social Biology.—Many conferences were held on the planning of science and on the place and function of science and the scientist in the community and in the national and international order. Scientific workers are concerned with the accumulation and acceptance of ordered knowledge, but they are also concerned, as citizens, with the application of this knowledge for the good of the people. To these ends there is need for a much more efficient organisation not only of the scientific community itself but of its relations with the society and nation of which it forms a part. Science is now becoming well organised for war, but many problems of war are problems of peace which should have been solved long ago, and there are many social problems whose solution is well known but has been prevented from being put into effect by public ignorance and vested interests. It must be realised in peace as well as in war that to neglect science is to court disaster. There was demand for an organisation to co-ordinate the results of scientific research on human institutions and human needs and to bring these results to bear on the formation of public policy. There is also clear need for a re-casting of education such as will give science, as the modern humanity, its proper and central place at every stage. In reconstruction, which is essentially the planning for controlled behaviour in large populations, the biologist, particularly the social anthropologist and the psychologist, must play a primary role. Especially must the needs of youth be emphasised, and we must give the young a social philosophy which recognises that society is a means and not an end, and a technique by which they can discover those ends which they can accept with intellectual integrity as making society worth while.

In the consideration of physical and mental disorders two lines of thought received emphasis. There was increased recognition of the Hippocratic teaching that in forming a judgment on the outcome of illness not only the individual nature of the patient but also his physiological, social, and psychological environment must be taken into account. There was greater appreciation of the complex causation of behaviour disorders which result in delinquency, of the necessity of its psychological, educational, and social study, and of its early recognition and psychotherapeutic treatment.

Among other important developments were the removal of the taboo on public discussion of venereal disease, sex, and sexual behaviour, which was reflected in a Board of Education publication, "Sex Education in

Schools and Youth Organisations " ; the general recognition of the importance of population trends, which led to the setting up of a Royal Commission of Enquiry ; and the munificent foundation of the Nuffield Trust to cover problems in the broad field of social biology. A flood of pamphlets was published on these subjects and books included Carr-Saunders *et al.*, " Young Offenders," Titmuss' " Birth, Poverty, and Wealth," Becker *et al.*, " Marriage and the Family," Riser's " Group Differences in Urban Fertility," and " Our Towns : a Close-Up," by the Hygiene Committee of the Women's Group on Public Welfare.

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES

The continued decrease in the quantity of publishable research in the physical sciences was well illustrated by the content of the correspondence pages in *Nature*. The space allotted to correspondence remained about the same as in pre-war days, but the subject-matter was largely biological in character. Much attention was given to educational matters, and an admirable summary of the views of members of the Institute of Physics on the future training of physicists was provided by Professor Crowther in the *Journal of Scientific Instruments* (Jan., 1943). In Astronomy rival theories of the formation of the solar system excited some interest, and the controversy concerning the origin and nature of cosmic rays continued without any general agreement being attained. Millikan, Neher, and Pickering upheld their theory that the energy of the rays is maintained by the occasional complete transformation, in interstellar space, of the rest-mass energy of atoms of helium, carbon, nitrogen, and other elements, each transformation producing an electron pair, though an occasional photon pair or heavier particle is not excluded (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 364). Evidence in support of the hypothesis is provided by the distribution of cosmic ray energy over the earth's surface since each type of transformation produces rays of definite energy which first appear at a definite latitude. For example, the transformation of the rest-mass of a helium atom into two electrons produces 1.88 billion electron-volts and the corresponding rays should appear in latitude 54° N. Experimental observations indicate that such rays enter between 51.3° N. and 56° N. Many confirmatory observations were made in Mexico and the U.S.A. (*Phys. Rev.*, April, *Nature*, June 5). Swann (*Phys. Rev.*, March) gave reasons for supposing that the primary rays responsible for the generation of the mesons observable at sea-level and semi-high altitudes are protons ; but that heavier particles, possibly singly ionised helium atoms, are responsible for special effects observed at high altitudes. Schein and Iona (*Phys. Rev.*, Jan.), using cosmic ray balloon apparatus, obtained results which they regarded as confirming that the main part of the primary cosmic ray radiation does not consist of electrons. Wilson and Hughes (*Phys. Rev.*, March), working at various depths down to 582 metres at the Isle Royale copper mine in Michigan, with counters and a cloud chamber, obtained results which were all consistent with the hypothesis that cosmic rays underground are mesons accompanied by electronic secondaries. The

data at the greatest depth were not sufficient to rule out the possible existence there of high energy protons. Janossy and Rochester (*Roy. Soc. Proc.* July) described experiments which demonstrated the existence of a very penetrating non-ionising component of cosmic radiation at sea-level. This radiation has a mean range of 10 cm. in lead and may consist of neutrons.

Hamilton, Heitler, and Peng (*Phys. Rev.*, Aug.) gave a mathematical account of the formation of mesons by proton-proton collisions. They assumed that the primary cosmic rays consist of protons "in accordance with geomagnetic evidence."

Gamow (*J. Wash. Acad. Sci.*, Dec, 1942) pointed out that contemporary nuclear processes taking place in the stars are incapable of accounting for the observed abundance of the heavy elements, and suggested that a few thousand million years ago primitive super-dense matter may have contained nuclei heavier than uranium, and that these nuclei may have broken up by fission into two or more parts with the emission of neutrons.

Nereson and Rossi (*Phys. Rev.*, Oct.), from further measurements on the disintegration curve of mesons, concluded that their mean rest-life is 2.3 ± 0.2 microseconds. Nielsen and Powell (*Phys. Rev.*, May) made simultaneous observations of the ionisation and momentum of mesons in a Wilson cloud chamber on Mt. Evans at a height of 14,000 ft. From 900 photographs four suitable tracks were obtained, and these gave values for the mass of a meson varying from 145 ± 30 to 230 ± 20 times that of the electron.

An address on the fundamental particles of physics given by Bhabha to the Indian Congress of Science in January was summarised by Fowler (*Nature*, June 5). Bhabha's programme for the formulation of a relativistic quantum theory involves: (a) three "light" particles—electron, positron, and neutrino—with charges $-e$, $+e$ and 0, the first pair having equal masses and equal magnetic dipole moments, the mass of the neutrino being very small, and possibly 0; (b) three heavy point particles, proton, negative proton, and neutron, with corresponding properties; (c) a set or sets of intermediate and unstable particles—mesons—having charges $\pm e$, and a mass about 170 times that of the electron. These unstable particles suffer spontaneous conversion into electrons and neutrinos. Milne contributed papers to the *Phil. Mag.* in which he showed that a point charge ceases to behave as a Coulomb centre of force at distances comparable with $e_1 e_2 / mc^2$, and deduced the existence of systems corresponding to the neutron by classical relativistic methods, assuming only the Coulomb inverse square law.

Shull, Chase, and Myers (*Phys. Rev.*, Jan.) investigated the polarisation of electrons when scattered by atomic nuclei (*i.e.* scattered so that more spin axes point in one direction than in any other). A 400 kev. beam of electrons was projected on to a gold foil 4.1×10^{-5} cm. thick set at 45° to the beam. The electrons scattered in a direction at right angles to the original beam fell on a similar foil parallel to the first and the electrons scattered by this foil in directions parallel to and antiparallel to the initial beam fell on suitably placed Geiger counters. A polarisation asymmetry of

8 per cent, was observed—more electrons being scattered in the antiparallel direction. Trounson and Simpson, working in the same laboratory with apparatus of different design, obtained a similar result.

A conference on X-ray analysis in Industry, arranged by the Institute of Physics, was held at Cambridge on April 9-10. Among the topics discussed were : (a) The magnitude of the X unit commonly used as the unit for X-ray wave-lengths. This X unit is based on Siegbahn's determination of the lattice-constant of calcite at 18° C, but is sometimes defined as 10^{-11} cm. It now appears that it differs from this latter length by about 0.2 per cent. (b) The effect of temperature on the intensity of X-ray reflections from crystal lattices. It is now evident that the change in intensity with temperature is due, not to the motion of the individual atoms, but to the effect on the superlattices of the elastic waves, within the crystal, characteristic of its temperature, (c) To the distortion of the X-ray reflection patterns produced by cold-working. This is due partly to fragmentation and partly to variations of the lattice parameter.

Born and his collaborators started a series of papers on the thermodynamics of crystal lattices and published the first three in *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.*, 39, Pt. 2. Boyes-Watson and Perutz described the result of their X-ray analysis of the haemoglobin molecule (*Nature*, June 26—see also Bragg, *Nature*, May 15). It is a dumb-bell shaped platlet 36Å X 64Å X 48Å, and is probably built up of four parallel layers of scattering matter rather less than 9Å apart. Bailey, Astbury, and Rudall (*Nature*, June 26) investigated the change which occurs when fibrinogen changes to fibrin during the clotting of blood, showing, *inter alia*, that both substances belong to the keratin-myosin group of fibrous materials. Fibrin is an insoluble modification of fibrinogen without any change of molecular plan.

Freed, Jaffey, and Schultz (*Phys. Rev.*, Jan.) investigated the effect of very great centrifugal fields, of the order of 10^6 g., on the rate of decay of naturally radioactive substances. No definite alteration of the decay periods was detectable. Beers (*Phys. Rev.*, Feb.) made a direct measurement of the charge on beta-particles from radium E. The value obtained was $4.80_0 \pm 0.03_5 \times 10^{-10}$ e.s.u. The half-life of radium E was found to be 4.99 days.

Glockler (*Rev. Mod. Phys.*, April) described the work done on the Raman effect in the period July, 1939, to July, 1942. The report concluded with a bibliography containing 507 references.

In his *Annual Report* to the Board of Visitors of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the Astronomer Royal stated that, while astronomical work at the Observatory had been reduced to a minimum, the Nautical Almanac Office had been very busy with Service needs, *e.g.* in extending the astronomical navigation tables to 79° N. New editions of the Admiralty magnetic charts were published, computed values being used in drawing isomagnetic curves for polar areas where observations are scanty. The *Report* foreshadowed the replacement of the pendulum clocks used for the standard time service by quartz clocks.

Hubble (*Astrophys. J.*, March) found that in all the fifteen nebulae for

which data are available the direction of rotation is that indicated by the hypothesis that the arms of the spirals trail behind them. Hunter (*Nature*, July 17) stated that careful observations of the apparent motion of stars over a long period of years has shown that two possess invisible companions of such small mass (ten to sixteen times that of Jupiter) that they may be regarded as planets. It is suggested that systematic observation would soon suffice to show whether such planets are as rare as hitherto supposed.

Nature (Aug. 7), quoting from a paper by Waldmeier (*Z. Astrophys.*, 1942), states that it has at last been possible to photograph a star situated within a few minutes of arc of the sun's limb. If the technique can be developed to permit of accurate measurements on the photographs, it will be possible to test the Einstein prediction of the deflexion of light rays by the gravitational field of the sun in a much more satisfactory manner than by measurements on photographs taken during an eclipse.

Using recent determinations of the isotope ratios of lead and uranium and of the decay constants of uranium (235) and actino-uranium, Koczy (*Nature*, Jan. 2) finds the age of uranium isotopes to be 5.33×10^9 years. This result is of the same order as that found by Paneth for the maximum age of iron meteorites (7.8×10^9 years).

Appleton (*Nature*, May 1) gave an account of the ionospheric measurements made by himself and Naismith during the eleven-year solar cycle, 1931-42. The ionisation in the E and F_1 layers increased by 50 to 60 per cent, from sunspot minimum to sunspot maximum, while that in the F_2 layer showed an even greater change. The results indicate that the range of short wave-lengths available for radrocommunication increases very considerably with solar activity.

Tolansky (*Phil. Mag.*, Aug.) described sharp non-localised interference fringes obtained when diverging waves from a small source are allowed to pass through a Fabry-Perot etalon and thence to a screen. The fringes are of large diameter, exhibit high resolving power and dispersion, and should be useful for the detection and evaluation of hyperfine structure. Greenland (*Nature*, Sept. 11), in a lecture to the Optical Group of the Physical Society, discussed the use of non-reflecting films in optical instruments. A film whose optical thickness is one-quarter of the wave-length of green light and whose refractive index is equal to the square root of that of the glass over which it is spread, reflects, for small angles of incidence, no green light and less than 1 per cent, of the incident red or violet, all the non-reflected light going into the transmitted beam. The value of the refractive index of the film is not critical, and silica, sodium aluminium fluoride, and magnesium fluoride are commonly used. The procedure is a development of a discovery made by the late Dennis Taylor in 1892.

In the *J. Opt. Soc. of America* (Feb.) Beggs gave an interesting description of light sources suitable for activating luminescent materials, and Hardy a useful and simple account of flux calculations in optical systems. *Nature* (Jan. 16) contained a summary of the papers on the chemical and physical properties of luminescent materials read before the Colour Group

of the Physical Society in December, 1942. Shaxby (*Phil Mag.*, May) discussed sensory energy and propounded a new theory of colour vision which does not require that there should be separate receptors for each of three primary colours.

Tucker (*Phil. Mag.*, April) described a method for finding the velocity of sound in gases and vapours by the use of a closed double resonator and a hot-wire microphone. The recommendations of a Committee appointed in May, 1932, to consider acoustical terminology were reported in the *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* (July, 1942).

Hammer (*Geophysics*) gave a mathematical analysis of the physical factors which cause the magnitude of the acceleration due to gravity to change on passing from the equator to the poles. The changes due to the essential factors are : centripetal acceleration 4- 3-39, decrease in distance from centre of earth + 6.63, " mas-shape effect " due to polar flattening — 4-85, all in cm. per sec.². Klopsteg (*Am. J. Phys.*, Aug.) gave a most interesting account of the physics of archery.

Rawlins (*Nature*, Jan. 30) discussed the many problems presented by the storage of pictures from the National Gallery under strictly controlled conditions of temperature and humidity in a deep underground shelter.

Sherman (*Elect. Comm.*) stated that the Industrial Electronics Division of the Federal Telephone and Radio Corporation, U.S.A., had devised an electronic method for the dehydration of vegetables and whole milk. The process is not more costly than those usually employed, leaves only 1 per cent, of the water content of the hydrated material, and so produces materials with exceptionally good keeping qualities. The Report of the New Zealand Department of Scientific Research for 1941-42 showed that the first commercial plants for the dehydration of butter, vegetables, and meat in that country came into operation during the period covered by the Report. Loasby (*Text. Inst. Manchester*), describing the properties of nylon, stated that it mixes well with wool, and is particularly suitable for fabrics in which strength, lightness, and quick drying are desired.

At the first meeting of the newly formed Association for Scientific Photography held at the Royal Institution on June 5, Miss K. C. Clark described how, by photographing images formed by X-rays on fluorescent screens, it is possible to obtain, quickly and cheaply, photographs of the lungs of large numbers of people for tuberculosis tests.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1943

IN 1943 Finance and Commerce continued to be subordinated to the needs of war. These remained as exacting as ever, but because of the experience gained, the measures adopted to fulfil these needs became steadily more efficient and the national effort rapidly approached its maximum. So much had been accomplished in marshalling the resources of the Empire that new demands were relatively light. Most of them were little more than adjustments rendered necessary or desirable as a result of minor changes in the economic or political situation of the Allied Powers. One or two of these changes brought a little relief in certain directions, but none were sufficient to have a material influence on trade and commerce. Virtually the whole of industry continued to be engaged in providing the essential needs of the day under Government direction, while trade in other channels remained limited both in scope and character.

Prices for almost all raw materials continued to be officially regulated, and supplies allocated under a system of priorities, the first of which were munitions. Goods manufactured for civilian use were subjected to similar regulation and their consumption curtailed by rationing. But in spite of the severe handicaps imposed thereby industrial output steadily increased, and in many directions reached record dimensions, all labour being fully employed. Because of the limitations imposed on profits the rewards of industry were, on the whole, well out of keeping with its achievements, and, so long as the war continued, no change in this respect could be expected. It was under these circumstances that the industrial community became more and more concerned with the future than with the present. For while the work on hand was well calculated to accomplish its immediate purpose of defeating the Axis Powers, much less confidence was felt as to the problems to be expected on the restoration of peace. The omission of the Government to give a lead in this direction was itself regarded as a measure of the difficulties which may be expected, while its contention that the controls would need to be continued until well after the signing of peace merely tended to aggravate the problem.

In order to finance the purchase of essential materials, vast amounts of overseas investments had been sold since the outbreak of war. In other cases debtors, who had been able to improve their economic position as a result of the conflict, redeemed their obligations on a very substantial scale, notably the Dominions. Industry in these and many foreign countries had derived an enormous stimulus from the war and consequently were now able to provide for themselves many manufactured articles formerly imported. These developments would automatically reduce the demand for shipping, a service which, hitherto, has been invaluable in helping to balance the country's international account. Many other facts tended to increase the uneasiness felt with the advent of peace, not the least being that despite official efforts to counteract them, costs of

production were steadily increasing, often to such an extent that the Government was obliged to sanction higher prices in order to safeguard manufacturers against loss. Meanwhile, the anxiety felt with regard to possible post-war developments was increased by the reluctance of the authorities to define their intentions in any but the vaguest terms. For beyond the appointment, late in the year, of Lord Woolton as Minister of Reconstruction, and the re-assertion that official control would need to be retained in many spheres for some years after the termination of hostilities, there was little evidence that the Government's plans for rehabilitating the economic life of the community had got much further than hopes based on good intentions.

In nearly all other respects, however, the year was one of undoubted progress, and public morale was never higher. The accumulation of arms and munitions was such that quite early in the year the Axis forces were obliged to resume their retreat on both the Russian and North African fronts. On the former, the retreat was more or less continuous almost to the frontiers of Poland, while on the latter the advance, although less striking, was equally encouraging. For not only were the enemy forces eliminated from the African continent by the end of April but, early in July, landings were effected in Sicily. Shortly afterwards the attack was carried to the Italian mainland, and in spite of far stronger opposition, much the greater part of Southern Italy was in Allied hands by the close of the year. These successes were overshadowed in the first six months by a determined resumption of enemy operations at sea, which again threatened to have serious consequences for Allied communications and supplies. Fortunately, counter measures were prompt and effective and public confidence was never seriously impaired.

This was strengthened by the fact that the Budget closed with results distinctly better than anticipated, revenue being 2,819,850,800/. against an estimated figure of 2,627,100,000/. The increase on 1941-42 was 745,793,000/., of which 224,719,000/. was due to a free gift from the Dominion of Canada. The yield of income tax was, for the first time, in excess of 1,000,000,000/., the increase on the year being 237,171,000l. at 1,006,828,000/. Both the excise duties and the Excess Profits Tax recorded advances of almost 100,000,000/., closely followed by customs duties which, at 459,489,000/., were 81,218,000/. more than in the previous year. Equally satisfactory was that the cost of debt services was 14,000,000/. smaller than anticipated and, although Votes of Credit for the Supply Services were ultimately raised from 4,500,000,000/. to 4,900,000,000/., actual disbursements were no more than 4,840,000,000/. Total expenditure of 5,637,366,700/., although 861,673,000/. above that of 1941-42 was, nevertheless, 70,138,300/. below the estimated figure, notwithstanding the fact that the original calculations were ultimately raised from 5,286,000,000/. to 5,707,505,000/. Thus the deficit on the year increased from 2,701,637,000 to 2,817,516,000/. This was covered to the extent of 1,607,000,000/. by public subscriptions to various loans, including 364,000,000/. from Savings Certificates and 3 per cent. Defence Bonds, 535,000,000/. from National War Bonds, 456,000,000/. from 3 per cent. Savings Bonds, and 252,000,000l.

from Tax Reserve Certificates. These contributions left a balance of 1,210,516,000/. of which 784,680,000/. was obtained from an increase in the Floating Debt which thus rose to 4,096,915,000/., the balance being raised from other quarters. A gratifying feature was that half the national expenditure was met by taxes as against only 42½ per cent, in the previous year. In an effort to maintain the higher ratio, the new Budget imposed additional duties on several less essential but popular goods and services, largely with a view to still further curtailing consumption and lessening the disparity between direct and indirect taxation. Nevertheless, concessions were granted in several directions, especially to those with limited means. Outstanding among these was to deduct income tax weekly from the earnings of those calculated on that basis, while the Excess Profits Tax was amended to remove some of the inequalities of that measure. But, in spite of these concessions, it was calculated that the revenue would increase by some 88,000,000/. to 2,907,500,000/. At the close of the year 1,837,364,136l. had been obtained, or 70,766,539Z. more than in the like period of 1942. All the chief sources again showing a substantial advance. Expenditure was estimated to reach 5,756,114,000/., as against an actual outlay of 5,623,168,000/. in 1942-43. By December 31 it had amounted to 4,226,175,524/., some 170,694,739/. more than at the close of 1942, and the proportion met by taxes was again 43-4 per cent. With a prospective deficit of some 2,849,000,000/. the need for savings remained as urgent as ever, and the national campaign for this purpose was continued on an ever-widening scale.

An interesting disclosure was that the flow of goods and services under the Lease-Lend agreement with the United States had ceased to be unilateral. For since the outbreak of war, Britain had purchased 1,500,000,000/. of supplies from that country, and had spent 150,000,000/. on establishments for her troops. In addition, 1,600,000 tons of construction materials were provided in the later months of 1942, together with other supplies which would have involved 1,200,000 tons of shipping and made available a further 700,000 tons for American troops. Russia, too, had received some 170,000,000/. of munitions. It was also revealed that in order to meet local expenses in the East, 400,000,000/. to 500,000,000/. a year were being borrowed from the countries concerned. But such was the need of further credits overseas that the Government was obliged to requisition some 31,000,000/. of Indian railway stocks, while approximately 42,000,000/. were disbursed in respect of South African securities acquired in 1942.

The railways continued to handle an ever-increasing volume of traffic and, despite the complexities of the situation which added considerably to expenses, net receipts were expected to reach 120,000,000/. as against 89,126,000/. in the previous year. In terms of the agreement with the Government only some 44,000,000/. would fall to the stockholders, but efforts to obtain a more equitable share were unsuccessful.

Meanwhile, trading conditions were much as they were in 1942, and although the turnover of civilian merchandise continued to shrink as a result of the cumulative effect of rationing, profits were invariably sufficient to allow all a reasonable return on the capital employed.

Exports were understood to have been somewhat larger than in the preceding year, chiefly to the Middle East and South America, primarily because the completion of many constructive schemes released a certain volume of both labour and materials at a time when the shipping position had become somewhat easier.

Money Market and Banking.—Banking operations in 1943 continued to be dominated by circumstances arising from the war. Although these remained much as they were in 1942 they led to the establishment of several new records, the chief outcome of which was that the banks' liquid resources rose to an abnormally high level. As in the preceding year, the records were primarily the result of the steady outflow of Government funds for the purposes of the war. This was calculated to average some 15,900,000/. per day, barely half of which was obtained from taxes. The turnover of funds was such that the London Bankers' Clearing House handled a total of 57,107,109,0002. This was 17·3 per cent, more than the high record reached in the previous year. Part of the increase was due to a further rise in prices, another factor being the expansion in industrial production which all but reached its maximum. Demand for goods and services remained sufficient to absorb all that were available, and there was a further notable decline in the number of business failures from 566 to 391. But in spite of the efforts made to limit both prices and consumption the demand for currency continued to expand, and it became necessary to raise the fiduciary issue three times to the record level of 1,100,000,000/. Nevertheless, the expansion of 165,252,2792. in the note circulation, which reached its highest of 1,088,681,9481. at the close of the year, was 6,451,52511. smaller than in 1942, notwithstanding the influx of large numbers of Allied and Dominion troops. Bank deposits continued to increase with almost monotonous regularity, and although the growth was checked in the first three months by the collection of taxes, deposits of the eleven London Clearing Banks passed 4,000,000,0001. for the first time on record. The increase on the year of 403,089,0001., which compared with a rise of 299,466,000/. in the previous year, was partly at the expense of Tax Reserve Certificates. This was probably due to the rising trend of costs reducing the profits on which taxes are computed, for there was no reason to believe they were any less attractive to taxpayers than formerly. The rise in deposits was again unaccompanied by any increase in loans. From March their decline was almost unbroken, until in November they reached the lowest on record of 723,962,000/. Although there was a sharp recovery in the following month the decline on the year was almost 30,000,000/., and their ratio to deposits was only 18·4 per cent. This further decline in the most remunerative of all banking assets accentuated the problem of finding suitable employment for the increased resources of the banks. Fortunately, the need was not an acute one, for although rates for money remained low and expenses continued to rise the larger turnover of funds provided sufficient profits, not only to maintain dividends but permit of substantial additions to reserves. Additions to investments, however, which rank second to those of loans from the earnings standpoint, was only 33,396,000/. as against an increase of 121,591,000/. in the previous year.

The increase was little more than the fall in loans, and the two items together accounted for only 47 per cent, of deposits. All the increase in deposits was thus diverted into the more liquid of assets, and, for the first time in banking history, the combined ratio of these assets to deposits exceeded those of loans and investments. Much the greater part were absorbed by Treasury Deposit Receipts which, recovering from a sharp relapse at mid-summer, rose rapidly to record dimensions, the total outstanding at the close of the year being 1,401,000,000/., an increase of 434,500,000/.. This rise of 45 per cent, was accompanied by a further decline in the bill portfolio of no less than 33 per cent., to 132,614,000/., in spite of the increase of 282,015,000/. in Treasury Bills. A substantial part of this increase was absorbed by the discount houses, several of which strengthened their positions by increasing their capitals or amalgamating with, others.

Interest in post-war finance was stimulated by several schemes formulated by various authorities. Two were outstanding, one by Lord Keynes proposed an International Clearing Union, and the other, attributed to Mr. Harry White of the United States Treasury, suggested a World Stabilisation Fund. Important differences in the two plans militated against any real progress with either.

New Capital Issues.—Appeals for new capital for any other than national purposes was again prohibited in 1943. Apart from direct subscriptions to Government issues, the total raised for such purposes was, however, almost double that of the previous year. Much of it was for rationalising the capital structures of companies whose activities were of importance to the war effort, such as coal, oil, and engineering, and others which found it necessary to enlarge their operations. As some were working abroad, there was a resumption of borrowing from overseas for the first time in three years. In addition, a considerable volume of low interest-bearing stocks were issued in place of those carrying higher rates. An exceptional issue involving no new money was that of 36,500,0002. of 3 per cent. Bonds. These were issued to owners of coal royalties whose rights were taken over by the Government. Meanwhile, the campaign for national savings was vigorously maintained. A Wings for Victory Week was held in all parts of the country, and the total raised thereby was 615,000,0002., some 70,000,0002. more than the similar Warships Week held the previous year. Altogether a grand total of 2,006,922,9002. was obtained by the Government with various loans as against 1,685,455,5002. in 1942. Savings in the smaller denominations increased from 622,658,5382. to 843,357,2692., of which 399,461,4742. was from increased deposits in the Savings Banks. Subscriptions to the larger bonds rose from 1,052,756,0002. to 1,154,507,1202., the 3 per cent. Savings Bonds providing 483,682,2722. and the 2½ per cent. National War Bonds 670,824,8482. A further 9,058,5112. which compared with 10,040,9682., was loaned to the Government free of interest.

Foreign Exchanges.—Largely because of the Allied successes in North Africa, which permitted a freer movement of goods, business in the foreign exchange market was a little more active. No material change, however,

NEW CAPITAL ISSUES

	1943	1942.	1941.
United Kingdom	£ 7,059,000	£ 3,871,000	£ 1,927,000
Other British Countries including India and Ceylon	645,000	36,000	399,000
Foreign Countries	879,000		
Total	8,583,000	3,907,000	2,326,000
Percentage for Overseas Borrowers	10-24	0-9	15

MONEY AND DISCOUNT RATES

1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
BANK RATE AVERAGE.				
£ 8. d. 2 5 3	£ s. d. 2 0 0	£ 8. d. 2 0 0	£ s. d. 2 0 0	£ 2 s. d. 2 0 0
DISCOUNT RATE (THREE MONTHS' BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.				
1 4 5½	1 0 10	1 0 7	1 0 7½	1 0 8
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.				
0 13 7½	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.				
0 19 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
TREASURY BILL (TENDER) RATE AVERAGE.				
1 4 3.6	1 0 6-6	1 0 1-5	1 0 0-82	1 0 0.83

BANK OF ENGLAND RETURNS

	End December, 1943	End December, 1942.	End December, 1941.
Coin and bullion	£ 1,156,190	£ 1,112,691	£ 538,576
Note circulation	1,088,681,948	923,429,669	751,725,865
Public deposits :—			
Bankers'	234,274,273	223,402,159	219,864,653
Other accounts	60,355,993	48,820,957	54,072,246
Reserve (notes and coin) .	12,474,242	27,683,022	28,812,711
Ratio	4.09 per cent.	9.84 per cent.	14.5 per cent.
Government securities :—			
Discounts and advances	2,473,482	3,481,018	6,365,499
Securities	15,916,160	25,758,075	27,233,390

LONDON BANKERS' CLEARING HOUSE RETURNS

	1943.	1942.	Increase or Decrease on 1942.
	£		
First quarter .	14,203,867,000	12,906,299,000	+ 1,297,568,000 (100 per cent.)
Second quarter	14,123,458,000	11,403,877,000	+ 2,719,581,000 (23.8 per cent.)
Third quarter	14,343,285,000	11,513,346,000	4- 2,829,939,000 (24.5 per cent.)
Fourth quarter	14,436,499,000	12,833,298,000	+ 1,603,201,000 (12.4 per cent.)
Grand total .	57,107,109,000	48,656,820,000	+ 8,450,289,000 (17.3 percent.)

LONDON CLEARING BANKS' MONTHLY RETURNS

	(000's omitted)				
	Deposits.	Bills Discounted	Treasury Deposit Receipts.	Advances	Investments
1943	£	£	£	£	£
January	3,576,616	197,408	935,000	758,720	1,112,180
February	3,524,881	147,985	932,500	761,504	1,108,452
March	3,541,912	172,478	883,500	776,625	1,132,393
April .	3,545,095	128,425	963,500	756,390	1,136,754
May .	3,565,601	154,079	923,500	757,244	1,150,344
June .	3,630,403	235,982	858,500	743,932	1,158,993
July .	3,627,871	243,947	899,500	742,707	1,162,107
August	3,670,008	231,553	956,500	731,580	1,162,424
September	3,737,036	208,739	1,044,500	733,294	1,160,104
October	3,812,688	181,028	1,135,000	739,872	1,158,133
November	3,864,550	183,876	1,186,500	723,962	1,166,863
December .	4,031,710	132,614	1,307,000	743,040	1,153,625

PROVINCIAL CLEARING FIGURES

Town.	Amount, 1943.	Increase or Decrease on 1942.	
	£	£	per cent.
Birmingham	108,783,000	- 19,445,000	or 15.1
Bradford	97,143,000	- 9,201,000	or 8.6
Bristol	33,390,000	- 67,974,000	or 67.0
Hull .	29,518,900	- 9,269,000	or 23.8
Leeds .	57,327,000	+ 130,000	or 0.2
Leicester	41,392,000	- 2,219,000	or 5.0
Liverpool	235,639,000	- 3,708,000	or 1.5
Manchester	415,508,000	- 206,448,000	or 33.1
Newcastle-on-Tyne	79,768,000	+ 4,066,000	or 5.3
Nottingham	22,353,000	- 1,709,000	or 7.1
Sheffield	47,081,000	+ 42,579,000	or 7.9

FLOATING DEBT

	Dec. 31, 1943.	Dec. 31, 1942.
	£	£
Ways and Means Advances :—		
By Bank of England	65,250,000	67,750,000
By Public Departments	366,960,000	161,585,000
Treasury Bills outstanding	3,115,200,000	2,833,185,000
Treasury Deposits by Banks	1,401,000,000	966,500,000
Total	4,948,410,000	4,029,020,000

was made in the regulations governing transactions, and rates for all the chief currencies in which dealings were permitted remained as they were in 1942. Among others, Spanish pesetas were raised from 40-50 to 44-00, and the withdrawal of an official quotation for Argentine pesos was followed by an improvement in the rate for sterling special account at Buenos Aires to around 16-00. Chinese dollars also became a firmer market on the news that Britain and the United States had ceded their extra-territorial rights in that country.

Gold and Silver.—Because of the restrictions imposed on the use and transfers of the metals, operations in the bullion market were again of a very modest order. Gold was unchanged at 168s. per fine ounce, and silver, which was again in considerable demand for industrial purposes, remained at 23½d. per ounce. In Bombay, however, speculative operations became so marked that the Government was frequently obliged to authorise the sale of gold in an effort to counter inflation, and prices for both gold and silver fluctuated widely. In Alexandria, the authorities made a similar decision and business was also more active, while Chile decided to resume the minting of gold coins. South Africa reported that the gold output in 1943 declined from 14,120,617 ounces to 12,799,518 ounces.

The Stock Exchange.—The trend of stock markets in 1943 was not unlike that of the preceding year, and the reasons were that circumstances were similar. Thus the disposition to favour industrial equities at the expense of investment descriptions became accentuated, until prices reached a level that discounted the future in a very liberal manner. Speculative operations were then diverted to securities whose chief attractions were not yields but the prospect of capital appreciation on the return of peace. Although the mainspring of this movement was again the pressure of money, which necessarily continued to flow freely from the coffers of the Treasury, it gained much from the fact that the Allied forces commenced to make consistent progress on nearly all fronts. Confidence steadily strengthened, and business expanded to a total which was probably the largest since the war began. Prices advanced in almost all directions, except for long-dated Government stocks, the preference being for those which promised repayment during the next few years. This was due to the prospect that peace would bring a keen demand for ready money. In the foreign bond market, the course of events was much less favourable,

for although speculative support lifted many stocks of enemy occupied countries to substantially higher levels, much disappointment was caused by the terms on which several South American countries proposed to resume their debt payments. These appeared to be far less than those considered possible, especially as these countries were among those to gain most from the opportunities the war had presented. But these circumstances, however, led to a modest improvement in some of the railway stocks, the rise being limited by the increase in their expenses.

British railways also advanced, partly because of the yields they offered, but still more to their exceptional performance in the national service, which was felt to warrant appropriate recognition in due course. The reopening of the Mediterranean to Allied interests stimulated attention in oil companies of that area, hopes in that direction being confirmed by the Anglo-Iranian Company raising its dividend to the pre-war level of 20 per cent., while the Burmah Oil Company exceeded expectations by maintaining theirs at 12½ per cent. Meanwhile, the intense activity reported from the Trinidad group was accompanied by talk of mergers, while progress in Venezuela obliged the Ultramar Company to raise fresh capital. Rubber shares responded to the more encouraging outlook in the Far East, but interest was limited by the uncertainty felt as to what effect the synthetic article would have on the future, the importance of which was reflected in the decision to abandon the regulation scheme. As the extra allowances granted producers did not always meet the rise in costs, tea shares were unsettled and dividends were often disappointing. Aircraft and shipping shares, too, were prejudiced by the uncertainty felt with the post-war outlook. This was in contrast with that for textiles, where the possibility of demand reaching record dimensions caused a general advance in prices. Similar considerations helped the motor, building, and electrical groups, but the public utility issues were adversely affected by talk of nationalisation. Food and catering descriptions continued upward because of the essential character of their services, and the results achieved despite severe rationing, while beer and tobacco, which have come to be regarded as essentials rather than as luxuries, improved for a like reason.

Banking, insurance, and investment descriptions continued to attract support, mainly on their status and the volume of money seeking employment, a factor which also helped to advance the leading units of the miscellaneous market. As air raids were no longer responsible for widespread damage shares in property owning companies made further headway, but the difficulties anticipated on the restoration of peace restrained interest in coal, iron, steel, and similar issues. Diamond shares were outstanding among mines, largely because of the exceptional sales of the stones, which were estimated to have increased from 10,500,000l. in 1942 to 20,000,000l. Steps were taken to increase the output, and dividends were substantially higher. Although operations were handicapped by insufficient labour, shortage of materials and additional taxes which, together, obliged a reduction of some 10 per cent, in the output, with its inevitable effect on dividends, gold shares also improved. This was largely because former impressions that monetary management in the post-war era might lead to

the eclipse of the precious metal gradually receded in the light of international discussion. This tended to show that, in spite of many differences, most parties apparently felt that gold would ultimately remain indispensable for the purpose of settling international balances. This did so much to restore confidence in the future of the industry that, in the later part of the year, many schemes, involving several millions, were prepared for prospecting and developing new properties. Many of these were located in the Far West Rand and the Orange Free State, where current developments had given promise of exceptional results. Among these were the Blyvooruitzicht mine, whose 10s. shares rose from 40s. 7½d. to 91s. 10½d., while the 5s. shares of the Lydenburg Estates touched 61s. 3d. after being as low as 7s. 9d. Eastern tins were assisted by the prospect of an early recovery of the properties, and coppers improved in spite of many disappointing results.

Commodity Prices.—Although the supply position in regard to a number of commodities became a little easier, it was not sufficient to permit more than minor adjustments to the regulations which again controlled all transactions. It did, however, make for greater stability, with the result that *The Times* index showed an increase of only 0.6 per cent, as against one of 3 per cent, in 1942. Raw cotton was actually 1d. per lb. cheaper throughout the year at 7.75d. per lb. despite the prospect of a smaller American crop, and jute prices eased partly because of curtailed consumption. Special efforts were made to increase the output of copper and rubber from Allied sources, but in spite of the expenses involved, no change was made in prices. There was, however, a considerable advance in vegetable oils and products, which helped to account for a rise of 3.3 per cent, in other materials. But materials as a whole rose only 1.3 per cent., which compared with 2.1 per cent, in 1942. Because of official control sharp fluctuations in the Winnipeg market due to speculative operations had little effect on cereals, which declined by no less than 7.6 per cent., whereas in the previous year there was a rise of 20.3 per cent. Although the fall was largely offset by increases in others, foodstuffs as a whole were actually 1 per cent, lower on the year.

Group.	Dec. 30, 1942.	Dec. 30, 1943.	Inc. or Dec. per cent, on Dec. 1942.
Cereals	237-4	219-2	- 7.6
Meat and fish	186-6	190-0	+ 1.8
Other food	159-8	170-2	+ 6.5
Total food	1930	191-1	1-0
Iron and steel	208-1	208-1	
Other metals and minerals	143-5	146-3	4- 2.0
Cotton	148-8	148-9	+ 0.1
Other textiles	193-8	196-1	+ 1.2
Other materials	144-4	149-1	+ 3.3
Total materials	167.4	169.5	+ 1.3
Total all commodities	176.8	177.8	+ 0.6

Iron and Steel.—Iron and steel was another industry whose operations continued to be cloaked in official secrecy. But the indications were that despite rapid changes that arose from time to time in the special types of steel required and the scarcity of fuel, the trade proved equal to all emergencies. The demand for plates and angles for the shipbuilding yards was larger than ever, due, in part, to the wider adoption of pre-fabricated systems and the practice of welding, which facilitated the rapid construction of ships so urgently needed. But with the completion of many factories and other establishments the demand for steel for building purposes was smaller, and although the need of alloy metals for toolmaking and other specialised purposes continued to expand, these, too, were met without undue delay. Operations were assisted by an improvement in the supply position, for with North Africa in Allied hands shipments of high-grade ore from that area were appreciably larger, while the salvage campaign had proved so successful that by the end of the year some five million tons had been obtained, and the collection of the less valuable kinds was suspended.

Coal Trade.—For much the same reasons as in the previous year the condition of the coal industry in 1943 was the least satisfactory of any, and although the mines had been under control of the Government since July, 1942, the difficulties of trade became accentuated rather than relieved. This arose from the fact that despite the substantial help obtained by extending outcrop mining in many localities, and the introduction of various inducements to increase output, and the total, which declined from 203,633,400 in 1942 to 195,488,600 tons, failed to meet the steadily increasing demand. In order to satisfy the more urgent requirements, a widespread appeal for economy was augmented late in the year by limiting supplies for less essential purposes. But in spite of these economies the situation remained sufficiently serious to call for further efforts. Much of the difficulty arose from the fact that the supply of young skilled miners had become unduly depleted by the demands of the forces, and in order to improve the position in this respect, youths conscripted for military service in the closing months of the year were given the alternative of work in the pits. These were among the circumstances which brought about a reduction in profits, and most collieries were obliged to reduce their dividends.

Tinplates.—Largely because of a progressive improvement in the supply position of both steel and tin, the manufacture of tinplate was permitted on a steadily increasing scale. This reached its maximum in the later months of the year, when the accumulation of orders was such that the limited number of plants were operating at practically full capacity. Part of the larger demand arose from the fact that substitutes had not always proved as economical as expected, while the accumulation of trimmings had become so excessive that it was desirable to reduce stocks by permitting their use for purposes formerly prohibited. Under these circumstances, the output of uncoated plates, although again substantial, was smaller than in 1942, but prices were unchanged.

Shipbuilding and Shipping.—National interests again precluded the publication of any reliable data concerning ships or shipping. Neverthe-

less, evidence was not lacking that the position of both was appreciably better than in 1942. For although the depredations of the enemy submarines in the first half of the year again gave cause for some anxiety, it was quickly relieved by the success which attended counter measures adopted in the second half, and for the first time since the war commenced it was announced that the loss of ships had fallen below replacements. The improvement was fully maintained, mainly because standardisation and other reforms brought about a progressive improvement in the output of Allied shipyards, which attained new records. The volume of Allied shipping was thus rapidly becoming sufficient for all immediate needs, and its efficiency improved by reorganisation of methods and procedure at the docks and other vital centres. But for shipowners the position was less satisfactory. For while earnings under agreement with the Government were sufficient to maintain dividends, much uneasiness continued to be felt in regard to the post-war position. Compensation for ships lost or taken over by the authorities had enabled most companies to accumulate substantial reserves to provide replacements. But because of the rise in costs, much doubt was felt as to their adequacy. In the meantime the possibility of competition from civil aviation induced several companies to secure a footing in that direction.

Insurance.—Having regard to the increasing handicaps, especially in regard to adequate staffs, the volume of insurance in 1942 was maintained at a satisfactory level. Notwithstanding the fact that service with the forces tends to reduce opportunities, there was a further modest increase in life assurance, both at home and abroad, which was calculated at some 4 per cent. The popularity of life assurance was enhanced by the high level of taxation, while the current prosperity enjoyed by large numbers of the artisan class led to a further expansion in the industrial branches, a feature of which was the relatively high proportion of policies issued in respect of female lives. Mainly because allied control of the seas became more effective, rates for marine business were reduced from time to time, indicating a more favourable experience in that direction, the precise outcome of which has yet to be determined. But fires, both at home and abroad, again gave cause for some anxiety, the United States reporting an increase of 18 per cent, during the ten months to October, claims being swollen by the high costs of replacements, and it was necessary to advance rates. Motor business continued to be adversely affected by the restricted use of such vehicles, and opportunities in the accident and general sections remained well below normal. But in spite of the difficulty of finding adequately remunerated investments for the employment of funds, profits were sufficient to maintain dividends, and as the Government hesitated to take further action on the Beveridge Plan of social insurance, the uneasiness felt in that sphere became less acute.

Textiles.—The rationalisation of the textile industries to a war-time basis, which was practically completed in 1942, proved a little less unfavourable than expected. For although operations were severely handicapped by inadequate labour, which was aggravated by much unwarranted absence from work, production was fully up to the limits permitted. This

proved sufficient, not only for Service needs, but allowed the accumulation of wholesale stocks, which at the close of the year was some 18 per cent, larger than in 1942. This was largely due to a contraction of approximately 10 per cent, in sales, mainly brought about by severe rationing of civil consumption. This, later in the year, enabled the authorities to increase the allocation of clothing for certain trade purposes. But the unfavourable aspect of these developments was, to some extent, offset by a tendency to purchase the better class goods, on which profits are relatively larger, and as a further rise in costs was met by increasing the manufacturers' margins, earnings were fully up to those of the preceding year. Exports, although again on a very modest scale, were slightly larger than in 1942. Conditions for the wool section were no less satisfactory, but a decline in the world's wool clip encouraged the use of substitutes and mixtures to conserve supplies, all of which remained under Government control. The rayon industry also continued to prosper within the limits imposed, some relief being obtained by devoting part of the plant to abnormal purposes such as plastics and synthetic rubber, and the bulk of its output was again required for national purposes. Profits, nevertheless, were well maintained, and in order to assist post-war development the British Rayon Federation was formed with the co-operation of all sections of the trade.

Oil and Rubber.—Despite the continued occupation by the Japanese of important oil-producing centres in the Far East and an ever-growing demand from the Allied forces, the oil industry was again able to fulfil all essential requirements. Nevertheless, it placed a considerable strain on resources, especially in the Middle East, where both British and American interests were obliged to carry out a continuous programme of expansion, and although operations were severely handicapped by lack of tankers and a shortage of materials, output was said to have exceeded its pre-war level. In the West, developments were not quite so satisfactory, for although output was larger, taxes in both Trinidad and Venezuela were increased, and no settlement was reached with Mexico in regard to the British owned oil properties expropriated in 1938. American claims, however, were settled as a condition of further assistance of a technical nature. The feature of the rubber industry was the phenomenal progress made in the United States with the erection of plant for producing synthetic material. Shipments were available far sooner than anticipated, and tests indicated that it was suitable for most purposes. In December production was said to have reached 45,000 tons, and a total of 850,000 tons was expected in 1944. This apparent success threatened to have far-reaching consequences for the plantation industry, and much attention was given to the problem on both sides of the Atlantic. Meanwhile, the reclamation of old rubber, coupled with a modest supply of new from Allied sources, enabled reserves to meet all imperative needs, but it was understood that the margin was getting uncomfortably narrow.

Motor, Aircraft, and Films.—With the passing of the initiative to Allied forces on every front, the demands on the motor and aircraft industries became greater than ever. Although little detail was disclosed

in regard to operations, authoritative statements from time to time clearly indicated that the output had established further high records, both in tanks and planes, the former being produced largely by factories which ordinarily manufacture motor vehicles. It was felt, however, that the position in some quarters was not all it should be, and early in the year the Government took over full control of Short Brothers, one of the leading manufacturers, for reasons that remained obscure. Resentment at this action became more acute when, a little later, the company's shares were compulsorily acquired without promise of their return. Many felt that this unilateral action indicated official intentions to nationalise the industry, a view which derived strength from the prospect of keen international rivalry on the restoration of peace, when it was officially stated that the demand for aircraft was unlikely to require more than 10 per cent, of the present manufacturing capacity. That part of the motor industry not required for tank production, was chiefly occupied in building lorries for the Services, of which the output was substantial. Meanwhile, the film companies continued to enjoy considerable prosperity, for although the production side again encountered severe technical handicaps, the public demand for entertainments remained keen, largely because money was plentiful and other attractions severely limited. Thus the scarcity of high-class films was of less consequence than it otherwise would have been, many pictures again being of a type calculated to assist the war effort in one direction or another. There was, however, some re-alignments on the management side.

LAW

THE year 1943 saw no very startling developments in the realm of law, but it was not unfruitful. Post-war as well as war conditions engaged the attention of the Legislature, and, while a number of the more important decisions of the courts were inevitably concerned with what is termed "emergency legislation," there were several which will go to swell the leading cases of the peace-time text-books.

In matters affecting the welfare of lawyers as such a tendency to look forward to post-war years was also noticeable. A comprehensive scheme was drawn up by the Law Society for furthering the post-war employment of serving solicitors. Not only did the Society, in co-operation with the War Office, provide courses in legal subjects for members of the forces, it also set up a special committee and liaison department to bring those concerned into touch with prospective employers. Members of the Bar for their part made tentative suggestions for the rehabilitation of the damaged halls, libraries, and chambers of the Inns of Court, although the governing bodies, the Benchers, did not in general make public any plans they might have under consideration.

Lincoln's Inn made history by the election of the first woman Benchers in the person of Queen Mary, who accepted the office.

The year produced only two reports of special legal interest—that of the Land Transfer Committee, whose chairman was Lord Rushcliffe, and that of the Matrimonial Causes (Trial in the Provinces) Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Ralph Wedgwood. The Land Transfer Committee, appointed, it will be recalled, to consider the practical aspect of the recommendation made by the Scott Committee in its 1942 report that registration of title should be made compulsory throughout England and Wales, advocated no revolutionary changes. The process of compulsory registration on sale should, it considered, be expedited, but registration must be by stages, those areas having preference which were likely to be first developed, land acquired by the State, however, in whatever area situate, being registered on acquisition. The Matrimonial Causes Committee recommended that the present rule, limiting the classes of cases triable at Assizes to Poor Persons and undefended cases, should be enlarged and that all classes of matrimonial causes should be triable at Assize towns and should form part of the normal work of the Assizes. A suggestion made by the President of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division for special Divorce Assizes was rejected, as was also a suggestion for referring undefended causes to County Courts. Arrangements should, however, be made, wherever practicable, to send a judge of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division on circuit, to relieve the King's Bench of divorce work. Not infrequent complaints of excessive rents due to the housing shortage and demands for control led to the appointment, late in the year, of a Committee on Rent Control. Their terms of reference included the working of the Rent Restriction Acts, whose complexity had

on several occasions been the subject of unfavourable comment from the Bench.

During the year juvenile delinquency, attributable in no small degree to war conditions, presented a serious problem, and more attention than usual was focussed on the work of the Juvenile Courts. When, in October, an opportunity to choose fresh panels arose, considerable emphasis was laid, both officially and in discussion in the Press and elsewhere, on the importance of choosing younger justices, specially suited for this work. The interest thus already aroused was quickened by strictures passed by a Divisional Court of King's Bench on the hearing of an application to quash the conviction by the Hereford Juvenile Court of a boy of eleven. So serious did the irregularities appear that Goddard, J., was asked to conduct a comprehensive inquiry under the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act of 1921. Fortunately this resulted in a substantial vindication of the conduct of both justices and police, the report disclosing that the affidavits of both applicant and justices were such as to give a wholly wrong impression of what took place. While there had been a failure to comply literally with the rules of procedure and an inaccurate entry in the Juvenile Court register, there had been no wrongful conviction.

In the department of legislation the Parliament (Elections and Meeting) Act provided not only for proxy voting by those in the forces, but also for important changes in the system of electoral registration, while the Regency Act corrected an anomaly by which Princess Elizabeth, although she might ascend the throne at eighteen, might not, under twenty-one, act as a Counsellor of State under the 1937 Regency Act. Another Act, effecting an important change of another order, was the Income Tax (Employments) Act, which, as from the beginning of the financial year 1944-45, reformed the system of payment of tax in the case of persons employed by way of manual labour and salaried workers whose remuneration does not exceed £600 a year. Those, under revised arrangements as to deduction by the employer, pay as they earn.

From the professional, as distinguished from the public point of view, the most interesting statute of the year was the Law Reform (Frustrated Contracts) Act, whose origin lay in the criticism of the Common Law made by the Law Lords in *Fibrosa S. A. v. Fairbairn, Lawson, Combe Barbour, Limited*. In that case the House over-ruled the principle established in the long-standing leading case of *Chandler v. Webster* that where a contract became impossible of fulfilment owing to the subsequent happening of an event for which neither party was responsible the loss must lie where it fell, and held that an advance payment was recoverable. The 1943 Act does not deal fully with the legal doctrine of frustration; it amplifies the Lords' decision and, following the suggestion in Lord Simon's opinion in the *Fibrosa* case, deals with the question of expenses incurred in the partial carrying out of the contract.

Turning to war conditions, compensation for war damage still engaged attention. A very brief but important War Damage Amendment Act provided that costs and values should be estimated on March, 1939, levels. This enabled the War Damage Commission provisionally to classify a large

number of seriously damaged properties and to adjudge them either total losses for which "value" payments were contemplated, or subjects for "cost of works" payments, which latter class was enlarged by a Treasury direction which, with a view to assisting to meet the housing shortage, enabled the Commission to pay towards not only the repair, but also the re-erection of dwelling-houses complying with certain conditions. By the end of the year that body's preliminary decision in regard to the great bulk of badly damaged "developed" properties had been made known to the owners. Later in the year an Act of 128 sections consolidated the War Damage Acts. A second useful war-time consolidation Act was the Courts (Emergency Powers) Act which embodied several Acts and parts of Acts on the subject. Under the Pensions Appeal Tribunals Act provision was made for appeals against the rejection of pension claims arising out of war service and, in addition, of those by civil defence volunteers and other civilians, made under the Injuries (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1939. The close of the year saw introduced a Disabled Persons (Employment) Bill concerned with the training and industrial rehabilitation of disabled persons and compelling employers to employ a quota of such. Other measures receiving the Royal assent dealt with conditions and remuneration in the catering trade and the nursing profession. Shortly before Christmas a Bill was introduced "to reform the law relating to Education in England and Wales."

As was inevitable, a number of the cases coming before the courts concerned emergency legislation, and those, although of considerable immediate significance, are excluded from this review; two decisions of the Court of Appeal touching on trading with the enemy are referred to below.

A decision of the House of Lords in *Perrin v. Morgan* proved somewhat more limited in scope than lawyers had hoped. The question was the meaning to be attached to the word "money" when used in wills. In the case under consideration a bequest was given of "all moneys of which I die possessed," and their lordships, while agreeing that a wide meaning should there be given to the word, were disinclined to upset the long-standing rule of construction which Lord Greene, M.R., in the Court of Appeal had characterised as a "blot on our jurisprudence," namely, that, in the absence of any context to the contrary, "money" in a will includes cash in hand and at the bank and money of which the testator could have claimed immediate payment, but not such personalty as investments, etc. What they did was to stress the importance of a study of the context and surrounding circumstances. A second House of Lords case of popular interest, under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, turned on the perennial question of whether an accident did or did not occur "in the course of the employment" (*McGarvey v. Caledonia Stevedoring Company, Ltd.*), A dock labourer was due to return to work at midnight on the first night of the black-out, and, as he had not turned up by 12.10, a substitute was, according to the recognised procedure, engaged. At 12.20 the workman fell over the quayside on his way back to work, and was drowned. Their lordships held that the accident did not occur in the course of his employ-

ment; to decide otherwise would be to make the employers simultaneously liable for accident to two men on the same job.

The Court of Appeal in *Schering, Ltd. v. Stockholms Enskilda*, a case of particular interest and importance, decided that a contract between a British subject and a neutral the performance of which was prohibited during the war as being for the benefit of the enemy might, nevertheless, as a matter of law, be capable of remaining in existence under suspension, and that the particular contract in question had not been abrogated on the outbreak of war on grounds of public policy. In *In re Anglo-International Bank* the same court held that where the articles of association of a company provided for the service on shareholders of notice of the meeting a resolution passed at a meeting of which notice had not been served on 99 shareholders with addresses in enemy and enemy-occupied countries was not for that reason invalid. Under the Trading with the Enemy Act, 1939, as amended by Order in Council, the company was forbidden by law to have or attempt to have any communication with any of the 99, and this was equivalent to suspending their right to receive notices.

In *Ernest Turner Electrical Instruments, Ltd. v. Performing Right Society* and *The Society v. Gillette Industries, Ltd.*, the Court of Appeal considered the question whether an owner's copyright was infringed by the relaying by gramophone or radio of musical compositions for the benefit of workers in factories, the point being whether the performances were or were not in public. It was held that in each case the audience, consisting, as it did, of a substantial part of the local working population, must be looked on as a section of the public. Musical performances were under consideration from a different angle in *Royal Choral Society v. Inland Revenue Commissioners*, where Lord Greene, M.R., made some interesting comments on the importance of cultivating the public musical taste. The decision of Macnaghten, J., that the Society, which was established for the practice and performance of musical works, was a charity in the legal interpretation of the word and not assessable to income tax was upheld.

A decision of the Court of Appeal of considerable legal and general interest was that of *In re Grosvenor (deceased)*, where the Chancery judge was reversed. Sect. 184 of the Law of Property Act, 1925, provides that where . . . "two or more persons have died in circumstances rendering it uncertain which of them survived the other or others, such deaths shall (subject to any order of the court) for all purposes affecting the title to property, be presumed to have occurred in order of seniority . . .," and the question was whether it applied to the case of two brothers killed, with others, in an air-raid shelter by the fall of a bomb. There had been a previous very similar case (*In re Lyndon*), in which it had been held to apply, and this was the decision of Cohen, J., in *In re Grosvenor*. The Court of Appeal held by a majority, however, that its application was confined to consecutive deaths, whether they were consecutive or simultaneous being a question of fact in each case. The available evidence in the case under consideration went to support the inference that all those in the shelter died simultaneously. The following passage occurred in the

judgment of the Master of the Rolls, who characterised the infinite divisibility of time as a " metaphysical conception rather than a scientific fact." He said:—

To speak of the infinite divisibility of time in relation to a modern high explosive bomb in a basement shelter among the persons taking refuge there appears to me ... to ignore the realities of the case. ... If the weight of evidence points to the conclusion that the deaths were simultaneous I do not see why it should be said that the court ought not to draw that conclusion because of the remote possibility that it would be incorrect.

Luxmoore, L. J., who dissented on this point, stated, on the other hand, that personally he would require expert evidence on the effect of bomb burst and blast before he could feel justified in concluding that two or more persons died at precisely the same moment.

Of general interest, also, were two decisions of the Probate Court on " soldiers' wills." In this connection it may be recalled that some two years earlier, in *In re Sparks (deceased)*, that court had admitted to probate under the provisions of the Wills Act, 1837, applying to those " in actual military service," the verbal will of a soldier in the Territorial Army who died as the result of the enemy's bombing a camp in England at which he was stationed. In the 1943 case of *In re Rippon (deceased)* a similar course was taken in the case of a Territorial officer killed in action in France, who, after receiving orders, in August, 1939, to join his battery so that it might be in readiness for eventualities, had made a will, not properly executed. *In re Anderson*, the other 1943 case referred to above, related to a Home Guard who was, in 1941, accidentally shot when giving musketry instruction to recruits. Probate was refused to definite instructions given to his solicitor a month before that date, on the ground that the circumstances of his service did not justify their admission as a soldier's will.

In re Caborne was a case involving public policy in relation to the marriage bond. A condition in the will of a testator forfeiting a gift if the legatee's wife were " still alive and married to him " was held to be against public policy, and the gift was made absolute.

In conclusion, a brief reference may be made to *Ricketts v. Erith Borough Council* which turned on the degree of care exercisable by school authorities and the liability of vendors of potentially dangerous toys ; to *Holdman v. Hamlyn*, which held that the defence of common employment was inapplicable to infants of tender age ; and to *Weston v. Hearn*, in the Revenue Paper, which decided that gifts to employees after many years' service were necessarily remuneration and, as such, subject to income tax.

During the year the profession lost by death two judges of the Chancery Division—Farwell, J., and Bennett, J., Lord He wart of Bury, a former Lord Chief Justice, and several well-known King's Counsel. Sir Kingsley Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who died during the year, was also of the legal profession, belonging to the solicitors' branch.

On May 1 Mr. Lionel Leonard Cohen, K.C., was appointed one of the Justices of the High Court in the Chancery Division. As is customary Mr. Justice Cohen received a Knighthood on his appointment.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

I¹

TREATY BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY IN RESPECT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND INDIA AND HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA FOR THE RELINQUISHMENT OF EXTRA-TERRITORIAL RIGHTS IN CHINA AND THE REGULATION OF RELATED MATTERS (WITH EXCHANGE OF NOTES AND AGREED MINUTE)

CHUNGKING, JANUARY 11, 1943

[Ratifications exchanged at Chungking, May 20, 1943]

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China :

Being desirous of defining more clearly in a spirit of friendship the general relations between them, and for this purpose to settle certain matters relating to jurisdiction in China ;

Have decided to conclude a Treaty for this purpose and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries :

His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India (hereinafter referred to as His Majesty The King) :

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

His Excellency Sir Horace James Seymour, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of China ;

For India :

Hugh Edward Richardson Esquire, an officer of the Indian Political Service ;

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China :

His Excellency Dr. Tse Vung Soong, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China ;

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows :—

ARTICLE 1.—(i) The territories of the High Contracting Parties to which the present Treaty applies are, on the part of His Majesty The King, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, India, all

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colonies, overseas territories, protectorates of His Majesty, all territories under his protection or suzerainty, and all mandated territories in respect of which the mandate is exercised by his Government in the United Kingdom ; and on the part of His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, all the territories of the Republic of China. Any reference in subsequent Articles of the present Treaty to the territories of one or the other High Contracting Party shall be deemed to relate to those territories of that High Contracting Party to which the present Treaty applies.

(ii) In the present Treaty, the term " nationals of the one (or of the other) High Contracting Party " shall in relation to His Majesty The King mean all British subjects and all British-protected persons belonging to the territories to which the present Treaty applies ; and in relation to the Republic of China, all nationals of the Republic of China.

(iii) The expression " companies of the one (or of the other) High Contracting Party " shall for the purpose of the present Treaty be interpreted as meaning limited liability and other companies, partnerships and associations constituted under the law of the territories of that High Contracting Party to which the present Treaty applies.

ARTICLE 2.—All those provisions of treaties or agreements in force between His Majesty The King and His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China which authorise His Majesty or his representatives to exercise jurisdiction over nationals or companies of His Majesty in the territory of the Republic of China are hereby abrogated. The nationals and companies of His Majesty The King shall be subject in the territory of the Republic of China to the jurisdiction of the Government of the Republic of China, in accordance with the principles of international law and practice.

ARTICLE 3.—(i) His Majesty The King considers that the Final Protocol concluded at Peking, on the 7th September, 1901,¹ between the Chinese Government and other Governments, including His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, should be terminated, and agrees that the rights accorded to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom under that Protocol and under the agreements supplementary thereto shall cease.

(ii) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will co-operate with the Government of the Republic of China for the reaching of any necessary agreements with the other Governments concerned for the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of the administration and control of the diplomatic quarter at Peiping, including the official assets **and** the official obligations of the diplomatic quarter, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China, in taking over administration and control of the diplomatic quarter, will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of the diplomatic quarter and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

¹ " Treaty Series No. 17 (1902)," Cd. 1390.

(iii) The Government of the Republic of China shall accord to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom a continued right to use for official purposes the land which has been allocated to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in the diplomatic quarter in Peiping, on parts of which are located buildings belonging to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

ARTICLE 4.—(i) His Majesty The King considers that the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy should revert to the administration and control of the Government of the Republic of China and agrees that the rights accorded to His Majesty in relation to those Settlements shall cease.

(ii) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will co-operate with the Government of the Republic of China for the reaching of any necessary agreements with the other Governments concerned for the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of the administration and control of the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy, including the official assets and the official obligations of those Settlements, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China, in taking over administration and control of those Settlements, will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of those Settlements and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

(iii) His Majesty The King agrees that the British Concession (including the whole British municipal area) at Tientsin and the British Concession at Canton shall revert to the administration and control of the Government of the Republic of China and that the rights accorded to His Majesty in relation to those Concessions shall cease.

(iv) The administration and control of the British Concession (including the whole British municipal area) at Tientsin and the British Concession at Canton including their official assets and official obligations shall be transferred to the Government of the Republic of China, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China in taking over administration and control of those Concessions will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of those Concessions and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

ARTICLE 5.—(i) In order to obviate any questions as to existing rights in respect of or as to existing titles to real property in the territory of the Republic of China possessed by nationals and companies of His Majesty The King, or by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and in particular questions which might arise from the abrogation of the provisions of treaties and agreements provided for in Article 2 of the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree that such existing rights or titles shall be indefeasible and shall not be questioned upon any ground except upon proof, established through due process of law, of fraud or of fraudulent or dishonest practices in the acquisition of such rights or

titles, it being understood that no right or title shall be rendered invalid by virtue of any subsequent change in the original procedure through which it was acquired. It is also agreed that the exercise of these rights or titles shall be subject to the laws and regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, national defence, and the right of eminent domain; and that no such rights or titles may be alienated to the government or nationals (including companies) of any third country without the express consent of the Government of the Republic of China.

(ii) The High Contracting Parties also agree that if it should be the desire of the Government of the Republic of China to replace by new deeds of ownership existing leases in perpetuity or other documentary evidence relating to real property held by nationals or companies of His Majesty The King or by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the replacement shall be made by the Chinese authorities without charges of any sort and the new deeds of ownership shall fully protect the holders of such leases or other documentary evidence, and their legal heirs and assigns without diminution of their prior rights and interests, including the right of alienation.

(iii) The High Contracting Parties agree further that nationals or companies of His Majesty The King or His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom shall not be required or asked by the Chinese authorities to make any payments of fees in connexion with land transfers for or with relation to any period prior to the effective date of this Treaty.

ARTICLE 6.—His Majesty The King having long accorded rights to nationals of the Republic of China within each of the territories of His Majesty to travel, reside and carry on commerce throughout the whole extent of that territory, the Government of the Republic of China agree to accord similar rights to nationals of His Majesty within the territory of the Republic of China. Each High Contracting Party will endeavour to accord in his territories to nationals and companies of the other High Contracting Party in regard to all legal proceedings and in matters relating to the administration of justice and the levying of taxes and requirements in connexion therewith treatment not less favourable than that accorded to his own nationals and companies.

ARTICLE 7.—The consular officers of one High Contracting Party, duly provided with exequaturs, shall be permitted to reside in such ports, places, and cities of the territories of the other High Contracting Party as may be agreed upon. The consular officers of one High Contracting Party shall have the right within their districts in the territories of the other High Contracting Party to interview, communicate with and to advise the nationals and companies of the former High Contracting Party, and the nationals and companies of one High Contracting Party within the territories of the other High Contracting Party shall have the right at all times to communicate with the consular officers of the former High Contracting Party. The consular officers of one High Contracting Party in the territories of the other shall be informed immediately by the appropriate local

authorities when any of their nationals are arrested or detained in their consular districts by the local authorities. They shall have the right to visit within the limits of their districts any of their nationals who are under arrest or awaiting trial in prison. Communications from the nationals of one High Contracting Party in prison in the territories of the other High Contracting Party addressed to the consular officers of the former High Contracting Party will be forwarded to the appropriate consular officer by the local authorities. Consular officers of one High Contracting Party shall be accorded in the territories of the other High Contracting Party the rights, privileges, and immunities enjoyed by consular officers under modern international usage.

ARTICLE 8.—(i) The High Contracting Parties will enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a comprehensive modern treaty or treaties of friendship, commerce, navigation, and consular rights upon the request of either of them or in any case within six months after the cessation of the hostilities in the war against the common enemies in which they are both now engaged. The treaty or treaties to be thus negotiated will be based upon the principles of international law and practice as reflected in modern international procedure and in the modern treaties which each of the High Contracting Parties have respectively concluded with other Powers in recent years.

(ii) Pending the conclusion of the comprehensive treaty or treaties referred to in the preceding paragraph, if any questions affecting the rights in the territory of the Republic of China of the nationals or companies of His Majesty The King, or of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom or of the Government of India, should arise in future, and if these questions are not covered by the present Treaty and Exchange of Notes or by the provisions of existing treaties, conventions, and agreements between the High Contracting Parties which are not abrogated by or inconsistent with the present Treaty and Exchange of Notes, such questions shall be discussed by representatives of the High Contracting Parties and shall be decided in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law and with modern international practice.

ARTICLE 9.—The present Treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Chungking as soon as possible. The Treaty shall come into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications.

In witness whereof the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Chungking this 11th day of January, 1943, corresponding to the 11th day of the first month of the thirty-second year of the Republic of China, in duplicate in English and Chinese, both texts being equally authentic.

(L.S.) H. J. SEYMOUR.

(L.S.) H. E. RICHARDSON.

(L.S.) TSE VUNG SOONG.

EXCHANGE OF NOTES¹

A

NOTE FROM DR. TSE VUNG SOONG, CHINESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO SIR HORACE JAMES SEYMOUR

Sir,

Chungking, January 11, 1943.

During the negotiations for the Treaty signed to-day between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, a number of questions have been discussed upon which agreement has been reached. The understandings reached with regard to these points are recorded in the annex to the present Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed to-day and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if Your Excellency would confirm these understandings on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

I avail, &c,

TSE VUNG SOONG.

His Excellency Sir Horace James Seymour, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.,
His Majesty's Ambassador, *Chungking*.

ANNEX

1. With reference to Article 2 and Article 8 (ii) of the Treaty, it is understood that—

(a) His Majesty The King relinquishes all existing treaty rights relating to the system of Treaty Ports in China. His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty The King mutually agree that the merchant vessels of the one High Contracting Party shall be permitted freely to come to ports, places, and waters in the territories of the other High Contracting Party, which are or may be opened to overseas merchant shipping, and that the treatment accorded to such vessels in such ports, places, and waters shall be no less favourable than that accorded to national vessels and shall be as favourable as that accorded to vessels of any third country. The term "vessels" of a **High** Contracting Party means all vessels registered under the law of any of the territories of that High Contracting Party to which the Treaty signed this day applies.

(b) His Majesty The King relinquishes all existing rights relating to the special courts in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy.

¹ A similar exchange of notes took place between the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Plenipotentiary for India.

(c) His Majesty The King relinquishes all existing rights with regard to the employment of foreign pilots in the ports of the territories of the Republic of China.

(d) His Majesty The King relinquishes all existing treaty rights relating to the entry of his naval vessels into the waters of the Republic of China ; and the Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom shall extend to each other in connexion with the visits of the warships of the one High Contracting Party to the ports of the other High Contracting Party mutual courtesy in accordance with ordinary international usage.

(e) His Majesty The King relinquishes any right to claim the appointment of a British subject as Inspector-General of the Chinese Customs.

(f) All the courts of His Majesty The King which have hitherto been sitting in the territories of the Republic of China having been closed down in accordance with Article 2 of the Treaty signed this day, the orders, decrees, judgments, and other acts of any of His Majesty's courts in China, shall be considered as *res judicata* and shall when necessary be enforced by the Chinese authorities ; further, any cases pending before any of His Majesty's courts in China at the time of the coming into effect of the Treaty shall, if the plaintiff or the petitioner so desires, be remitted to the appropriate courts of the Government of the Republic of China, which shall proceed to dispose of them as expeditiously as possible and in so doing shall so far as practicable apply the law which the court of His Majesty would have applied.

(g) His Majesty The King relinquishes the special rights which his vessels have been accorded with regard to coasting trade and inland navigation in the waters of the Republic of China, and the Government of the Republic of China are prepared to take over any properties of His Majesty's nationals or companies which have been used for the purposes of these trades and which the owners may wish to dispose of, and to pay adequate compensation therefor. The Government of the Republic of China relinquish the special rights which have been accorded to Chinese vessels in respect of navigation on the River Irrawaddy under Article 12 of the Convention signed at London on the 1st March, 1894.¹ Should one High Contracting Party accord in any of his territories the right of coasting trade or inland navigation to the vessels of any third country, such rights would similarly be accorded to the vessels of the other High Contracting Party provided that the latter High Contracting Party permits the vessels of the former High Contracting Party to engage in the coasting trade or inland navigation of his territories. Coasting trade and inland navigation are excepted from the requirement of national treatment and are to be regulated according to the laws of each High Contracting Party in relation thereto. It is agreed, however, that the vessels of either High Contracting Party shall enjoy within the territories of the other High Contracting Party with regard to coasting trade and inland navigation treatment as favourable as that accorded to the vessels of any third country subject to the above-mentioned proviso.

¹" Treaty Series No. 19 (1894)," Cd. 7547.

2. With reference to the last sentence of Article 5 (i) of the Treaty, the Government of the Republic of China declare that the restriction on the right of alienation of existing rights and titles to real property referred to in that Article will be applied by the Chinese authorities in an equitable manner and that, if and when the Chinese Government decline to assent to a proposed transfer, the Chinese Government will, in a spirit of justice and with a view to precluding loss on the part of the nationals or companies of His Majesty The King whose interests are affected, undertake, if so requested by the national or company of His Majesty to whom permission to alienate has been refused, to take over the rights and titles in question and pay adequate compensation therefor.

3. It is understood that the abolition of the system of the Treaty Ports will not affect existing property rights, and that the nationals of each High Contracting Party will enjoy the right to acquire and hold real property throughout the territories of the other High Contracting Party in accordance with the conditions and requirements prescribed in the laws and regulations of that High Contracting Party.

4. It is further agreed that questions which may affect the sovereignty of the Republic of China and which are not covered by the present Treaty or by the preceding provisions of the present Note shall be discussed by the Representatives of the Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and decided in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law and modern international practice.

B

NOTE FROM SIR HORACE JAMES SEYMOUR TO DR. TSE VUNG SOONG,
CHINESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Sir,

Chungking, January 11, 1943.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Note of to-day's date reading as follows :—

[As in A]

I have the honour on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to confirm the undertakings reached between us as recorded in the annex to Your Excellency's Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed to-day and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty.

I avail, &c,

H. J. SEYMOUR.

Bis Excellency Dr. Tse Vung Soong,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
Republic of China, Chungking.

AGREED MINUTE

1. With reference to paragraph 1 (a) of the Annex to the Note from the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador in connexion with the Treaty signed to-day, it is understood that both High Contracting Parties reserve the right to close any port to all overseas merchant shipping for reasons of national security.

2. With reference to paragraph 1 (g) of the Annex to the Note from the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador in connexion with the Treaty signed to-day. His Majesty's Ambassador informed the Chinese Government that trade between India on the one hand and Burma or Ceylon on the other has always been regarded as coasting trade.

H. J. SEYMOUR.
TSE VUNG SOONG.

Chungking, January 11, 1943.

II

**AN AGREEMENT OF FRIENDSHIP, MUTUAL ASSISTANCE, AND
POST-WAR CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION
AND THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC**

(SIGNED AT MOSCOW, DECEMBER 12, 1943)

OF late negotiations have been undertaken for the conclusion of an agreement of friendship, mutual assistance, and post-war co-operation. These negotiations progressed in an atmosphere of amity and mutual understanding and led to the signature, on December 12, in Moscow, of an agreement of friendship and mutual assistance, which agreed on the following:—

1.—The High Contracting Parties, having agreed on a common policy of mutual friendship and friendly post-war co-operation and mutual aid, have pledged themselves to render each other military and other assistance and support of every kind in the present war against Germany and all those countries which are associated with her in the act of aggression in Europe.

2.—Finally, the High Contracting Parties pledge themselves not to enter into any negotiations with Hitler's Government during the period of the present war or with any other Government in Germany which does not explicitly renounce all aggressive intentions, and not to conduct negotiations or to conclude, except by mutual consent, any armistice or peace agreement with Germany or any other Government united with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

3.—Confirming their pre-war policies of peace and mutual assistance expressed in the Agreement signed at Prague on May 16, 1935, the High Contracting Parties undertake, in the event of one of them finding itself

involved during the post-war period in a war with Germany, should the latter revive her *Drang nach Osten*, or with any one State which should unite itself with Germany either directly or indirectly in the waging of such a war, the other High Contracting Party shall bring to the one which may become so involved all military and other aid within its power.

4.—The High Contracting Parties, taking into account their respective interests concerning security, have agreed upon close friendly co-operation during the period after the re-establishment of peace, upon action which will conform to the principle of mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, and upon non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. They shall develop their economic relations on the largest possible scale, and render each other every economic assistance after the war.

5.—Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes not to conclude any alliance or to take part in any coalition directed against the other High Contracting Party.

6.—This Agreement comes into force immediately on being signed, and shall be ratified with the shortest possible delay. The exchange of ratified texts will take place in Moscow at the earliest possible date.

This Agreement shall remain in force for a period of twenty years from the time of signing.

Unless one of the High Contracting Parties, twelve months before the expiration of the said period of twenty years, gives the other High Contracting Party notice of its desire to terminate this Agreement, it shall continue in force for a further period of five years, and so on until renounced by one of the High Contracting Parties by giving the other twelve months' notice in writing of its intention so to do.

A protocol to the Agreement says :—

The U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic agree that in the event of any third State which has common frontiers with the U.S.S.R. or with the Czechoslovak Republic, and which in the present war has been the object of German aggression, desiring to become a party to this Agreement, such State shall be given the opportunity with the sanction of the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic of signing this Agreement, which thereby would acquire the quality of a tripartite agreement.

III

POST-WAR RELIEF AGREEMENT (UNRRA)

(JUNE 11, 1943)

THE following is the text of the draft agreement on post-war relief sent by the United States Government to all members of the United Nations :—

The Governments or authorities whose duly authorised representatives have subscribed hereto,

Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war,

Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by

the armed forces of the United Nations the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing, and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes, for the resumption of agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services, to the end that peoples once freed may be preserved and restored to health and strength for the tasks and opportunities of building anew,

Have agreed as follows :

ARTICLE 1.—There is hereby established the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold, and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects and purposes.

2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows :

(a) To plan, co-ordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, and other basic necessities, housing facilities, medical and other essential services ; and to facilitate in areas receiving relief the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief. The form of activities of the Administration within the territory of a member Government wherein that Government exercises Administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed by the member Government for carrying out measures planned by the Administration therein shall be determined after consultation with and with the consent of the member Government.

(b) To formulate and recommend measures for individual or joint action by any or all of the member Governments for the co-ordination of purchasing, the use of ships and other procurement activities in the period following the cessation of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and activities of the Administration with the total movement of supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distribution of available supplies. The Administration may administer such co-ordination measures as the member Governments authorise.

(c) To formulate and recommend for individual or joint action by any or all of the member Governments measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of its experience in planning and performing the work of relief and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member Governments and approved by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

ARTICLE II.—MEMBERSHIP.—The members of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be the Governments or authorities signatory hereto and such other Governments or authorities as may upon application for membership be admitted thereto by action by the Council, or between sessions of the Council, by the Central Committee.

Wherever the term " member Government " is used in this Agreement it shall be construed to embrace such authorities as shall have signed the Agreement or shall subsequently become members of the Administration.

ARTICLE III.—THE COUNCIL.—1. Each member Government shall name one representative, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which shall be the policy-making body of the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session.

2. The Council shall be convened in normal session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may be convened in special session whenever the Central Committee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within thirty days after request therefor by a majority of the members of the Council.

3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, with the Director-General presiding. Between sessions of the Council it shall exercise all the powers and functions thereof. It shall invite the participation of the representatives of any member Government at those of its meetings at which action of special interest to such Government is discussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the provision of supplies are discussed.

4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing those member Governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The members shall be appointed by the Central Committee, with the approval of the Council if it be in session and otherwise subject to its ratification. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate, and recommend to the Central Committee and the Council policies designed to assure the provision of required supplies. The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting supplies.

5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member Governments of territories within the European area, and such other members of the Council, representing other Governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area, as shall be appointed by the Central Committee, with the approval of the Council if it be in session and otherwise subject to its ratification. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member Governments of territories within the Far Eastern area, and such other members of the Council representing other Governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be appointed by the Central Committee, with the approval of the Council if it be in session and otherwise subject to the Council's ratification. The regional committees **shall**

normally meet within their respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect to relief or rehabilitation within their respective areas. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the Inter-Allied Committee on European post-war relief established in London on September 24, 1941, and the records of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for Europe.

6. The Council shall establish such other standing regional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions of such committees and the method of appointing their members being identical to that provided in paragraph 5 of this Article with respect to the Committees of the Council for Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also establish such other standing committees as it considers desirable to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council, to advise the Central Committee. For such technical standing committees as may be established, in respect of particular problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, repatriation, and finance, the members may be members of the Council or alternates nominated by them because of special competence in their respective fields of work. The members shall be appointed by the Central Committee, with the approval of the Council if it be in session and otherwise subject to its ratification. Should a regional committee so desire, sub-committees of the technical standing committees shall be established by the technical committees in consultation with the regional committees, to advise the regional committees.

7. The travel and other expenses of members of the Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by the Governments which they represent.

8. All reports and recommendations of committees of the Council shall be transmitted to the Director-General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 4.

ARTICLE IV.—THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL.—1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director-General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The Director-General may be removed by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

2. The Director-General shall have full power and authority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by Article I, paragraph 2 (*a*), within the limits of available resources and the broad policies determined by the Council or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office he shall, in conjunction with the military and other appropriate authorities of the United Nations, prepare plans for the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations, arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary supplies, and create or select the emergency organisation required for this purpose. In arranging for the procurement, transportation, and distribution of supplies and services, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available by such

authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the Administration without the consent and unless subject to the regulation of the Director-General. The powers and duties of the Director-General are subject to the limitations of Article VII.

3. The Director-General shall also be responsible for the organisation and direction of the functions contemplated by Article I, paragraphs 2 (6) and 2 (c).

4. The Director-General shall appoint such Deputy Directors-General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director-General, or upon his authorisation the Deputy Directors-General, shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall be required by the Council and its committees, including the regional committees and sub-committees. Such Deputy Directors-General as shall be assigned special functions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it advised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation programme within the region.

5. The Director-General shall make periodic reports to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the Central Committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential. The Director-General shall also arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activities of the Administration within each region, and he shall transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the Council, the Central Committee, and the respective regional committees.

ARTICLE V.—SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES.—1. Each member Government pledges its full support to the Administration, within the limits of its available resources and subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, through contributions of funds, materials, equipment, supplies and services, for use in its own, adjacent or other areas in need, in order to accomplish the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). All such contributions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

2. The supplies and resources made available by the member Governments shall be kept in review in relation to prospective requirements by the Director-General, who shall initiate action with the member Governments with a view to assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be required.

3. All purchases by any of the member Governments, made outside their own territories during the war for relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after consultation with the Director-General, and shall, so far as practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United Nations agency.

ARTICLE VI.—ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.—The Director-General shall submit to the Council an annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative

expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be allocated to the member Governments in proportions to be determined by the Council. Each member Government pledges itself, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses so determined.

ARTICLE VII.—Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director-General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander.

ARTICLE VIII.—AMENDMENT.—The provisions of this Agreement may be amended by unanimous vote of the Central Committee and two-thirds vote of the Council.

ARTICLE IX.—ENTRY INTO FORCE.—This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

IV

UNITED NATIONS AND IRAN

(DECEMBER 1, 1943)

AFTER the Teheran Conference President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin issued at Teheran the following "Declaration of the Three Powers Concerning Iran," dated December 1, 1943 :—

The President of the United States of America, the Premier of the U.S.S.R., and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the mutual agreement of their three Governments regarding their relations with Iran.

The Governments of the United States of America, the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom recognise the assistance that Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating the transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union.

The three Governments realise that the war has caused special economic difficulties for Iran, and they are agreed that they will continue to make available to the Government of Iran such economic assistance as may be possible, having regard to the heavy demands made upon them by their world-wide military operations and to the world-wide shortage of transport, raw material, and supplies for civilian consumption.

With respect to the post-war period, the Governments of the United States of America, the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom are in accord with the Government of Iran that any economic problem confronting Iran at the close of hostilities should receive full consideration, along with those

of other members of the United Nations, by conferences or international agencies held or created to deal with international economic matters.

The Governments of the United States of America, the U.S.S.R, and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Iran.

They count upon the participation of Iran, together with all other peace-loving nations, in the establishment of international peace, security, and prosperity after the war in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have continued to subscribe.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1943

JANUARY

3. **Dr. Francis Macdonald Cornford**, Emeritus-Professor of Ancient Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, was born on February 24, 1874, and educated at St. Paul's School and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he gained high honours in the Classical Tripos, 1895 and 1896, and was also bracketed as Chancellor's Medallist. Elected to a Fellowship at Trinity, he became one of the Lecturers in Classics, and in 1931, when the Laurence Professorship of Ancient Philosophy was founded, he became the first occupant of the Chair, retiring in 1939. His published works began in 1907 with "Thucydides Mythis-toncus" ; they included "Plato and Parmenides," "Before and After Socrates," "Origin of Attic Comedy" (1914); and ended in 1941 with his masterpiece, a most attractive version of Plato's "Republic," which read as if it were a modern work. He married Frances Crofts, daughter of Sir Francis Darwin.

9. **Dr. Robin George Collingwood**, distinguished alike in the fields of archaeology and of metaphysics, was born in 1889, and educated at Rugby and University College, Oxford, where he obtained high honours in Classics in 1910 and 1912. From 1915 to 1919 he was employed in the Intelligence Department of the Admiralty. Returning to Oxford, he served as Fellow, Tutor, and Librarian of Pembroke College, and as University Lecturer in Philosophy and Roman History. In 1935 he was elected to the Chair of Metaphysical Philosophy. Much of his vast knowledge of Roman Britain is to be found in the first volume of the "Oxford History of England." Outstanding among his other works were "Speculum Mentis" (1924), "Essay on Philosophical Method" (1934), "Essay on Metaphysics," "Autobiography," "The Principle of Art," and his last publication, "New Leviathan" (1942). In 1918 he married Ethel Winifred, daughter of R. C. Graham, of Skegness, and had one son and one daughter.

12. **Dr. Charles Tate Regan**, one of the foremost British authorities on fishes, was born at Sherborne in 1878, son of C. J. Regan, A.R.A.M., and educated at Derby School and Queen's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in Natural Science. In 1901 he was appointed to the Department of Zoology in the British Museum (Natural History) and was placed in charge of the collection of fishes; in 1919 he became Deputy Keeper of the Department; and in 1921 succeeded Sir Sidney Harmer as Keeper. He was appointed Director of the Museum in 1927, retiring in 1938. Between 1902 and 1938 he contributed over 250 articles on ichthyology to leading scientific journals, as well as writing many of a more popular nature. One of his most important works, a monograph on the fishes of the *Loricariidae* family, appeared in 1904 and remained a standard work on that group. Even more valuable was the series of papers on the anatomy and classification of various groups of fishes which was published in the "Annals and Magazine of the Natural History" and the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*. Other works of special note were "British Freshwater Fishes" (1911), which also became a standard work; a volume on Pisces in the "Biologia Centrali-Americana" (1906-8); reports on Antarctic fishes obtained by the *Scotia* (1913) and the *Terra Nova* (1914 and 1916), as well as the *Dana* Expeditions between 1926 and 1932. He was a member of the Freshwater Fish Committee

(1917-20), and in 1925 presided over Section *D* of the British Association. In 1917 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He married, in 1904, Elsie, daughter of George Marlow, of Arlington, Berks, and had two sons and two daughters.

16. **Sir William Arbuthnot Lane, Bart.**, distinguished surgeon, was born at Fort St. George, Scotland, on July 4, 1856, son of Brigade Surgeon B. Lane, and received his medical training at Guy's Hospital. Qualifying at the age of 21, he soon gained the highest diplomas, and before he was 30 was appointed assistant surgeon at the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street. A few years later he became assistant surgeon to Guy's Hospital. At the time of his death he was consulting surgeon to both hospitals. His fame as a surgeon was built up through his skill in the use of metal plates and screws instead of external apparatus in the treatment of fractures, and on his ingenious operation for cleft palate. His treatment in cases of toxæmia due to absorption from the colon gave rise to considerable discussion. During the war, 1914-18, in which he served in the A.M.S. as colonel in the Aldershot Command, he established at Sidcup a hospital for the treatment of facial injuries, and with Sir Harold Gillies and Professor Tonks, of the Slade School, played a notable part in the development of modern plastic surgery. In later life he devoted much time to inculcating simple rules of health, on which he wrote a widely read book, and was president of the New Health Society. He was created a baronet in 1913 and made a C.B. in 1917. He was twice married; first, in 1884, to Charlotte Briscoe, daughter of John Briscoe, who died in 1935, leaving one son and three daughters; and secondly, in 1935, to Jane, daughter of N. Mutch, of Rochdale.

22. **Lord Hirst** (Hugo Hirst), chairman of the General Electric Company, was born on November 26, 1863, son of Emanuel Hirsch, of Munich (he changed his name to Hirst in 1883), and at the age of 18 he came to England. He was one of the outstanding illustrations of the achievements for this country of Jewish immigrants from Germany a generation or two ago. On his arrival in England Hirst had nothing to rely on save his own gifts. He set up in Manchester as an agent for German electrical goods; in 1886 he moved to London, and in 1889, he determined to manufacture electrical goods in this country—a definite pioneering effort. With the aid of his friends, George and Max Binswanger (likewise immigrants from Germany), he founded the organisation which became known as the General Electric Company, one of the foremost enterprises in the electrical industry in the country. At the time of Hirst's death the company's issued capital amounted to nearly 8,000,000l and the number of its employees was over 50,000. In the course of his career Lord Hirst occupied many important posts, being a past president of the Federation of British Industries, a member of the Board of Trade Advisory Council, of the Committee on the Amendment of Industrial Insurance, and of the Committee on Co-operative Selling in the Coal Industry. He represented the British Government on the League of Nations Sub-Committee of Experts for Scientific Property, and was a member of the British Economic Mission to Australia in 1928-29. He was raised to the peerage in 1934. In 1892 he married Leontine, daughter of Norman Hirsch, and had one son and two daughters. His son was killed in the war, 1914-18, and his grandson and heir in the war which began in 1939.

24. **The Right Hon. John Burns**, a notable Labour Leader, was born in London on October 20, 1858, and after a brief schooling began work at the age of 10 in a candle factory, later becoming an apprentice in an engineering Works. There he met Victor Delahaye, a refugee Communard, from whom he learned the rudiments of Socialism and acquired the habit of studious reading. Soon he took up public speaking, developing a remarkable gift for open-air oratory on Clapham Common, Tower Hill, and Trafalgar Square. His meetings sometimes brought him into conflict with the police, and on several occasions he was arrested.

For a year he was employed by the Niger Company at Akassa in West Africa. Back in London, he was engaged in trade union propaganda, and in 1886 Burns was tried at the Old Bailey for sedition and incitement to riot; he defended himself and was acquitted. A year later he served six weeks in prison for resisting the police in Trafalgar Square. About this time he was active among the dockers, frequently addressing meetings at the dock gates before starting his own work in the morning; he played a prominent part in the dock strike of 1889. In that year he was elected to represent Battersea on the first London County Council, being its first working-class member. To enable him to devote himself to local government work his fellow engineers raised a maintenance fund out of which he was paid £2 a week. He worked hard to promote good conditions of employment in the L.C.C. service, and drafted the "fair wages clause" which became general in local government. In 1892 he became Labour member of Parliament for Battersea, but was really an independent Radical, and in later elections was known as a Liberal. In 1905 he became President of the Local Government Board in the Campbell-Bannerman Government, retaining that office under Asquith until 1914, when he was transferred to the Board of Trade. He was the first working man to reach the rank of a Cabinet Minister. As a Minister he gave more of his time to administration than to politics, declaring that "the day of the agitator is declining and the day of the administrator is coming." On the outbreak of war in 1914 he, with John Morley, resigned his place in the Asquith Government, and although he remained in Parliament until the General Election of 1918, he made no effort to return. Withdrawing from public life into complete obscurity, he lived on a pension provided by the benefaction of Andrew Carnegie, spending his leisure among his books and with his friends. As an orator he was more vigorous than polished, but he had command of epigram and apt citation, speaking of the Thames as "liquid history" and coining the slogan, "Eight hours' work, eight hours' play, eight hours' sleep, and eight bob a day." In 1880 he married Charlotte Gale (who died in 1936), and had one son, who died in 1922.

27. **Ben Tillett**, a pioneer of the Trade Union Movement, was born at Lower Easton, Bristol, on September 11, 1860, and started work in a brickyard at the age of 8. When he was 14 he joined the Navy, but while still a youth was invalided out and soon afterwards found employment in a London tea warehouse. Attracted to the Socialist and Trade Unionist Movement in the East End, he had become an acknowledged leader by the time of the great dock strike of 1889. In 1887 he had formed a small union of 300 employees drawn from tea warehouses, and from among dock, wharf, and riverside workers; thirty-five years later that union contributed 100,000 members to the amalgamation which brought into existence the National Union of Transport and General Workers, of which he was political secretary. He was the central figure in the London transport strike of 1911, and was in the thick of the industrial unrest in the years preceding the war, 1914-18. During the war, however, he did much to further the national effort. At a by-election in 1917 he entered Parliament as Labour member for North Salford, retaining the seat until the General Election of 1924, and again from 1929 to 1931. From 1892 to 1894 he was a member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, and then, after a long absence from the central executive body, was elected to the T.U.C. on its formation in 1921, serving on the industrial committee during the negotiations which preceded the General Strike of 1926. In 1929 he was president of the Trades Union Congress; two years later he retired. He was twice married, his first wife dying in 1937. At the age of 79 he married Lillian Morgan.

29. **Sir StClair Thomson**, a pioneer in England of laryngology, was born in Londonderry on July 28, 1859, and educated at King's School, Peterborough. He then became apprenticed, as was the custom at the time, to a leading doctor in the town, and passed the first M.B. of London. At King's College he gained

scholarships, and before his term as house surgeon to Lister, Was house physician. He also had a resident appointment at Queen Charlotte's Hospital, and for a time was surgeon in the Union Castle Line, making several trips to the Cape. As companion to an invalid who was also an art enthusiast, he travelled over much of the world, visiting many of the art collections in Europe. After several years in practice in Italy and Switzerland he spent some months in Vienna, then famous for its school of laryngology, working with von Schrotter, Stoerk, and Hajek, as well as with the otologist Pollitzer, and after a visit to the clinics of Freiburg, Frankfurt, and Paris, returned to London in 1893. At the Lister Institute he made investigations which resulted in his researches on the " Microbes of the Normal Nose " and the " Defence of the Air Passages." He did a great deal of clinical work after being appointed to the Royal Ear Hospital and the Throat Hospital in Golden Square ; he was on the editorial staff of the *Practitioner*, and helped to found the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis. In 1901 he joined the throat department of King's College Hospital but developed tuberculosis himself and had to spend some time in a sanatorium. At the College of Physicians, of which he had become a Fellow in 1903, he delivered the Mitchell Lecture on " Tuberculosis and the Larynx as a Prognostic Factor " ; was awarded the Parkes-Weber Medal and Prize, and served on the Council. While president of the Medical Society of London, 1915-16, he delivered the inaugural address on " Lettsom and the Foundation of the Medical Society of London," and the annual oration on " Shakespearo and Medicine." He was president of the Section of Otolaryngology of the British Medical Association on three occasions, including the centenary meeting in 1932, and at Winnipeg, where he received an honorary LL.D. From 1925 to 1927 he was president of the Royal Society of Medicine. He was also president of the Soction of the History of Medicine, of the Tuberculosis Association, and of the Section of Laryngology Bt the last of the International Congresses of Medicine in London in 1913. He Was throat physician to King Edward VII, whom he attended during his last illness. For some years he was physician to the Royal Italian Opera. In 1911 he published " Diseases of the Nose and Throat," which was long recognised as an authoritative treatise. Sir StClair Thomson, who was knighted in 1912, died in Edinburgh as the result of an accident. Among the benefactions in his will he left 1,000Z. to the Royal Medical Benevolent Fund, and 4,000Z. to the Royal Society of Medicine.

30. Sir Robert Armstrong-Jones, one of the foremost alienists of his time, was born on December 2, 1857, son of the Rev. Thomas Jones. His mother claimed to be the twenty-first in lineal descent from Collyn ap Tangno, a Welsh prince who was lord of Eifionydd. After being educated at Portmadoc Grammar School and the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, he matriculated in 1875 at the University of London (of which he became M.D. in 1883), and spent six months with Dr. R. Roberts of Portmadoc before entering St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1876. In 1885 he was elected F.R.C.S., but did not attach himself to surgery, going first as junior medical officer to the Royal Earls wood Asylum and then to the Colney Hatch Asylum, where he remained for six years. After spending another six years at Earlswood he obtained the post of medical superintendent to the new asylum which had been opened in 1893 at Clay bury, near Woodford, Essex, under the control of the London County Council. By the time he left, in 1916, Clay bury had gained a world-wide reputation. During the war, 1914-18, he was nominated the first consulting physician in mental diseases to the military forces in London with the rank of major; subsequently to the Aldershot Command, where he was promoted lieutenant-colonel. He was general secretary and, later, president of the Medico-Psychological Association, consulting physician m mental diseases to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, one of the Lord Chancellor's Visitors in Lunacy, Gresham Professor of Physic, 1917-27, and a member of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee on spiritual healing, 1920-23. He was knighted in 1917 and made a C.B.E. in 1919. In 1893 he married Margaret Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Owen Roberts, D.C.L., and had one son **and two** daughters.

FEBRUARY

15. Lord Gainford (the Right Hon. Joseph Albert Pease), industrialist and Liberal politician, was born at Darlington on January 17, 1860, son of Sir Joseph W. Pease, first baronet, head of the firm of Pease & Partners, colliery owners, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was Mayor of Darlington in 1889, and in 1892 embarked on a political career when he was elected member of Parliament for the Tyneside Division of Northumberland. Within a year he was made private secretary to John Morley, Chief Secretary for Ireland. From 1897 to 1905 he was junior Liberal Party Whip. Meanwhile he had lost his seat in Northumberland in 1900, but a year later was returned for the Saffron Walden Division of Essex. Defeated again at the General Election early in 1910, he found a seat in the Rotherham Division of Yorkshire, which he continued to represent until he was raised to the peerage. In 1908 he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. Two years later he was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster with a seat in the Cabinet, but in 1911 he went to the Board of Education, where he remained as president until 1915. When the first Coalition Government was formed in that year he resigned and was granted a political pension of 1,200/. a year. Within six months, however, he was appointed Postmaster-General, holding that office until the end of 1916. When he went to the House of Lords in 1917 he resumed work on the Claims Commission in France and Italy, which he had undertaken at the request of the Army Council. In 1920 he became interested in a number of industrial companies, and soon was recognised as a leader in the world of industry. He was chairman of Pease & Partners, of the South London Electric Supply Company, and of the Tees Fishery Board. During 1927-28 he was president of the Federation of British Industries. He was the first chairman of the British Broadcasting Corporation, 1922-26, and its vice-chairman until 1932. Three years later he became president of the Radio Manufacturers' Association. He was a member of the Advisory Committee to the Board of Education on the Victoria and Albert Museum, and acted in a similar capacity to the Ministry of Agriculture in regard to fisheries. In 1886 he married Ethel, daughter of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Havelock-Allan, Bart., and had one son and two daughters.

— **Lord Olivier** (the Right Hon. Sir Sydney Haldane Olivier), Secretary of State for India in the first Labour Government, 1924, one of the band of thinkers who shaped the policy of the Labour Party, was born on April 16, 1859, son of the Rev. H. A. Olivier, rector of Poulshot, Wilts., and educated at Tonbridge School and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1882 he headed the list in the open Civil Service examination and entered the Colonial Office. From 1886 to 1890 he was secretary of the Fabian Society, playing a significant part, with Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, and Graham Wallas, in shaping its policy. In 1890-91 he was Colonial Secretary of British Honduras. Four years later he was made Auditor-General of the Leeward Islands, after which he became secretary to the Under-Secretary, Lord Selborne. He was secretary to the West Indies Royal Commission in 1897, and went to Washington in the following year on behalf of the West Indian Colonies. From 1899 to 1904 he was Colonial Secretary of Jamaica, on three occasions acting as Governor. On his return to England he was made principal clerk of the West African and West Indian Departments. In 1907 he went back to Jamaica as Governor. His next appointment—Permanent Secretary of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries—caused some surprise on account of his lack of experience of British agriculture and his Socialistic attachments. Transferring to the Treasury as Assistant Comptroller and Auditor of the Exchequer in 1917, he held that office until his retirement. In the short-lived Labour Government of 1924 he was Secretary of State for India, having been raised to the peerage. In 1929 he returned to the West Indies and British Guiana to investigate the sugar industry. His publications included "Poems and Parodies" (1881)/ "White Capital and Coloured Labour" (1906), "The Anatomy of African! Misery" (1927), "The

Myth of Governor Eyre " (1933), and " Jamaica : The Blessed Island " (1936). He married, in 1885, Margaret, daughter of Homersham Cox, County Court Judge, and had four daughters.

18. Dr. Robert Ranulph Marett, a distinguished anthropologist, and Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, was born on June 13, 1866, in Jersey, where his father was bailiff, and educated at Victoria College, Jersey, and Balliol College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself in the Classical Schools. He was called to the Jersey Bar, and was a member of the Inner Temple, but never practised. In 1891 he was elected Fellow and Lecturer in Philosophy at Exeter College; his work as a teacher was outstanding, and he became one of the distinguished personalities in the Oxford of his generation. In 1893 he won the Green Prize in Moral Philosophy with an essay on " Primitive Ethics." In 1928 he became Rector of Exeter College. His field of study was anthropology, and in particular the relation of philosophy to anthropology. Among his many publications may be mentioned " The Threshold of Religion " (1909), " Psychology and Folklore " (1920), " Anthropology," which first appeared in the Home University Library in 1912, " Head, Heart, and Hand in Human Evolution," " Sacraments of Simple Folk," " The Birth of Humility " (1910), " The Diffusion of Culture " (1927), and his autobiography, entitled " A Jerseyman at Oxford " (1941). Apart from the exploration of a Moustenan cave in Jersey he limited himself to the study of primitive customs. On the death of his father he inherited La Haule Manor, Jersey, where he spent most of his vacations. In 1898 he married Nora, daughter of Sir John Kirk, and had one son and two daughters.

23. Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Henry Fitzhardinge Heaton-Ellis was born on November 19, 1868, and entered the *Britannia* as a cadet in 1882, two years later going to sea on the Cape and West Africa Station. In 1897 he took command of the destroyer *Hardy*, stationed at Portsmouth. From 1905 to 1907 he commanded the *Sentinel* in the Mediterranean, and received the Royal Victorian Order for escort duty to the royal yacht when King Edward VII visited Malta. In 1907 he was made naval attaché at the British Embassy at Paris, being promoted captain a year later. During the first stages of the war, 1914-18, he was assistant director of the intelligence division at the Admiralty. Then, in April 1915, he went to sea again, commanding the battle cruiser *Inflexible* during the battle of Jutland. In August, 1917, he went to Paris on special duty as naval liaison officer, with the rank of commodore. Some of his best work was done there in connexion with the Inter-Allied Naval Council. On October 4, 1919, he was promoted rear-admiral, and in 1925 vice-admiral (retired). He was president of the Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union in 1937, and was superintendent of the Watts Naval Training School in Norfolk for two years from 1939. Besides holding the Victorian Order he was a C.B. and a K.B.E. He married, in 1896, Gertrude, daughter of Arthur Holme-Sumner, and had two sons.

— **Lord Luke** (the Right Hon. Sir George Lawson-Johnston), industrialist and philanthropist, was born on September 9, 1873, and educated at Dulwich College and at Blair Lodge in Scotland. Adopting a business career, he travelled widely, spending many years in Canada, Australia, Africa, and the Argentine Republic. On returning from the latter country in 1896 he joined the board of Bovril Limited, which his father had founded, and on the father's death in 1900, became its vice-chairman, subsequently becoming chairman and joint managing director. Under his management Bovril's humorous advertisements set a new fashion in advertising. He was also connected with other concerns, such as Australian Mercantile, Land and Finance Co., the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, of which he was vice-chairman, and Lloyds Bank. In 1897 he was made a member of the Council of the British Empire League. During the war, 1914-18, he was chairman at the War Office of a section under the Surveyor of Supply, and of the

East India Kip Committee. He was a member of the Council of the London Chamber of Commerce and chairman of the National Committee of the International Chambers of Commerce. From its foundation until 1917 he was a director of the *Daily Express*. Throughout his life he was a benefactor of the voluntary hospitals. In 1901 he became a member of the Committee of King Edward's Hospital Fund for London; in 1922 he was chairman of the organising committee of the hospitals of London combined appeal; in 1925 chairman of the fund's revenue committee; and in 1929 an honorary secretary of the fund itself. From 1909 to 1923 he was honorary treasurer of the Royal Northern Hospital. In the House of Lords in 1929 and 1933 he moved the Hospital Payment Amendment to the Third Party Risks section of the Traffic Act, and introduced the Voluntary Hospitals (Paying Patients) Bill which was enacted in 1936. He was chairman of the British Charities Association, treasurer of the County of London Red Cross, and vice-president of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was also chairman of the Ministry of Health Committee on Nutrition. He was created K.B.E. in 1920 and raised to the peerage in 1929, taking his title, it was said, from the name of the patron saint of physicians. In 1902 he married Edith Laura St. John, daughter of the sixteenth Lord St. John of Bletso, and had two sons and four daughters.

23. **Sir William Reynolds-Stephens**, president of the Royal Society of British Sculptors, 1921-33, was born at Detroit of British parentage in 1862, son of William Comben Stephens, and did not take the additional name of Reynolds until 1890. After being educated at Blaekheath he entered the Royal Academy Schools, where in 1887 he won prizes in sculpture and painting. Since 1880 he had exhibited regularly at the Academy, but it was not until 1894 that he began to devote himself exclusively to sculpture. To the general public he was perhaps best known by "The Royal Game," an allegory of the contest between England and Spain for the command of the seas, with Elizabeth and Philip II playing chess, which was purchased by the Chantrey bequest for the Tate Gallery in 1911. In similar vein were "Guinevere's Redemption," "Lancelot and the Nestling," and "The Sleeping Beauty." Other imaginative compositions were "Castles in the Air," "The Scout in War," "Fame," and "Hope." He was in greatest demand, however, as a portrait- and memorial sculptor, and among his best work in this class were the memorials to Sir W. Q. Orchardson, R.A., in St. Paul's Cathedral; the Lamb Centenary Memorial at Christ Church, Greyfriars; the bronze bust of Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada, and the memorial to Archbishop Lord Davidson in the courtyard of Lambeth Palace. His Edward Medal for bravery in mines is an example of his work on a small scale. He designed several war memorials, both after the South African War and the War of 1914-18, and did much interior work in churches. He was an honorary A.R.I.B.A., vice-president of the Royal British Colonial Society of Artists, and ex-chairman of the Council of the Imperial Arts League. In 1929 he received the Gold Medal of the Royal Society of British Sculptors, of which he was president, 1921-33. Sir William—he was knighted in 1931—married Annie, daughter of Thomas Ridpath.

24. **Dr. Arthur John Maclean**, Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness, Primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, was born on July 6, 1858, son of the Rev. A. J. Maclean (he dropped the final "e"), and educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, where he was ninth Wrangler in 1880. For a time he was Mathematical Lecturer at King's and Selwyn Colleges. He was ordained in 1882 as missionary chaplain of Cumbrae Cathedral, and was in charge of St. Columba's, Portree, Isle of Skye, from 1883 to 1886. In the latter year he went to the Middle East as head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission to the Assyrian Christians, where he remained until 1891. Apart from his mission work, his interest was in the various dialects of the Syriac language, on which he produced several grammars and dictionaries. In 1891 he returned to Portree as

rector of St. Columba's, and in the following year was appointed Dean of the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles, holding both offices until 1897, when he became rector of St. John's, Selkirk, where among his congregation was the family of the Duke of Buccleuch. In 1903 he became Principal of the Scottish Episcopal Theological College, Edinburgh, and an honorary canon of the cathedral at Millport on the island of Cumbrae, Firth of Clyde. He was consecrated Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness in 1904. In 1935 he was elected Primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Besides his Syriac dictionaries, he published "Recent Discoveries Illustrating Early Christian Life and Worship" (1904), "Ancient Church Orders" (1910), "The Catholicos of the East and his People," with W. H. Browne (1892), and "The Didache" (1922). With Professor Cooper he published an edition of "The Testament of Our Lord," a Church order of the fourth century. He received the honorary degree of D.D. from the University of Glasgow. In 1894 he married Eva, daughter of John Maclean, M.D.

MARCH

1. **Rollo Appleyard**, distinguished physicist and cable engineer, was born on January 1, 1867, and after being educated at Dulwich College entered the laboratory of Ayrton and Perry in the City and Guilds Institute. Later he was appointed demonstrator in physics at Bedford College, and in 1885 became an assistant in physics and telegraphy at the Royal Indian Engineering College, Cooper's Hill, where the chief subject of investigation was photo-electricity and wireless, following Hertz's discoveries. In 1888 he gained first place in the United Kingdom, with medal, for electricity and magnetism in the examination of the Science and Art Department. Four years later he entered the employment of the India and Gutta Percha Company, Silver town, and was sent to Brazil to help in duplexing the cables between Pernambuco and Santos. Back in England, he was put in charge of a research laboratory of the company, and then became manager of one of the manufacturing departments. One of his triumphs during the twenty-two years he remained with the company was the production of the core of the Pacific cable between San Francisco and Honolulu; another was the rubber-cored golf ball. Appleyard invented the conductometer for the measurement of electrical conductivity, and with the paper describing the work gained a Telford Premium from the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1903. In 1920 he received the premium again for a mathematical investigation of catenaries. At the suggestion of Lord Fisher he entered the Admiralty towards the end of 1914, receiving a commission as commander in the R.N.V.R. Transferred to the Air Service in 1917, he distinguished himself by his work on the measurement of height by barometer and thermometer and with the design of instruments for the computation of air speed. Later in the year he was appointed to the War Staff for the Convoy Section, and drew up several confidential statements on convoy defence. In 1918 he founded the Technical History Section of the Admiralty, directing it until 1920. After the war he acted as engineer to Cross & Blackwell; to the International Standard Electrical Company; and he held an appointment in the technical department of Constable & Company. He was a regular contributor to the *Engineering Supplement of The Times* and other scientific journals, and was one of the pioneer abstractors for the "Abstracts" of the Physical Society. His own books included "Pioneers of Electrical Communications," "A Tribute to Faraday," and "The History of the Institution of Electrical Engineers, 1871-1931" (1939). He married, in 1901, Mabel Laming, sister of Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, and had one son.

3. **Captain the Right Hon. Edward Algernon Fitzroy**, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1928-43, was born on July 24, 1869, son of the third Lord Southampton and a descendant of the second Duke of Grafton. After being educated at Eton and Sandhurst he entered the 1st Life Guards in 1889, retiring from the active list on his marriage in 1891. In 1900 he was elected Conservative member

of Parliament for South Northamptonshire (later the Daventry Division), which he represented until 1906, and from 1910 to the end of his Parliamentary career. On the outbreak of war in 1914 he rejoined his old regiment and was wounded in the first battle of Ypres. A practical farmer and an excellent judge of cattle, he was for a time chairman of the Agricultural Committee. From 1922 he was deputy-chairman of Ways and Means, and in 1924 was sworn a member of the Privy Council. When Mr. Whitley resigned the Speakership in 1928, Mr. J. F. Hope (Lord Rankeillour), as chairman of Committees would normally have been nominated for the vacancy, but feeling that he would not be elected unanimously, Mr. Hope stood aside, and after 120 Conservative members had presented a memorial to the Prime Minister (Mr. Baldwin) in favour of Captain Fitzroy he was chosen Speaker. Following Parliamentary procedure, he was returned unopposed at all General Elections except that of 1935 when the Labour Party decided to contest the seat. In spite of much controversy the election proceeded and Captain Fitzroy was returned with a large majority. In 1891 Captain Fitzroy married Muriel, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Archibald Douglas Pennant, second son of the first Lord Penrhyn, and had three sons and a daughter. On the occasion of their golden wedding in November, 1941, the House unanimously took occasion to express its admiration of the wisdom and impartiality with which Captain Fitzroy had carried out his duties, and the high esteem in which he was held. He was the first soldier to be elected Speaker and the first Speaker to die in office. After cremation his ashes were buried in the chancel of the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster.

4. Dr. Harry Cope Colles, distinguished authority on music and musical taste, was born at Bridgnorth on April 20, 1879, son of Abraham Colles, M.D., and entered the Royal College of Music in 1895. Three years later, on the advice of Walter Parratt, he competed for and won the organ scholarship at Worcester College, Oxford. There the Dean, Henry Hadow, turned Colles's mind towards criticism. He graduated in 1902, was given an honorary doctorate in 1932, and was made an honorary Fellow of his College in 1936. After beginning his journalistic career on the *Academy*, he became, in 1905, assistant to Fuller Maitland, music critic of *The Times*, and succeeded him on his retirement in 1911, holding the position until his death. During the war, 1914-18, Colles served with the Royal Artillery in Macedonia, attaining the rank of captain. On returning to London he undertook the task of revising Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," bringing out a new edition in 1927, and another in 1939, to which he added a sixth and supplementary volume. He also published a volume for the "Oxford History of Music" (No. VII: Symphony and Drama, 1850-1900). For some years he was lecturer in history, analysis, and appreciation at the Royal College, later becoming a member of the Board of Professors, and he joined the Associated Board of the R.A.M. and R.C.M., on whose behalf he undertook a mission to Australia and New Zealand in 1939. He was chairman and a member of the Council of the School of English Church Music and chairman of the Church Music Society. At one period he was consulting director of music at the Ladies College, Cheltenham, and at St. Michael's College, Tenbury, he was a fellow and governor. In 1934 he was admitted as an honorary freeman of the Musicians' Company. In 1923 he acted as guest music critic to the *New York Times*. His publications included two works on Brahms, one of his favourite composers; "The Growth of Music" (1916); "Voice and Verse," the subject of his Cramb Lectures at Glasgow, 1927, which he regarded as his best book; and a short official history of the R.C.M. on the occasion of its jubilee in 1933. In 1906 he married Hester Janet, daughter of Thomas Matheson.

10. Dr. Robert Laurence Binyon, a distinguished poet, who was also art expert, British Museum official, Orientalist, and critic of literature, was born at Lancaster on August 10, 1869, son of the Rev. F. Binyon, and educated at St. Paul's School and Trinity College, Oxford, of which he later became an honorary

Fellow. In the year 1890 he won the Newdigate Prize for a poem on "Persephone," and was one of four young writers who produced the small but highly esteemed volume "Primavera." In 1893 he entered the service of the British Museum, and after two years in the Department of Printed Books was transferred to the Department of Prints and Drawings, of which he became Keeper in 1932, retiring a year later. Throughout his life he continued to write poetry of a consistently high level. He also wrote several books on artists, at least half a dozen of them giving expression to his enthusiasm for William Blake, of Whose engravings he published in 1926 a complete catalogue. After "The Followers of William Blake" came a *Portfolio* monograph on Crome and Cotman (1894), "Life and Work of J. S. Cotman" (1903), an essay on Thomas Girtin (1900), and a popular volume on English water-colours (1933). In 1913 he produced "The Art of Botticelli," in the course of which he examined the principles of Pater's aesthetics. Among British Museum catalogues which he produced were "Drawings by British Artists and Artists of Foreign Origin working in Great Britain" and one on Japanese and Chinese woodcuts. With J. J. O'Brien Sexton he produced a survey of Japanese colour-prints (1923). One of his most successful studies was "Painting in the Far East," the result of a visit to Tokyo as an exponent of the British painters. But he was no less interested in literature as an editor, anthologist, translator, and dramatist. His "Golden Treasury of Modern Lyrics" (1924) enjoyed much popularity. He translated into English verse an acting version of *Salcuntala*, a famous Indian play. *Attila* was staged at His Majesty's Theatre in 1907; *Boadicea* in 1927. *The Young King* was the author's favourite play; *Brief Candles* was published in 1938. To the general public all over the world he was best known by his memorable poem, "For the Fallen," beginning with the line, "They shall grow not old as we that are left grow old," which first appeared in *The Times* on September 21, 1914. In 1904 he married Miss C. M. Powell, and had three daughters.

13. **John Pierpont Morgan**, American financier, was born at Irvington, New York State, on September 7, 1867, son of J. P. Morgan, the famous financier and art collector, and was educated at Harvard, graduating in 1889. A year later he married and came to the London office of Morgan & Company, where he remained until 1901. On the death of his father in 1913 he became head of the business in both London and New York. After 1918 he was engaged on financial problems arising out of the war, 1914-18, and in 1922 went to Paris at the head of a commission of international bankers to consider the question of granting a reparations loan to Germany. Like his father, he was a keen collector of books and works of art, and was a benefactor to institutions of learning and charity. By a deed of gift he handed over to a body of trustees for the benefit of scholars his father's library which was housed in a marble building in East 36th Street, New York, and endowed it with 300,000Z. He also gave a collection of ancient glass and pottery to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and a large collection of glass to the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Among his other benefactions was the endowment of a fellowship at Christ's College, Cambridge, and the gift to the American nation for use as an embassy of the house formerly owned by him in London. In 1927, in memory of his wife, who died in 1925 from encephalitis lethargica, he made a gift of 40,000Z. to the Neurological Institute of New York. He married, in 1890, Jane Norton Grew, and had two sons and two daughters.

18. **Cardinal Hinsley** (the Most Rev. Dr. Arthur Hinsley), Archbishop of Westminster, was born at Carlton, near Selby, Yorkshire, in 1865, and educated at Ushaw, the English College at Rome, the Gregorian University (where he took his doctorate), and at London University. In 1893 he returned to Ushaw as a Professor, remaining there for four years. In 1899 he became headmaster of St. Bede's Grammar School, Bradford. He was transferred in 1904 to the Archdiocese of Westminster as pastor of Sutton Park, moving in 1911 to Sydenham. In 1917 he became Rector of the English College in Rome, being created a

Domestic Prelate to the Pope. In 1926 he was created Bishop of Sebastopolis. Two years later the Pope appointed him to the post of "Apostolic Visitor to the African Mission in British Territory," a task of much delicacy and importance. In 1930 the Holy See created him titular Archbishop of Sardes and Apostolic Delegate in Africa, and for the next four years he devoted himself to African problems. In 1934 a serious illness caused him to resign from his work in Africa, and he was made a Canon of St. Peter's, an appointment generally regarded as an honourable form of retirement, but at the age of 69 he was chosen to succeed Cardinal Bourne at Westminster. In that capacity one of his first tasks was to visit Rome at the head of the English pilgrims on the occasion of the canonisation of Thomas More and John Fisher. In 1935, at the time of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, he publicly stated that no peoples were entitled to exploit other peoples, no matter what the plea, and that aggression must always be resisted. He was raised to the sacred college at the end of 1937. In 1940, after the fall of France, he organised a new society called "the Sword of the Spirit," in order to mobilise Catholics to promote as a religious duty the victory of the Allied arms and the reconstruction of Europe. Under its auspices, in May, 1941, two remarkable meetings were held at which Catholic, Anglican, and Free Church leaders appeared on the same platform at the Stoll Theatre to declare the identity of their war aims, the Cardinal presiding at one meeting and the Archbishop of Canterbury at the other.

26. **Major Leonard Darwin**, scientist, cugemst, traveller, was born on January 15, 1850, fourth son of Charles Darwin, and after being educated at Woolwich passed into the Royal Engineers in 1871, reaching the rank of major in 1889. In the course of his military career he was on the Staff of the Intelligence Department at the War Office, 1885-90. He was a member of several scientific expeditions, including the transits of Venus in 1874 and in 1882. From 1892 to 1895 he was Liberal Unionist member of Parliament for the Lichfield Division of Staffordshire. He was president of the Royal Geographical Society, 1908-11, of which he had been one of the Hon. Secretaries, 1893-1908; chairman of the Bedford College for Women, 1913-20; and throughout the war of 1914-18 was chairman of the Professional Classes Relief Council. He will be best remembered as president of the Eugenics Society, 1911-28. He was described as the founder of rare views on population and society, just as his father was regarded as the founder of modern biology. His book, "The Need for Eugenic Reform" (1926), soon came to be accepted as the standard authority on its subject. Previously he had published "Bimetallism" (1898), and "Municipal Trade" (1903). He was twice married; first, in 1882, to Elizabeth, daughter of G. R. Fraser, who died in 1898; and secondly, in 1900, to Charlotte Mildred, daughter of E. Langton. There were no children of either marriage.

— **Judge Ben B. Lindsey**, an advocate in America of probation for juvenile offenders, was born in Jackson, Tennessee, on November 25, 1869, his parents being* southern aristocrats, and was educated at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. In 1894 he was called to the Bar, and, practising at Denver, took a keen interest in social problems and reform. In 1899 he was appointed public guardian and administrator. After a long struggle he succeeded in getting the Colorado Legislature to pass a law setting up a juvenile court, in which cases against children would be tried *in camera*. When the first court was established a year later he was appointed judge, holding the post until 1927. So successful was his work that it attracted world-wide attention. He was also instrumental in getting a law passed in Colorado holding negligent parents, employers, or guardians responsible when their charges went astray. Always a champion of progressive measures, he was a supporter of the companionate marriage, which could be annulled without the delay of legal process if it failed, and he wrote a widely read book in its defence. This shocked many people, and in 1929 he was accused of gross official misconduct and disbarred by the Supreme Court of Colorado. He then went to Los Angeles, where he found many sympathisers.

In November, 1934, he became one of the Superior Judges of the Los Angeles County Court. A year later the Supreme Court of Colorado reinstated him at the Bar of the State. His autobiography, probably the most interesting of his many books, appeared in 1931 under the title, "The Dangerous Life." He married, in 1913, Henrietta Brevoort, of Detroit. They had no children.

28. **Robert William Paul**, mechanic, electrician, and physicist, was born on October 3, 1869, son of a London shipowner, and was educated at the City of London School and the Finsbury Technical College. He then served in Elliott's scientific instrument workshop and in the factory of the Bell Telephone Company at Antwerp, where he fitted up a testing room for electric wires and cables. In 1891 he started business for himself as an instrument-maker, and in collaboration with the leading telegraph and electrical engineers produced instruments designed to measure high-frequency currents to a degree of accuracy not before attained. Later, he amalgamated his business with another concern, and subsequently became a director of the Cambridge Instrument Company. His name is associated with the "Paul Intermittent Recorder," and in collaboration with Sir William Bragg he devised the Bragg-Paul Pulsator, an apparatus to aid breathing in cases of respiratory paralysis. Paul was also recognised as one of the founders of the cinematograph industry. His projector was first shown in operation at the Finsbury Technical College in February, 1896, and in June of that year a film of Persimmon winning the Derby was shown at the Alhambra. His type of intermittent motion for feeding forward the film continued to be used in the modern projector. He was elected a Fellow of the Physical Society of London in 1920, becoming a vice-president. In 1938 he received the Duddell Medal. He took an active part in preparing the collection of scientific apparatus at the Royal Albert Hall in 1931 at the commemorative meeting in honour of Michael Faraday. In 1897 he married Ellen Dawn.

— **Sergei Vassilievich Rachmaninoff**, famous pianist and composer, was born at Novgorod of Russian landed gentry stock on April 1, 1873. He began his piano lessons at the age of 4; at the age of 10 he went to the Conservatoire of St. Petersburg, and from there to the Moscow Conservatoire where, under Tchaikovsky's friend Zvierev, he made good progress. For his final examination he composed an opera, *Aleko*, which Tchaikovsky helped him to produce in the Great Moscow Theatre. His Prelude in C sharp minor, which was first heard about that time, was soon acclaimed all over the world, but the failure of his First Symphony depressed him. In England, however, the success of his "fantasia for orchestra," "The Rock," gave him fresh hope, but on his return to Moscow despondency again seized him until, in 1901, he was cured by treatment. He married, in 1902, and in 1906 moved to Dresden, where he stayed for three years, composing his Second Symphony, the first Sonata for Pianoforte and the Third Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra. In 1909 he went to America as a pianist and as a conductor with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. After the Bolshevik Revolution he returned to America, working chiefly as a pianist and conductor. Musical critics regarded Rachmaninoff as by far the greatest pianist of his age. As regards his compositions, it was held that time would tell whether they possessed lasting qualities. Rachmaninoff married his cousin, Nathalie Satin, and had two daughters.

31. **Paul Milyukov**, Russian politician and writer, was born in Moscow in 1859, son of a minor official, and was educated at the Moscow University where, after taking his degree in 1886, he was given the post of lecturer in Russian history. When owing to his liberal views he was compelled to resign, the Bulgarian Government invited him to become lecturer at Sofia University. During 1902-4 he lectured in the United States, and was one of the first to arouse the interest of the American public in Russia and its history. Outstanding among his many publications were the section on Russian history in the Russian Encyclopedia; and "Outlines of the History of Russian Culture" (1896-1905).

He was better known, however, as a leader of the Liberal opposition under the Tsar Nicholas II. He became head of the Cadet Party when it was organised in 1905, retaining the position until the party dissolved. The Government was able to secure his exclusion from the first two Dumas; nevertheless he directed the parliamentary policy of the Cadets from 1906 to 1917. He advocated the enlargement of parliamentary rights, responsibility of Cabinet Ministers to the Duma, compulsory land purchase from the big landowners for the benefit of the peasants, and recognition of the rights of the different nationalities in Russia to self-determination. He supported the Government at the beginning of the war, 1914-18, but when it was suspected that under the influence of Rasputin a separate truce was to be concluded, he once more became leader of the Opposition. His reference to the fatal influence of Rasputin on the Empress, made in a speech in the Duma on November 14, 1916, did much to hasten the fall of the monarchy. In the Provisional Government which followed, Milyukov was for ten weeks Foreign Minister; but he was not a success, and in May, 1917, his political career came to an end. Eventually he went to Paris and later to London, where he worked on his "History of the Second Russian Revolution." Back in Paris in 1922 he became editor of the Russian newspaper *Last News*.

APRIL

3. The Right Rev. Neville Stuart Talbot, Bishop of Pretoria, 1920-34, was born on August 21, 1879, son of Bishop E. S. Talbot, of Winchester, and grandson of the Hon. John Talbot, fourth son of the second Earl Talbot. After being educated at Haileybury he obtained a commission in The Rifle Brigade, 1899-1903, and saw service in the South African War. He then resumed his studies at Christ Church, Oxford, whence he proceeded to Cuddesdon College. Ordained in 1908, he held a curacy at Armley, Leeds, until the following year, when he became Fellow, Tutor, and Chaplain of Balliol College, Oxford. During 1909-10 he was examining chaplain to the Archbishop of York. In the war, 1914-18, he served as Chaplain to the Forces in France, being wounded, and was awarded the M.C. in 1915. In memory of his younger brother, Gilbert Talbot, killed in July, 1915, the first Talbot House ("Toe H") was founded in Poperinghe. During 1919-20 Talbot was again Chaplain of Balliol College, and then on June 24, 1920, was consecrated Bishop of Pretoria. He soon became an outstanding figure in the Church in South Africa, his denunciation of the Service Contract Bill in 1932 being a good example of his outspokenness on native questions. Resigning the See in 1934, he became vicar of St. Mary's, Nottingham, and rural dean. In 1934 he was made assistant Bishop of Southwell. His publications included "The Mind of the Disciples" (1914), "Thoughts on Religion at the Front" (1915), "The Returning Tide of Faith" (1923), "The Riddle of Life" (1928), and "Great Issues" (1936). For a time he was a member of the United Statement Committee of the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly. Bishop Talbot was described as the most muscular bishop, he was 6 ft. 5 ins. tall, and broad in proportion. He was an energetic preacher, not afraid of conventional methods. He married Cecil Mary, daughter of W. Seymour Eastwood, of Chichester, and had one son and one daughter.

4. Sir Edwin John Butler, an authority on fungi and plant diseases, was born at Kilkee, County Clare, on August 13, 1874, and educated at Queen's College, Cork, and at the Royal University of Ireland. At Cork he had studied under Marcus Hartog, who had been investigating aquatic phycomycetes; it was natural, therefore, that when he received a travelling scholarship he should go to Paris to work with Max Cornu, who was then the recognised authority on the subject. When Butler published his monograph on *Pythium* in 1907 he at once established his reputation. Although phycomycetes remained his chief interest, he was best known as a plant pathologist. In 1905, when he was appointed Imperial Mycologist to India, research in plant diseases was in its infancy. His efforts were recognised by successive appointments, culminating

in 1920 when he became agricultural adviser to the Government of India. His outstanding work, "Fungi and Disease in Plants," was published in 1918. In 1935 he was appointed the first director of the Imperial Mycological Institute, holding that post until 1935, when he became secretary to the Agricultural Research Council. Owing to ill-health he retired in 1941. In 1921 he married a daughter of A. J. le Mesurier, of Guernsey, and had one son and two daughters.

6. **Alexandre Millerand**, President of the French Republic, 1920-24, was born on February 1, 1859. He became an advocate of the Paris Court of Appeal in 1881, and in 1885 entered Parliament as a Deputy for Paris. He began as a Socialist, but in 1889 accepted an invitation to join the Waldeck-Rousseau Government as Minister of Commerce. For this the Socialists were so incensed against him that he was formally expelled from the Socialist Party in 1904, sitting henceforth as a private member. In 1909 he was again given Cabinet rank in the Briand Ministry, and in January, 1912, entered the "Grand Ministère" of Poincaré as Minister of War. A year later this appointment ended as the result of a trivial personal incident, but he was recalled to the War Office in 1914. Again there was much criticism of the administration, and he had to resign. He remained out of office until November, 1918, when Clemenceau appointed him Commissioner-General of the Republic in Alsace-Lorraine. On the resignation of Clemenceau in 1920, Millerand became Prime Minister, holding office from January to September, when he became President of the Republic in succession to Deschanel, who had resigned on account of ill-health. His advocacy of a revision of the Constitution so as to strengthen the Executive was accepted without much opposition, since the Bloc National, his own creation, was the dominant party. But in 1922, at the time of the Cannes Conference, it was said that he telegraphed to the Prime Minister, Aristide Briand (though Millerand himself always denied this), expressing dissatisfaction over the safeguarding of French claims, and summoned him to Paris, whereupon Briand resigned. In October, 1923, Millerand delivered at Evreux a partisan speech which led to the crisis that caused his resignation. At the elections of May, 1924, Herriot's *Cartel des Gauches* obtained a small but workable majority. On the President inviting Herriot to form a Government, he refused so long as Millerand remained President. On June 1, 307 deputies passed a resolution declaring that "the maintenance of M. Millerand at the Elysée would wound the Republican conscience, would be the source of endless conflicts between the Government and the Chief of the State and a constant danger for the regime itself." The President then formed a Cabinet under François-Marsal to lay his claims before Parliament, but the Senate refused to take action, and the Chamber declined to recognise the Government. Millerand had to yield (June 11, 1924), and thereafter he took little part in politics.

15. **Dr. William Arthur Shaw**, editor of the Treasury Calendar at the Public Record Office, was born on April 19, 1865, and educated at Owens College, Manchester. He succeeded Joseph Redington as editor of the records, of the Treasury in the nineties, and from that time onwards he spent most of his working hours at the Public Record Office. Under his editorship five volumes of "Treasury Books and Papers" and nineteen volumes of another series of "Treasury Books" were published. They covered, with a small gap, the period from the accession of Charles II to the year 1745. For the Historical Manuscripts Commission he prepared a calendar of the Sidney papers belonging to Lord De L'Isle and Dudley. His numerous publications included a "History of Currency" (1895), which is a mine of information on the monetary systems of all Europe; "Select Tracts and Documents Illustrative of English Monetary History" (1896); "The Knights of England," a record of the Orders of Chivalry, and of Knights Bachelors of the United Kingdom, and the "Theory and Principles of Central Banking" (1931). He was also interested in English painting and portraiture, compiling inventories and writing essays and articles. He was made a Fellow of the British Academy in 1940.

23. Baron Frederic d'Erlanger, banker and composer, was born in Paris on May 29, 1868, son of Baron d'Erlanger, founder of the French banking house. In 1886 Baron Frederic joined the firm, and became a British subject, and on the death of his brother, Baron Emile, he succeeded as head of the firm. Like his brother, he had extensive interests in South American companies. Outside business his chief interest was composing music, and he distinguished himself in all the major forms—opera, chamber, and symphonic. After studying under Anselm Ehmann in Paris at the age of 20, he brought out a book of songs. His first opera was produced at Aix-les-Bains and Hamburg in 1894. *Inez Mendo*, which followed in 1897, under the pseudonym of Ferdinand Regnal, was first produced at Covent Garden. His third and last opera, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, came to Covent Garden after performances in Naples. In later years he wrote the music for two ballets, *Les Cent Baisers* (1935), and *Cendrillon* (1938), the choreography being by Nijinska and Fokine, respectively. Chief among his orchestral works were "Suite Symphonique," performed at a promenade concert in 1895, a violin concerto played by Kreisler at a Philharmonic Concert in 1903, and a piano concerto in 1921.

24. Dr. Warrington Yorke, Professor of Tropical Medicine in the University of Liverpool, 1929-43, was born at Lancaster in 1883, son of a Methodist minister, and after completing his medical course at Liverpool, went to Strasbourg. In 1906 he won the Holt Fellowship in Physiology at Liverpool University. From 1907 to 1909 he was a member of the Blackwater Fever Expedition to Nyasaland organised by the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine. On his return he became director of research at Runcorn. Later he was appointed Professor of Parasitology, and finally Alfred Jones Professor of Tropical Medicine. As student research worker and professor he had been connected with the Liverpool School for more than forty years. He was a member of Sleeping Sickness Commissions to Northern Rhodesia, 1911-12, and to Sierra Leone, 1914-15. Towards the end of 1942 he travelled over 20,000 miles by air in the United States, attending conferences at the request of the British Government. He served on the Chemotherapy Committee of the Medical Research Council, 1927; on the Malaria Committee of the League of Nations, 1935; and became a member of the Tropical Medicine Research Committee of the Medical Research Council in 1936. He was a member of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1932. In 1925 he was awarded the Chalmers Memorial Gold Medal. He married Elsie Greening, and had one son and one daughter.

25. Leonard Stanford Merrifield, sculptor, was born at Wyck Rissington, Gloucestershire, in 1880, and after being educated at home and at the Cheltenham School of Art, studied at the London School of Art and the Royal Academy Schools. Since 1906 he had been a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy and at the Paris Salon, specialising in portrait heads and busts, models for public statuettes and memorials, decorative statuettes, medals, and seals. His first public commissions were a marble statue of William Pantycelyn, the Welsh hymn-writer, one of eleven figures of Welsh historical characters presented to the Cardiff City Hall by Lord Rhondda, and a heroic bronze of Richard Trevithick, inventor of the high-pressure and locomotive steam engine, to be erected at Camborne, Cornwall. Variants of the memorial were later executed for Merthyr Tydfil and University College, London. Merrifield also made a statue of Hedd Wyn, a young Welsh poet killed in the 1914-18 war, the model for which was exhibited in the Academy of 1924. Ten years later he designed a colossal figure in bronze of Lord Carson to be erected near the Ulster Parliament Buildings at Stormont, Belfast. For Ulster he also executed a war memorial at Lurgan, and a bust of Lord Craigavon. By many his best work was thought to be his small memorials in mixed materials, such as "St. George Disarming," in silver, ivory, and onyx, executed in collaboration with W. G. Newton as architect,

and exhibited in 1924. Merrifield married Catherine Muriel, daughter of Colonel Sir Howard Melliss, and had one son.

30. **Beatrice Webb** (Lady Passfield), described as being (with her husband) one of the intellectual architects of the modern Socialist Movement in this country, was one of the most remarkable women of her time. She was born on January 22, 1858, eighth of the nine daughters of Richard Potter, chairman of the Great Western Railway. Among her parents' friends was Herbert Spencer, who encouraged her solitary studies, arranged for the *Nineteenth Century* to publish her first essay in social investigation, and finally invited her to be his literary executor. Before definitely deciding to become an investigator of social institutions she acquired some of the necessary technique by living for several months among the Lancashire cotton operatives. She was also associated with Samuel and Henrietta Barnett at Toynbee Hall, and gained further experience by helping to manage blocks of working-class flats in the East End of London. But it was "Life and Labour in London," the great work of Charles Booth (who had married a cousin of hers), which finally determined her choice of a career. In her thirty-first year she published her first book, "The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain" (1891) which, like her other books, is still a standard work. She first met Sidney Webb, whom she afterwards married, about the time of her father's death in 1891. Requiring some data for her analysis of the co-operative movement, she was told that he might be willing to help. An interview was arranged, and he gave her the information she wanted. Soon they were betrothed, and almost immediately began collecting material for their first joint work, "The History of Trade Unionism." Mrs. Webb was a firm believer in the commission method of investigating public questions, and served on many such bodies, beginning with the Royal Commission on Poor Law and Unemployment, 1905-9. With her husband, she issued the minority report which set in motion the Socialist and Labour campaign for the break up of the Poor Law. Although she joined the Fabian Society soon after her meeting; with Sidney Webb, and eventually became its president, she held somewhat aloof from the "movements" in which she was interested. She and her husband carried out important and first-rate research on the history of trade unionism, the Poor Law, and Russia, and their publications on these subjects are acknowledged as standard works. Besides "The History of Trade Unionism" (1894) and its sequel, "Industrial Democracy" (1897), she and her husband together produced a monumental work in nine volumes, "English Local Government" (1906-29), as well as numerous studies such as "The Prevention of Destitution" (1911), "A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain" (1920), "The Consumers' Co-operative Movement" (1921), "Decay of Capitalist Civilisation" (1923), and "Soviet Communism," in 2 volumes (1935). Independently she published her autobiography in "My Apprenticeship" (1926), and edited a number of volumes dealing with the Factory Acts. When Mr. Webb was raised to the peerage in 1929, she signified her wish to continue to be known as Mrs. Sidney Webb, and declined to use the title except on formal occasions.

MAY

2. **George Edward Kruger-Gray**, an authority on heraldic decoration, was born in Kensington in 1880, son of E. C. Kruger, of St. Heliers—he took the surname Gray after his marriage in 1918—and was educated at Merchant Taylors' School and the Royal College of Art. During the war, 1914-18, he served with the Artists' Rifles and in the camouflage section of the Royal Engineers. He exhibited at the Royal Academy a water-colour portrait of his wife-to-be, "Audrey Gordon Gray," in 1916, and from then onwards was regularly represented at Burlington House. After his designs for the South African coinage had been included in a group exhibit by the Royal Mint in 1923, he was in great demand as a decorative designer, excelling in stained glass and in the carved

and painted panel. Architects appreciated his work, which was probably seen at its best in the public buildings designed by E. Vincent Harris, R.A., and in panels in memory of distinguished Harrovians in Speech Room. For Harrow he also designed heraldic windows in the War Memorial building. Outstanding among his many official commissions were those of the Great Seal of King George VI, the reverses of the silver coinage, the collar of the Order of the British Empire, heraldic panels for King George V Playing Fields, the Queen's personal message to householders, 1940, and the Fiery Cross War Savings poster and stamps, 1941. For the parish church of Helston, Cornwall, he designed a stained-glass window representing two little angels dancing the traditional "Furry Dance." Kruger-Gray was made a C.B.E. in 1938; was F.S.A.; and a member of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society and the Art Workers Guild. In 1936 he became a liveryman of the Glaziers' Company, and a year later received the freedom of the City of London. He married, in 1918, Audrey Gordon, daughter of the Ven. J. H. Gray, D.D., Archdeacon of Hong-Kong, and had one son.

6. **Viscount Hewart** (the Right Hon. Sir Gordon Hewart), Lord Chief Justice of England, 1922-40, was born on January 7, 1870, and was educated at Bury Grammar School, Manchester Grammar School, and at University College, Oxford. While reading law he earned his living as a journalist, joining the staff of the *Manchester Guardian* on the invitation of C. P. Scott. For several years he was a reporter in the Press Gallery at Westminster, and later became principal leader writer on the *Morning Leader*. In 1902 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, joined the Northern Circuit, and for ten years practised in Manchester and Liverpool. One of his best-known cases—which became a leading authority on the subject—was the libel action *Artemus Jones v. Hulton*. Appearing for the plaintiff, he obtained a verdict for 1,750Z. against the Hulton newspapers for libel in a facetious article in which the chief character bore the name of Artemus Jones. So impressed was Sir Edward Hulton with Hewart's handling of the case that he caused him to be given a general retainer on behalf of the Hulton newspapers. Hewart took silk in 1912, and at a by-election in the following year was returned as Liberal member of Parliament for Leicester. He did not, however, make an impression on the House until after his appointment as Solicitor-General in 1916. Three years later he succeeded Sir F. E. Smith as Attorney-General. He carried through successfully such measures as the Representation of the People Act, Irish Home Rule, and Coal Mines Control, and as a personal distinction he was admitted to the Cabinet in 1921. On March 8, 1922, he succeeded Lord Trevothm (Mr. Justice A. T. Lawrence), then in his 79th year, as Lord Chief Justice of England. From 1922 to 1929 he was president of the War Compensation Court. In December of the latter year he joined Lord Ullswater's Committee on Electoral Reform. When Mr. Baldwin raised the question of the undesirability of the Lord Chief Justice being chosen by one of the political parties to serve on such a committee, Lord Hewart withdrew, but in a trenchant letter to *The Times* claimed that his judicial office did not prevent him holding office or expressing an opinion upon such a topic as electoral reform. On another occasion, in 1934, he criticised the Supreme Court of Justice Amendment Bill during the second reading in the House of Lords, suggesting that one clause was an affront to Lord Justice Slesser. A few days later the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Sankey, promised to insert a clause which would safeguard the seniority rights of all appointed Lords Justices. In 1929 Hewart published "The New Despotism," defending the rights of the public against bureaucracy. He was president of the Classical Association in 1926 and of the English Association in 1929; was an honorary Fellow of University College, a D.C.L. of Oxford. On his retirement in 1940 he was given a viscountcy. He was twice married; first, in 1892, to Sara, daughter of J. Hacking Riley, of Bury, who died in 1933; and secondly, in the following year, to Jean, daughter of J. R. Stewart of New Zealand. By his first marriage he had two sons and one daughter. His eldest son was killed in the war, 1914-18; his second son, born in 1896, succeeded to the peerage.

11. **Canon Norman Powell Williams**, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, 1927-43, was born at Durham on September 5, 1883, son of the Rev. T. P. Williams, and educated at Durham School and Christ Church, Oxford. After preparing for Holy Orders at Cuddesdon he was ordained in 1909 and elected to the Chaplain Fellowship at Exeter College, which he held until 1927, in which year he was made Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church. During the war, 1914-18, he was successively an assistant master at Eton; in the Military Intelligence Department of the War Office; and Chaplain at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth. He was Select Preacher at Oxford, 1922-24, and at Cambridge in 1932. In 1911 he contributed an essay on the origin of St. Mark's Gospel to "Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem," edited by Sanday, who had encouraged Williams in his work. In 1916 Williams published "Form and Content in the Christian Tradition," consisting of a correspondence between Sanday and himself, Williams stating the orthodox case as regards ecclesiastical authority. He also published "The First Easter Morning" (1919). But his *magnum opus*, which gained for him the Oxford degree of D.D., was the Bampton Lectures on "The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin." With Dr. Harris he edited a book of essays on the Oxford and parallel movements, entitled "Northern Catholicism" (1933), his own essay being on "The Theology of the Catholic Revival." He was keenly interested in Prayer Book revision, and was largely responsible for the proposals known as the "Green Book," 1923. In 1927 he married Muriel Cazenove, and had two sons and three daughters.

12. **Sarah Grand** (Mrs. Frances Elizabeth M'Fall), novelist, was born in Ireland in 1855, daughter of Lieutenant E. J. Bellenden, R.N., her mother being a daughter of G. H. Sherwood, Lord of the Manor of Rysome Garth, Yorkshire. At the age of 16 she married Brigade-Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel M'Fall, and spent the early part of her married life in the East. Left a widow in 1898, she devoted herself to writing. Her first novel, "Ideala," printed in Warrington at her expense, had little success. It was by way of a prologue to her best-known work, "The Heavenly Twins," published in three volumes by Heinemann in 1893. So great was the public demand for the book that it was reprinted six times in the year of publication. The book was perhaps the most representative example of the "new" or "revolting woman" school of fiction, and on its first appearance met with a storm of disapproval. But it struck new ground in English fiction. The book was a passionate plea for an equal sexual moral standard for men and women. Of her subsequent novels, the more important were "Our Manifold Nature" (1894), "The Beth Book" (1897), "Winged Victory" (1916), and "Variety" (1922). In 1923, and again in 1925, and a third time from 1926 to 1929 she acted as Mayoress of Bath.

14. **Sir Thomas Hudson Middleton**, chairman of the Agricultural Research Council, 1938-43, was born at Cromarty on August 31, 1863, and educated at Merchiston Castle School and Edinburgh University. In 1889 he went to India as Professor of Agriculture at Baroda College, remaining there until 1896, when he returned to become Lecturer in Agriculture to the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. Three years later he became Professor of Agriculture at Durham College of Science, and in 1902 was appointed to the Chair of Agriculture in the University of Cambridge. His work on the formation of permanent grass from arable land led to a simplification of the practice then in vogue. In 1906 he was made assistant secretary to the Board of Agriculture, remaining there for thirteen years. During the war, 1914-18, he took a leading part as Deputy Director-General in organising the food production campaign under the direction of Colonel Sir Arthur Lee (Viscount Lee of Fareham). For the harvest of 1918 tillage acreage was increased by almost 2,000,000 acres, ensuring the supply of bread for the whole population for forty weeks, against the normal home-grown supply of ten weeks. After the war he was made a member of the Development Commission under the Development and Road Improvement Funds Acts, and served until 1941, the last twelve years as vice-chairman. From 1926 to 1928

he was a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India. In 1933 he was the first recipient of the Royal Agriculture Society's gold medal. Three years later he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1938 the Committee of the Privy Council for the Organisation and Development of Agricultural Research appointed him chairman of the Research Council. He was made C.B. in 1913, K.B.E. in 1918, and K.C.I.E. in 1929. He also had several academic honours. In 1890 he married Lydia Miller, daughter of Professor Davidson, of Adelaide, and had one son and one daughter.

17. Sir Arthur Newsholme, last of the principal medical officers under the Local Government Board, was born on February 10, 1857, and after receiving his medical training at St. Thomas's Hospital became M.D. London, winning the Gold Medal in Medicine in 1881. From then until 1889 he was in general practice at Clapham. Having taken the certificate in Public Health at the University of London in 1885, he was appointed a part-time medical officer of health for Clapham. Four years later he published "Vital Statistics," which quickly became a standard text-book. In 1889 he went to Brighton as Medical Officer of Health and while there published, in 1905, a remarkable report on the outbreak of scarlet fever due to infected milk. In 1908 he succeeded Sir William H. Power as principal officer to the Local Government Board, holding the post until the formation of the Ministry of Health in 1919. He then went to the United States as Professor of Hygiene and Public Health at the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore. Returning to England, he renewed his interest in the problem of cancer and served on the Executive Committee of the Imperial Research Fund. His publications included an account of the Ministry of Health, "The Evolution of Preventive Medicine," "Health Problems in Organised Society," "The Story of Modern Preventive Medicine," "International Studies on the Relation between the Private and Official Practice of Medicine," and, with John A. Kingsbury, "Red Medicine," a detailed picture of socialised medicine in a Communist state. In "The Last Thirty Years of Public Health" (1936) he emphasised that the removal of poverty would effect "an enormous reduction in disease." During 1900-1 he was president of the Incorporated Society of Medical Officers of Health, from 1910 to 1919 he was on the General Medical Council as a Crown nominee, and in the war of 1914-18 was attached to the Territorial Sanitary Corps with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was made a C.B. in 1912 and advanced to K.C.B. in 1917. In 1881 he married Sara, daughter of William Mansford, of Marlborough, Lincoln. Newsholme left the bulk of his estate to the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

22. Df. Ernest de Selincourt, distinguished English critic and Wordsworthian, was born at Streatham on September 24, 1870, and educated at Dulwich College and at University College, Oxford, where he read Classics. From 1896 to 1909 he was Lecturer in English Language and Literature at University College, Oxford; from 1899 to 1909 University Lecturer in Modern English Literature; from 1908 to 1935 Professor of English Language and Literature at Birmingham University, of which he was also Vice-Principal, 1931-35; from 1928 to 1933 Professor of Poetry at Oxford; Clarke Lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1934; and Lecturer in Fine Arts at the University of Belfast in 1937. During 1935-36 he was president of the English Association. He will be best remembered as a careful and scholarly editor of Spenser, Keats, and Wordsworth. Indeed to Wordsworth he paid particular attention. He edited the letters of Wordsworth and Dorothy Wordsworth and published an original text of the "Prelude," printed alongside the accepted and posthumously published text, enabling the growth of the poet's mind to illustrate itself. He also made a selection of Landor's "Conversations" for the Oxford World's Classics, and in 1934 printed in volume form his Oxford lectures ranging from Chaucer to Bridges. He was D.Litt. of Oxford, LL.D. of Edinburgh, a Fellow of the British Academy, and since 1930 an honorary Fellow of his College at

Oxford. In 1896 he married Ethel, daughter of W. T. Shawcross, of Rochdale, and had two sons and two daughters.

26. **Dr. Terrot Reaveley Glover**, Public Orator in the University of Cambridge, 1920-39, Was born on July 23, 1869, son of Dr. Richard Glover, of Bristol, and educated at Bristol Grammar School and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he won the Porson Prize, the Browne Medal for Greek Epigram, and the Chancellor's Classical Medal. Obtaining distinction in both parts of the Classical Tripos, he was elected to a Fellowship at St. John's College in 1892. From 1896 to 1901 he was Professor of Latin in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. He returned to Cambridge and to the Fellowship at his College in 1901, and for thirty-eight years was one of the outstanding personalities in the life of the University, where he held various appointments as lecturer and teacher, including also that of public orator, a position he filled with rare charm and distinction. His publications included "Virgil," "Herodotus," "From Pericles to Philip," "Democracy in the Ancient World," and "Greek Byways," all well known to students of Greek and Roman history. He also wrote "Life and Letters in the Fourth Century," "Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire," "The Jesus of History," "Jesus in the Experience of Men," "Paul of Tarsus," "The Influence of Christ in the Ancient World," and, a fortnight before his death, "Cambridge Retrospect." Both as a writer and a lecturer he possessed the gift of a great interpreter; he made his subject live. Throughout his life he was a member and a lay preacher of the Baptist Church. Glover was the recipient of academic honours from many Universities in the Empire. He married, in 1897, Alice, daughter of H. G. Few, of Cambridge, and had two sons and four daughters.

— **Henri La Fontaine**, president (since 1907) of the International Peace Bureau, was born in Brussels on April 22, 1854, studied jurisprudence, and became a successful lawyer in the Belgian capital. As early as 1882, when the International Peace Bureau was founded, La Fontaine was an ardent worker in its cause, and especially in connexion with The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907, which took place through the instrumentality of the International Peace Bureau. One of the institutions which he founded in Brussels, partly with the help of private financial assistance, and since 1892 with the support of the Belgian Government, was the "Centre Intellectuel Mondial," many of the activities of which were later taken over (from 1920 onward) by the League of Nations Institute for Intellectual Co-operation. For his devoted work in the cause of Peace La Fontaine was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1913. He entered the Belgian Senate in 1895 as one of the representatives of the Socialist Party, remaining a Senator until 1932. La Fontaine was also Professor of International Law at the University of Brussels, enjoying widespread recognition as an authority on his subject. During the first German War La Fontaine was in England and the United States; in 1919 he was a member of the Belgian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. He was associated for many years with the Inter-Parliamentary Union; was Secretary of the International Institute of Bibliography; and President of the Belgian Alpine Club. In 1911 he published a book giving the outline of a Constitution for the United States of the World, and in 1916, "The Great Solution."

27. **The Rev. Alexander James Carlyle**, for many years Chaplain and Lecturer in Political Theory at University College, Oxford, was born at Bombay on July 24, 1861, son of a Scottish Free Church minister in that city, and entered Glasgow University in 1876, later going to Exeter College, Oxford, where he read History and Theology, and was president of the Union in 1888. In June, 1888, he was ordained to a curacy at St. Stephen's, Westminster, where he gained valuable knowledge of the actual conditions of life of the urban labouring class. Two years later he was made general purposes secretary to the S.P.C.K., but his health failed and he went abroad in 1891, returning to Oxford in 1893 as

Chaplain and Lecturer in Theology at University College. In 1895 he was presented to the living of St. Martin's and All Saints', Oxford, remaining there until 1919. During the war, 1914-18, he lectured in Scandinavia for the Ministry of Information. He was made D.Litt. in 1910, and had been Senior Treasurer of the Oxford Union Society, Fellow and a Member of the Council of the Royal Historical Society, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, and Select Preacher at Cambridge. In collaboration with his brother, Sir Robert W. Carlyle, he published "The History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West," in five volumes, 1903-28, and he and his wife were the authors of a *Life of Latimer*. Other writings included, "The Influence of Christianity on Social and Political Ideas," and "The Christian Church and Liberty." In 1895 he married R. Montieth Smith, daughter of Dr. Walter Smith, and had two daughters.

27. **The Right Hon. Joseph Gordon Goates**, Prime Minister of New Zealand, 1925-28, was born at Matakohē, North Auckland, in 1878, son of Edward Coates of Herefordshire, his mother being a daughter of Dr. T. Aickin, of New Zealand. After serving for some time on the Otameatea County Council, he was elected in 1911 for the parliamentary constituency of Kaipara, which he continued to represent throughout his active political life. During the war, 1914-18, he served in France as major commanding a company of the 1st Auckland Infantry Battalion, and winning the M.C. Returning to New Zealand, he was appointed Minister of Justice in 1919, an office he held for one year, and he was also Postmaster-General and Minister of Telegraphs. In addition he was given the Portfolio of Public Works, and in 1921 was made Minister of Native Affairs as Well. When he became Minister of Railways in 1923 he had charge of five departments. In 1925 he succeeded Mr. Massey as Prime Minister. In December, 1928, he was defeated in the New Zealand Parliament on a "no confidence" amendment moved by Sir Joseph Ward, and for three years was leader of the Opposition. In the Coalition Ministry of 1931 he was Minister of Public Works, Employment, and Transport, and from 1933 to 1935 of Finance, Customs, and Transport. He became a member of the New Zealand War Cabinet in 1940, and was also Minister of Armed Forces. In 1920, when he was in England attending the Imperial Conference, he was sworn a member of the Privy Council, and received honorary degrees from Cambridge and Dublin and the freedom of the cities of London, Edinburgh, Sheffield, and Kidderminster. In 1914 he married Marjone, daughter of Dr. W. Coles, of London, and had five daughters.

— **Arthur Mee**, editor of the *Children's Newsjapper*, was born at Stapleford, near Nottingham, on July 21, 1875, and at the age of 16 obtained employment on the *Nottingham Daily Express*, the editor of which was Mr. (later Sir) John A. Hammerton. By the time Mee was 20 he was editor of the *Nottingham Evening News*. In 1896 he joined the firm of George Newnes in London, and from 1901 to 1903 he was editor of the illustrated magazine, *Black and White*. During this period he published books on "Joseph Chamberlain" and "Lord Salisbury." A brief spell of free-lancing followed until Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliffe) made him literary editor of the *Daily Mail* in succession to Sir Philip Gibbs. In 1905 he turned to the editing of popular educative and reference books, beginning with a "Self-Educator." That being a success, he went on to bigger things, and in 1907 brought out Harmsworth's "History of the World" (1907), having W. M. Flinders Petrie, A. H. Sayce, and W. J. Sollas as collaborators and Hammerton as joint editor. In the following year he embarked upon another and even greater project, "The Children's Encyclopaedia," which came out in fifty fortnightly parts at sevenpence each, and which was later translated into most of the leading languages of the world. After continuing for twenty-five years as "My Magazine" it was followed by the *Children's Newspaper*. Again with Hammerton, Mee produced "The World's Great Books," in which the classics were put out in condensed form. In later years he edited a series of guides to English counties, a 36-volume survey entitled "The King's England." He married, in 1897, Amy Fratton, of East Costingworth, Yorkshire, and had

one daughter. His death announcement contained the wish : " Should any friends desire to buy a flower for me I beg that they will send a mite instead to some children's hospital with the simple words ' For Arthur Mee.' "

JUNE

1. Leslie Howard, distinguished film and stage actor, whose real name was Stainer, was born in London on April 3, 1893, educated at Dulwich, and became a bank clerk in the City. On the outbreak of war in 1914 he went into the Army, from which he was discharged in 1917. He then decided to develop his interest in the stage—at school he had written and acted in plays—and joined a touring company in *Peg o' My Heart*. After his first appearance in London in 1918 he continued to act there until 1922, when he went to New York. In 1927 he scored one of his greatest successes in *Her Cardboard Lover*, which he brought to the Lyric Theatre, London, in the following year. Later he gave notable performances as Peter Standish in *Berkeley Square* and as Shakespeare in *This Side Idolatry*. His *Hamlet*, produced in New York in 1936, proved a disappointment, the character being at variance with Howard's own personality, which called for parts expressing wistful and well-bred intelligence. Since 1930 he had devoted himself primarily to the film. In that medium he was seen at his best in *Pygmalion*, *Outward Bound*, *The Petrified Forest*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *49th Parallel*, *The Scarlet Pimpernel*, *Pimpernel Smith*, and *Gone With the Wind*. He also directed *The First of the Few*, an imaginary biography of the designer of the Spitfire, and, his last film, *The Gentle Sex*, a story of the A.T.S. Howard, who married Ruth Evelyn Martin, and had one son and one daughter, lost his life when the aeroplane in which he was returning to England after lecturing on behalf of the British Council in Spain was shot down by enemy aircraft.

14. William Walcot, etcher, water-colourist, and architect, was born in Odessa in 1874, son of an English father and a Russian mother, with whom in his early years he travelled in many parts of the world, receiving his schooling in Franco. At the age of 17 he returned to Russia to study architecture at the Imperial Academy of Art, St. Petersburg, but he soon went back to Paris, where he attended the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Atelier Redon. After qualifying as an architect, he set up practice in Moscow. Early in the present century, however, he came to London, gave up architecture and devoted himself to graphic art. But he never lost his love of buildings, and when he took up water-colour and etching it was buildings that he chiefly drew. Under the auspices of the Fine Art Society he visited Venice and Rome, and on exhibiting at their galleries in London in 1909 had an immediate success. Meanwhile he was making an impression as an etcher, and H. C. Dickens, the firm which handled his output for many years, commissioned him to etch such rivers as the Tyne, Mersey, and Thames in "The Arteries of Great Britain." His speciality was the ancient temples, baths, and patrician houses of Rome. His "Architectural Water-Colours and Etchings" were produced in a folio volume published by Dickens in 1919. In 1927 his work was the subject of a monograph by Malcolm C. Salaman in the *Studio* series "Modern Masters of Etching." He was an honorary Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers, a member of the Royal Society of British Artists, and an associate of the British School at Rome. He was married, and had one son and three daughters.

16. Sir Stephen Gaselee, Librarian and Keeper of the Papers at the Foreign Office, 1920-43, was born on November 9, 1882, son of a barrister, and educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. In 1908 he became Pepys Librarian at Magdalene College (where he was also elected to a Fellowship), holding the appointment until 1919. During the war, 1914-18, he went to the Foreign Office

as a temporary clerk, and when, in 1920, the librarianship fell vacant, Gaselee was pressed to accept the post. Throughout his life he was a generous benefactor of the various libraries in Cambridge, and notably of the University Library, to which (in 1934) he gave his collection of early printed books, comprising about 300 volumes, some unique and rare editions. He wrote on many subjects, including classical literature, mediaeval, and modern Latin, Coptic, hagiography and hurgiology, palaeography, bibliography, food, and wine. Gaselee was made a C.B.E. in 1918 and a K.C.M.G. in 1935, and was also F.B.A. In 1917 he married May Evelyn, daughter of Wyndham Hulme, Librarian of the Patent Office, and had three daughters. In his will he left 500/. to King's College, Cambridge, for a prize for a King's Scholar or an Oppidan at Eton, but if and whenever there be no such Etonian scholar in the first class, the amount of the prize is to be devoted to improving the stocks of wine of the Fellows ; two freehold houses in Hertford Street, Cambridge, to Magdalene College for improving the stock of wine for the Fellows, and a sum of 50/. for the servants of the College.

16. The Hon. Sir William Henry Goschen, banker and chairman of the London Hospital, 1931-43, was born on June 7, 1870, son of the first Viscount Goschen, and educated at Rugby and New College, Oxford. For a time he acted as unpaid secretary to his father, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, after which he took his place as a partner in the family banking firm of Fruhling and Goschen (later Goschens and Cunhffe). He was also chairman of the Union Discount Company and of the Sun Life Assurance Society. In 1931 he succeeded Viscount Knutsford as chairman of the London Hospital, to which he devoted much of his time, and with which, at the time of his death, he had been connected for over forty years. He was also associated with the Red Cross and St. John War Organisation, being chairman of the finance sub-committee. He was a Commissioner of the Public Works Loan Board and a warden of the Koyal Chapel of the Savoy, where he read the lessons for many years. A gifted amateur actor, he took part in the "Old Stagers" performances at Canterbury and was a member of the "Windsor Strollers." In 1917 he was created a K.B.E., and he was a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. In 1896 he married Geraldine Elizabeth, daughter of the Right Hon. J. W. Mellor, K.C., and had two sons and two daughters.

17. Annie S. Swan (Mrs. Burnett Smith), novelist, was born in 1860, daughter of a Scottish farmer, and after being educated at the Ladies' College, Edinburgh, turned to local journalism and the writing of stories for children. With her first successful novel, "Aldersyde," she began a long series of well-written tales of domestic life, "running upon the most correct and wholesome lines." At the same time she was for many years a regular contributor to *Woman at Home* and *The People's Friend*. One of her most popular books was "A Divided House." Others were "The Curse of Cowden," "The Ne'er-do-well," and "Prairie Fires." In 1934 she published her memoirs under the title, "My Life," and in the following year produced "We Travel Home," essays on a variety of subjects embodying her philosophy of life and her tranquil optimism based on Christian faith. Her last book, "The Road to Damascus," appeared in 1937. During the war, 1914-18, she served under the Ministry of Food, for which she twice visited the United States. She was made a C.B.E. in 1930. For many years she was a popular lecturer on temperance. In 1922 she unsuccessfully contested the Maryhill Division of Glasgow in the Liberal interest. She married Dr. James Burnett Smith, and had one son (who was killed at the age of 15 through a gun accident), and one daughter.

25. Dr. James Brown Scott, American authority on international law, was born at Kincardine, Bruce County, Ontario, on June 2, 1866, and educated at the Central High School, Philadelphia, and at Harvard, where he graduated in 1890. In the following year he was appointed Parker Fellow, specialising in international law. After spending some time at Berlin, Heidelberg, and Paris

he took up academic work until 1906, when he became a solicitor to the State Department. In 1910 he was appointed trustee and secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He went as technical delegate to the second Hague Peace Conference in 1907, and to the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919, where he played a prominent part in the legal phrasing of the Peace Treaty. It was said that he assisted in drafting the text of Article 231, placing the sole responsibility of the war upon Germany and her Allies. He served as president of the American Institute of International Law, the Institute of International Law, and of the American Society of International Law. From 1907 to 1924 he was editor-in-chief of the *American Journal of International Law*, and in 1927 at Rio de Janeiro was chairman of the Pan-American Commission of Jurists to prepare codes of private and public international law. His publications included "James Madison's Notes of Debate in the Federal Committee of 1787," an account of the manner in which the Federal Convention of the United States of America was converted into the existing constitution; "An International Court of Justice" (1916), "The United States of America" (1920); "Sovereign States and Suits" (1925), and "Francisco de Vitoria and his Law of Nations" (1933).

26. **Dr. Karl Landsteiner**, discoverer of the human blood groups, was born of Jewish parentage in Vienna on June 14, 1868, and received his medical training in the University there. In 1909 he was appointed Professor of Pathological Anatomy, holding the post for ten years. In 1922 he joined the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. In 1930 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine for the discovery of the human blood groups. His classification of human blood into four main groups and over thirty sub-groups helped in eliminating the fears of blood transfusions and saved the lives of thousands of wounded or anaemic persons throughout the world. He was D.Sc. of Harvard and received the honorary degree of Sc.D. from Cambridge University (1934). In 1916 he married Helene Wlasto, of Vienna, and had one son.

— **Arthur Waugh**, author and publisher, was born on August 24, 1866, son of a doctor, and educated at Sherborne and New College, Oxford, where he won the Newdigate Prize for a poem on "Gordon in Africa." In 1890 he came to London as correspondent of the *New York Critic*, later editing the *New Review*. From 1895 to 1902 he was literary adviser to Kegan Paul & Company. Shortly afterwards he was elected chairman and managing director of Chapman & Hall, Ltd. His literary work included a book on Tennyson, an edition of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," a biographical edition of Dickens, Milton, and Tennyson in "English Poets," and George Herbert in "The World's Classics," and a volume of essays, "Reticence in Literature." His autobiography, regarded by many as his best achievement, appeared in 1931 under the title "One Man's Road." For many years he was one of the principal reviewers on the staff of the *Daily Telegraph*. He was the father of the writers Alec and Evelyn Waugh.

JULY

2. **Major Sir Harry Edward Spiller Cordeaux**, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Bahama Islands, 1921-26, was born on November 15, 1870, son of E. Cordeaux, I.C.S., and educated at Cheltenham and St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1894 he entered the Army, becoming a lieutenant in the Indian Staff Corps two years later. In April, 1898, he was transferred to the Bombay Political Department as a protabioner and given the appointment of fourth assistant political resident at Aden. He became assistant resident at Berbera in July and Vice-Consul there in October. While holding that post he won much praise for his work during the troubles in connexion with Mullah Mohamed bin Abdullah, the "Mad Mullah." He was made Consul at Berbera in 1902, and administered the government of the Protectorate on various occasions between 1900 and 1904,

in which latter year he was promoted to Deputy Commissioner, and in 1906 to Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief. He was made Governor of Uganda in 1910, but ill-health prevented him from taking up the appointment, and in 1912 he went to St. Helena, where he remained until 1920. In the following year he proceeded to the Bahamas as Governor, retiring in 1926. During his term of office the revenue rose considerably and led to a remarkable improvement in the Colony's financial position. He was made C.M.G. in 1902, C.B. in 1904, and advanced to K.C.M.G. in 1921. In 1912 he married Maud, daughter of the Hon. George Wentworth-FitzWilham, and widow of the Hon. C. T. Dundas.

4. General Wladyslaw Sikorski, Polish soldier and statesman, who at the time of his death was Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, was born in Tuszow, in Galicia, in 1881, son of a gentleman farmer, and was educated at the University Technical College at Lwow, where he took a degree in civil engineering, becoming an employee of the Galicia Waterways Association in 1907. Interested in underground politics, he organised in 1908 a Youth Circle of a military character, which developed into the League for Active Struggle, and he was the first president of the Lwow Riflemen's Association. Later he was general secretary of the Temporary Commission of the Independence Parties, and assisted in editing a secret journal. When the war began in 1914 the Independence Parties united as the "Chief National Committee" and Sikorski was appointed head of its War Department with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1917 he went to Warsaw as chief inspector of recruiting for the Polish Army and took command of the Polish Auxiliary Corps. After Brest-Litovsk he protested to the Austrian Commander-in-Chief against the new partition which followed the surrender of Russian Poland to Germany, and, being still regarded as an officer in the Austrian reserve, was sent to an internment camp. A year later he was at liberty again, and in 1919, when the Russians occupied Vilna, they were opposed by Sikorski, as Major-General, in command of the 9th Division of Infantry. In 1921 he was Chief of the General Staff, and in 1922, after the assassination of President Narutowicz, he took office for the first time as Prime Minister, and was able to secure recognition by the Great Powers of the Russo-Polish line of demarcation. During 1924-25 he was Minister for War. At the time of Pilsudski's *coup d'état* in 1926 he was back in the Army, but within two years, disapproving of Pilsudski's methods of government, he retired on half-pay. For the next ten years he held no public office, living quietly in Paris, writing three books, "La Campagne Polono-Russe" (1928), "Le Probleme de la Paix" (1931), and "La Guerre Moderne" (1935). He then returned to Poland, visiting Paris from time to time in order to be in touch with prominent politicians there, but in 1938 he was forbidden to leave Poland. On the eve of war in 1939 he placed his services at the disposal of Marshal Smigly-Rydz, but as no appointment was offered to him, because Poland was so speedily overrun by the German Army, he went back to Paris and took command of a volunteer force of Polish miners and workers which he had collected. On September 30, 1939, he was nominated Premier and formed a Cabinet with its seat in Paris; and on November 7 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the Polish forces. A week later he came to London and was received by members of the British Government. When the issue in France was no longer in doubt, Sikorski saw President Raczkiewicz, and issued a declaration that Poland would fight even though France capitulated. An evacuation was planned, and some 24,000 Poles reached Great Britain. On June 25, 1940, he established his headquarters in London. After visits to Mr. Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin he returned to London in January, 1942, and a month later the Polish National Council held its first session. When diplomatic relations with Russia were broken off early in 1943, following the Polish Government's application to the International Red Cross for an inquiry into the German allegation of the discovery of graves of Polish officers at Katyn, Sikorski decided to visit the Middle East to organise Polish forces, and it was when returning to England that he met his death, his plane, with eighteen passengers, crashing off Gibraltar. He married, in 1912, Helena

Zubsczewska, daughter of the Director of Lwow University, and had one daughter, who was killed at the same time as her father.

10. **Gerhart von Schulze-Gaevernitz**, well-known economist and social reformer, was born in Breslau on July 25, 1864, the son of Hermann von Schulze-Gaevernitz, Professor of Political Science. After completing his studies in Economics at the Universities of Heidelberg, Berlin, Göttingen and Leipzig, he came to this country, where he was in close touch with the trade union movement and its pioneers. His stay in England enabled him to understand the British attitude to life, so that it was not surprising to find this stressed in one of his first publications, "Zum Sozialen Frieden" (1890), in which he pleaded for social reform, a demand regarded as revolutionary in the Germany of that day. A long list of scholarly studies followed in quick succession, many of them translated into several foreign languages—"Der Grossbetrieb" (1892), "Thomas Carlyles Welt—und Gesellschaftsanschauungen" (1893), "Britischer Imperialismus und englischer Freihandel im 19 Jahrhundert" (1906), "Marx oder Kant" (1908), and "Die deutsche Kreditbank" (1922). In 1892-93 he was a student at the University of Moscow; on his return to Germany he published "Volkswirtschaftlichen Studien aus Russland" (1899). In 1893 he became Professor of Economics at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, where he remained for over three decades. As a teacher he concentrated principally on problems of social reform, credit, and international finance and trade. Of a deeply religious nature, Schulze-Gaevernitz coloured all his teaching by high moral considerations. In the same spirit he entered politics. From 1912 to 1918 he was a member of the Reichstag as a Progressive Liberal, with marked sympathies with working-class demands. In foreign affairs he lent all his influence to an understanding between the English-speaking countries and Germany. During the first World War he spared no efforts to prevent Germany breaking with the United States, but his striving was in vain; and after the war he joined his friend Friedrich Naumann in a serious attempt to establish true democracy in Germany as a sure foundation on which to build his country's future. He lectured in the United States and in this country in the post-war years; the fruits of his experiences were published in a series of studies in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, under the title, "Die geistesgeschichtlichen Grundlagen der angelsächsischen Weltsuprematie." When, in 1933, the Nazi revolution swept over Germany, Schulze-Gaevernitz saw all his hopes dashed. He retired into private life, devoting himself to his studies, and finding comfort in the Christian virtues which he practised as a member of the Society of Friends. His last book, "Zur Wiedergeburt des Abendlandes" (1934), a programme of reconstruction for the West based on social reform, breathes the same spirit of religious ardour.

17. **The Right Hon. Sir Patrick Duncan**, Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, 1936-43, was born on December 21, 1870, and educated at George Watson's College, Edinburgh University, and Balliol College, Oxford, where he took his degree in the Classical Schools with distinction, and where in 1890 he was Craven Scholar. In 1894 he entered the Civil Service as a member of the staff of the Board of Inland Revenue, and here he became Private Secretary to Lord Milner, the chairman of the Board. When Milner became Governor of the annexed Republics in South Africa and began the task of establishing there a British Colonial Government, he realised that he needed young men of ability to assist him and he bethought him of his private secretary at the Board of Inland Revenue. He sent for Duncan, who came out to South Africa in 1901 to be made Treasurer of the Transvaal, his job being to put the finances in order against the time when the Boers should surrender. From 1903 to 1906 he was Colonial Secretary, the chief post in the service, and acted during the latter year as Lieutenant-Governor. When that post was abolished on the granting of self-government, Duncan practised as an advocate of the Supreme Court of South Africa. In the first election for the Union Parliament in 1910 he was returned as member for Fordsburg, a working-class suburb of Johannesburg.

He was again successful, in a different constituency, at the second election. In 1916 he succeeded Sir Percy Fitzpatrick as chairman of the Unionist Party in the Transvaal. He was Minister of the Interior, Public Health, and Education 1921-24. In 1933 he became Minister of Mines in General Hertzog's Cabinet, and was still in office when he was appointed Governor-General in November, 1936. In February, 1942, his term of office was extended for another five years, but from November to May, 1943, illness prevented him from carrying out his duties, and Chief Justice De Wet was appointed acting Governor. Duncan, who was the *doyen* of the group of Oxford men known as Lord Milner's "Kindergarten," was made C.M.G. in 1904 and G.C.M.G. in 1937, in which year he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. In 1907 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. He married, in 1916, Alice Dold, and had three sons and one daughter.

26. **Lord Wedgwood** (the Right Hon. Josiah Clement Wedgwood), politician and historian of Parliament, was born on March 16, 1872, son of a master potter, his mother being a sister of the first Baron Rendel, and his great-great-grandfather the famous Josiah Wedgwood. After being educated at Clifton and the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, he became, in 1895, assistant constructor at Portsmouth Dockyard, and from 1896 to 1900 was naval architect to the Elswick shipyard. During the South African War he served as a captain with the Elswick Battery and joined General Broadwood's cavalry brigade. From 1902 to 1904 he was resident magistrate in the Ermelo district of Transvaal. On returning to England he was elected Liberal member of Parliament for Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1906, and started a crusade for a single tax on land, becoming president of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values. During the war, 1914-18, he took part in the Antwerp expedition, and fought at the Dardanelles, where he was severely wounded and gained the D.S.O. In November, 1915, he was promoted a temporary commander, R.N.V.R., and in December was gazetted temporary major in the Army. After a period in East Africa on the staff of General Smuts, he was invalided home. A year later he was made a member of the Mesopotamia Commission. He was appointed Assistant Director of Trench Warfare in 1917, and in 1918 went on a mission to Siberia, with the temporary rank of colonel. Soon after the Armistice he joined the Independent Labour Party, and later went to India, where he bitterly attacked the British Government. In 1921 he became a member of the Standing Joint Committee of both Houses on India. From 1921 to 1924 Wedgwood was vice-chairman of the Labour Party, and in January, 1924, became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the first Labour Cabinet and was sworn a member of the Privy Council. In March, 1929, he was appointed chairman of the House of Commons Records Committee, and set to work on a history of Parliament. Out of the forty volumes planned, the two volumes published before his death were Wedgwood's own work; they dealt with the mid-fifteenth century. Among his other books were "Staffordshire Pottery and its History" (1913) and "Wedgwood Pedigrees," Written with Josiah O. E. Wedgwood (1926); "Essays and Adventures of a Labour M.P." (1924), "Memoirs of a Fighting Life" (1940), and "Testament to Democracy" (1942). Lord Wedgwood, who was raised to the peerage in 1942, was twice married; first, in 1894, to the Hon. Ethel Bowen, daughter of Lord Bowen, which marriage was dissolved in 1919; and secondly, in 1919, to Florence Ethel, daughter of E. G. Willett. By his first wife he had seven children. He was succeeded in the peerage by the Hon. Charles Bowen Wedgwood, born in 1898.

28. **Professor Sir Harold Beckwith Whitehouse**, President of the British Medical Association, and Professor of Midwifery and Diseases of Women at Birmingham University, was born at Ocker Hill, Staffordshire, on October 26, 1882, and educated at Malvern College, receiving his medical training at St. Thomas's Hospital. In 1906 he graduated M.B., B.S. at London University, being awarded the Sutton Sams Memorial Prize for work in obstetric medicine

and diseases of women. In 1908 he passed the M.S. examination and qualified for the gold medal in surgery. He also became F.R.C.S. (England), 1908, Ch.B. (Birmingham), 1925, and honorary F.A.C.S., 1933. In 1929, when the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists was incorporated, he became a Foundation Fellow of the College, and served as a member of the Council until 1937. He was a Fellow of the Medical Society of London, Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England, 1913-14, and Ingleby Lecturer, Birmingham University, 1920. In addition to his work at the University he served the General Hospital, Birmingham, as honorary gynaecological surgeon; in the Maternity Hospital, Birmingham, as honorary surgeon; and he was consulting obstetric surgeon to the Lucy Baldwin Maternity Hospital and the Worcestershire County Council. From 1933 to 1937 he was a member of the Radium Commission of Great Britain. In 1935 he edited the fourth edition of Eden and Lockyer's "Gynaecology." He was knighted in 1937. In 1909 he married Madge Rae, daughter of W. Griffith, of Handsworth Wood, and had two sons and one daughter. Sir Beck with collapsed in the street and died in hospital when on his way to Euston after attending a meeting at which he had been nominated as president of the B.M.A. for a second year.

30. **Benjamin James Dale**, Warden of the Royal Academy of Music since 1936, was born on July 17, 1885, son of Charles Dale, conductor of the Fmsbury Choral Association, and was educated at the Stationers' Company's School, Hornsey, and at the Royal Academy of Music, where he gained a number of prizes. He studied composition with Frederick Corder and the organ with Dr. Richards. In 1909 he joined the staff as teacher of harmony and composition. Before the 1914-18 war, during which he was a prisoner in Germany, he held several appointments as an organist in London. In 1920 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Music, and was also a Fellow of the Royal College of Organists. His own compositions began when he was 15 with an overture on the subject of Macaulay's *Horahvs*, but although he maintained a steady output up to the war, 1914-18, he was never prolific. He was much attracted to the viola, for which he wrote a suite, a phantasy for the instrument with piano, two songs with viola *obhgato*, and a work for six violas. His cantata, "Before the Paling of the Stars" (1912), was his most considerable work outside chamber music. In 1936 he became Sir Stanley Marchant's second-in-command at the Royal Academy of Music, and in view of his previous experience of examining, both at home and in the Dominions, he was made a member of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. He married Margit Kaspar, of Munich. Mr. Dale died at the Royal Albert Hall after rehearsing an orchestra for the first performance of his work "The Flowing Tide."

31. **Owen Ramsay Nares**, actor and manager, was born at Maiden Erleigh, Berkshire, on August 11, 1888, grandson of W. R. Beverley, landscape artist and scene-painter, and great-great-grandson of Sir George Nares, D.C.L., Recorder of Oxford. He was educated at Reading School, and, at the suggestion of his mother, adopted the stage as a career. After training with Rosina Filippi, he obtained his first engagement at the Haymarket Theatre in 1909. He then toured the provinces until he had a serious break-down in health. Among his best parts of the earlier years were Karl Heinrch in *Old Heidelberg* at the St. James's Theatre, Prince Henry in *Kmg Henry IV*, the title role in *Peter Ibbetson*, the Rev. Gavin Dishart in *The Little Minister*, and what was regarded as his best part of all, the young clergyman in *Romance*, with Doris Keane. In 1913 he appeared at Wyndham's Theatre with Sir Gerald du Maurier, as Julian Beauclerc in *Diplomacy*; he was also seen in a revival of the play in 1924, and subsequently took it on tour with his own company. Outstanding among the performances of his later years were Roger Hilton in *Call It a Day*, Max de Winter in *Rebecca*, and Alan Squier in *The Petrified Forest*. Since 1913 he had been acting in films. With his good looks and personal charm he could not escape being a "matinie idol," but he was a serious artist who worked hard for his

popularity. He married, in 1913, Marie Polini, actress and daughter of a theatrical manager, and had two sons. Nares died suddenly at Brecon, shortly after visiting the birthplace of Mrs. Siddons. He had been touring the camps in Wales playing the part of Alan Squier in *The Petrified Forest*.

AUGUST

4. Air Commodore Augustus Henry Orlebar, Deputy Chief of Combined Operations, and former holder of the world's air speed record, was born on February 17, 1896, at Hinwick House, Bedfordshire, and was educated at Rugby. In 1915 he received a commission in the Bedfordshire Regiment, and served in Gallipoli, where he was wounded. At the end of the war, 1914-18, he held the rank of captain in the R.A.F. and was given a permanent commission as flight lieutenant in August, 1919. For his services to flying in peace he was awarded the A.F.C. in 1921, and the bar in 1930. In 1925-26 he was at the R.A.F. Staff College, after which he did duty on the headquarters staff in Iraq and at the Air Ministry. In 1929, now a squadron leader, he was placed in command of the High Speed Flight at Felixstowe, and in September of that year in a Supermarine Rolls Royce S6 seaplane he gained a new world's air speed record in the Schneider Trophy Race of 357.7 miles an hour. In 1932 he was gazetted wing commander, and in the following year was appointed Senior Air Staff Officer at Aden. Promoted group captain in July, 1937, he was selected to attend the course at the Imperial Defence College. In 1938 he was given command of the R.A.F. Station at Northolt. During the war which began in 1939 he served on the staff of Fighter Command as Deputy Senior Staff Officer; had been Assistant Chief of the Air Staff (Policy) at the Air Ministry; and was appointed Director of Flying Training in July, 1940. In March, 1943, he succeeded Air Vice-Marshal J. M. Robb as Deputy Chief of Combined Operations, under Vice-Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, thus becoming Chief of the R.A.F. Commandos. In 1933 he published "Schneider Trophy." Orlebar, who had held the acting rank of Air Vice-Marshal until he was taken ill, was married and had one daughter.

20. The Hon. Sir William Hill Irvine, Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Justice of Victoria, 1918-35, was born at Newry, County Down, on July 6, 1858, and educated at the Royal School, Armagh, at Trinity College, Dublin, and at the University of Melbourne. In 1879 he went to Australia, and while reading for the Victorian Bar, was for some time a teacher at Gedong College. Ten years later he entered the Victorian Parliament as a free-trader. From 1899 to 1900 he was Attorney-General in the McLean Ministry, and from 1900 to 1902 was leader of the Opposition. When the Government was defeated on a motion of no confidence in June, 1902, he became Prime Minister. At that time the finances of the country were in a precarious state, but with some bold measures which surprised his supporters, Irvine restored stability. One of his measures was a Bill to give workers on the State railways separate representation in Parliament. This was bitterly opposed by the Trade Unions, and a serious railway strike followed. This and other matters were dealt with drastically and successfully by the Government, but in the midst of his programme of reform Irvine had to retire from the Premiership on account of ill-health. After a visit to England he entered the Federal Parliament, where he remained a private member for seven years. When Cook formed his first Government in 1913, Irvine was the natural choice for Attorney-General, but in the wider sphere he was out of his element, and when the 1914-18 war began and the Nationalist Party was formed, Mr. Hughes did not include Irvine in either of his War Cabinets. His Parliamentary career came to an end in 1918 when he accepted the post of Chief Justice of Victoria, holding office until 1935. When Lord Somers left Victoria in 1931 Irvine for some time acted as Governor. He was created K.C.M.G. in 1914, and advanced to G.C.M.G. in 1936. Trinity College, Dublin, honoured him with the degree of LL.D. In 1891 he married Agnes Somerville, daughter of the Hon. T. D. Wanless, and had one son and two daughters.

21. Frederick John Cleminson, distinguished aural surgeon, was born in 1878, son of the Rev. J. R. Cleminson, of Hull, and educated at Kingswood School, Bath, and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He graduated in 1901 and from 1902 to 1905 was Demonstrator in Anatomy at Cambridge. After studying at University College Hospital he qualified by taking his medical degree at Cambridge in 1909, and within a few years he obtained the Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons and the M.Chir. of Cambridge. During the war, 1914-18, he was a captain in the R.A.M.C, after which he soon built up an extensive and successful practice as a specialist in diseases of the ear, nose, and throat. His best work, however, was done at the Middlesex Hospital, to the Medical School of which his uncle, the Right Hon. Thomas Ferens, of Hull, gave 20,000Z. to found the Ferens Institute of Oto-laryngology, the first institute in the country to be devoted solely to research into the causes of diseases of the ear, nose, and throat. Sir Bernard Baron also gave encouragement to the enterprise by providing endowment for a whole-time research worker. On the outbreak of war in 1939 the Institute was closed and the equipment and library removed to safety. A year later the building was severely damaged by enemy action. Cleminson was consulting surgeon to the Aural Department of the Middlesex Hospital; consulting laryngologist to the Heart Hospital, consulting aural surgeon to the Evelina Hospital for Children, and had been surgeon to the Throat Hospital, Golden Square. He was president of the Otological Section, Royal Society of Medicine. In 1906 he married Sara, daughter of E. M. Smucker, of Philadelphia, and had one son and three daughters.

— **Sir Adrian Donald Wilde Pollock**, City Chamberlain and Treasurer 1912-43, was born on September 24, 1867, son of Major-General Sir Richard Pollock and grandson of Lord Chief Baron Pollock. After being educated at Wellington he was admitted a solicitor in 1890, and for some time practised in the firm of Withers, Pollock, & Crow. In 1903 he was appointed City Remembrancer, holding that office until 1912 when he became City Chamberlain and Treasurer. Part of his duty as City Chamberlain was to make speeches of welcome to distinguished visitors, a duty which he performed with distinction by reason of his personal charm, musical voice, and fine presence; one of the most successful of these functions took place a few weeks before he died, when the Prime Minister (Mr. Churchill) received the Freedom of the City. In January, 1938, Pollock was made a K.C.M.G. at the request of many Ministers and officials from the Dominions who came to London and were charmed by his reception of them. He married, in 1894, the Hon. Mary Honora Gully, daughter of the first Viscount Selby (Mr. Speaker Gully), and had two daughters.

26. Sir Francis Edward Fremantle, Conservative member of Parliament for St. Albans, 1919-43, who took a keen interest in public health, was born on May 29, 1872, son of the Very Rev. the Hon. William Fremantle, Dean of Ripon (second son of the first Lord Cottesloe), and was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. He received his medical training at Guy's Hospital, qualifying B.M. Oxon in 1898 and becoming D.M. in 1928. He was also M.Ch. and F.R.C.S. In 1910 he was elected Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, of which he was Councillor in 1930-32. In 1902 he was appointed County Medical Officer of Health for Hertfordshire, holding the post until 1916, when he became Consulting Medical Officer of Health. He was a member of the Industrial Health Research Board, 1930-34; a member of the Departmental Commission of Rent Restriction Acts in 1923, 1931, and 1937; and on the Midwives Act, 1908. He was also a member of the Central Housing Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Health and of the Inter-departmental Committee on Nursing Service. In 1928 he was president of the Section of Epidemiology and State Medicine of the Royal Society of Medicine, and was a Fellow and vice-president of the Royal Sanitary Institute. He was plague medical officer in the Punjab, 1903-4; special correspondent of the *Lancet* in the Russo-Japanese war in 1904; and D.A.D.-M.S. (San.) in Mesopotamia in the war of 1914-18. In 1919 he was

elected Conservative member of Parliament for the St. Albans Division, which he continued to represent up to the time of his death. For many years he was chairman of the Parliamentary Medical Committee and of the Health and Housing Committee of the Conservative Party. He was also chairman of the Select Committee on Publications and House of Commons Debates Reports. His own publications included "Impressions of a Doctor in Khaki" (1901), "Traveller's Study of Health and Empire" (1911), "Health of the Native" (1927), and "The Housing of the Nation" (1927). In 1936 he delivered the Chadwick Lecture, taking as his subject "The Doctor's Mandate in Parliament." In 1905 he married Dorothy Marion Travers, daughter of Henry Joseph Gunnery, of Bicester, and had one son.

27. **Professor William George de Burgh**, Professor of Philosophy and Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Reading University, 1907-34, was born on October 24, 1866, son of a barrister, and educated at Winchester and at Morton College, Oxford, where he obtained a first class in *Lit. Hum.* in 1889. After being for a time a University Extension Staff Lecturer, he became in 1892 resident at Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel. Four years later he went to University College, Reading, as Lecturer in Classics, and from 1907 to 1934 was Professor of Philosophy. After the College became a University he served as Deputy Vice-Chancellor until his retirement in 1934, when he was given the title of Professor-Emeritus. During 1937-38 he was Gifford Lecturer at St. Andrews. His publications included "The Legacy of Greece and Rome" (1912), "The Legacy of the Ancient World" (1924), "Towards a Religious Philosophy" (1937), "From Morality to Religion" (Gilford Lectures) (1938), and "Knowledge of the Individual" (Riddell Memorial Lectures) (1939). In 1897 he married Edith Mary, daughter of W. F. Grace, and had one son and one daughter.

28. **King Boris of Bulgaria** was born on January 30, 1894, eldest son of King Ferdinand and Princess Mane Louise of Bourbon-Parma. His education embraced literature, science, and languages. He had a practical knowledge of machinery, was a fully certificated engine driver, and was a life member of the Bulgarian Railwaymen's Union. When King Ferdinand abdicated on October 3, 1918, Boris came to the throne at an unusually critical period. In 1924 he escaped death at the hands of an armed band, and later he missed death when a Communist bomb killed or mutilated 150 members of an official congregation at St. Nedeha Cathedral. In spite of these experiences he urged clemency, and so consistently refused to sign death sentences that the Government deprived him of that power. For the next ten years his position improved, chiefly through his skilful management of the political leaders and his refusal to tolerate political persecution. When a military *coup d'etat* overthrew the Government of Agrarians and Democrats, the new leaders were hostile to the King, and for more than a year he was in danger of dethronement. His popularity with the peasantry, together with dissensions in the Army, saved the situation, and the militarist combination fell to pieces. In 1938 he achieved a diplomatic success in obtaining the release of Bulgaria from the punitive clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly. When the war began in 1939 he repeatedly expressed a desire for neutrality, but partly owing to circumstances he could not control and partly because of his own vacillation he collaborated with the Axis, and in March, 1941, Bulgaria signed the Three Power Pact and opened its frontiers to the German armies. Later Bulgaria declared war on Great Britain and the United States. King Boris married, in 1930, Princess Giovanna of Savoy, third daughter of the King of Italy. Since 1916 there had been difficulties about the marriage on religious grounds, the King being an Orthodox Greek and the Princess a Roman Catholic. The trouble was renewed in 1933 when their first child, a girl, was born and baptised into the Greek Church, the Vatican maintaining that there was a written undertaking that any children of the marriage should be brought up as Catholics. King Boris died in mysterious circumstances; it was by no

means certain whether his death was natural or violent. The heir to the throne, Prince Simeon, was born in 1937.

28. **Professor John Hilton**, who occupied the Chair of Industrial Relations at Cambridge, 1931-43, but who was best known as a broadcaster, was born at Bolton on December 28, 1880, son of a postman, and educated at the elementary school there, winning one scholarship to a secondary school and another to Bolton Grammar School. At the age of 14 he obtained work in a bicycle shop, after which he entered the engineering shop of a cotton mill. While there he attended evening classes at Bolton Technical School and took first place in England and a silver medal in the City and Guilds examination in cotton-spinning. In 1899 he won one of the Whitworth Exhibitions, but the award was withdrawn on a technical point. Still hoping to go to the University, he gave up his work in the mill and went into an engineering shop, intending to try again, but after an unsuccessful attempt to float an invention he fell out of employment. He next found work as a loom-fitter at Bury, earning 25s. a week. Soon he rose to be foreman; at 23 he was manager; and a little later he became manager of a loom-making firm at Heywood at 450Z. a year. Again misfortune dogged him, this time in the form of sciatica, which disabled him for work, and he spent the winter of 1907-8 recuperating in Russia with a sister who had married a mill manager in that country. On his return to England he lived with his wife and baby in poor circumstances at St. Margaret's Bay. In 1911 he became a speaker for the Free Trade Union and began to contribute a weekly engineering article to the *Yorkshire Post*, a connexion which lasted ten years. In 1913 he attracted the attention of Norman Angell, who employed him as a lecturer under the Garton Foundation which had been formed to advance the principles of "The Great Illusion." During the war, 1914-18, Hilton was lent to the Government to examine the German methods of food control, and from his researches was evolved the system of rationing which was put into force in the United Kingdom. In 1919 he became secretary of the Committee on Trusts and Combines, and later assistant secretary and Director of Statistics at the Ministry of Labour, producing the official *Labour Gazette*, and travelling all over the world studying wages, cost of living, and unemployment. He was president of the third and fourth Conferences of Labour Statisticians and of the Textile Wages and Hours Commission of the I.L.O. In 1931 he was invited to be the first holder of the Montague Burton Chair of Industrial Relations at Cambridge. From 1934 onwards he became increasingly well known and popular as a broadcaster, his subjects including all manner of human problems, which he dealt with in a friendly and understanding way. He was chairman of the Committee on Consumers' Co-operation in Great Britain, 1935-38, and from September, 1939, to June, 1940, was Director of Home Publicity, Ministry of Information. He married, in 1902, Ellen Chadbond, and had one son and two daughters.

SEPTEMBER

1. **William Wymark Jacobs**, humorous writer, was born in Wapping, London, on September 8, 1863, son of a wharf manager, through whom he early came into contact with the seafaring characters that figure prominently in his books. After being educated privately, he entered the Savings Bank Department of the Civil Service in 1883, remaining there until 1899. His earliest writings appeared anonymously in post office journals, but his first professional work was published in the *Idler* and *To-day*, both edited by Jerome K. Jerome. By the middle of the 'nineties he was contributing to the *Strand Magazine*, then under the editorship of George Newnes. Jacobs's first volume of short stories, "Many Cargoes," was published in 1896, and had an immediate success. Equally successful were "The Skipper's Wooing" (1897), "Sea Urchins" (1898), and "Night Watches." From 1899 onwards he lived entirely by his pen. With his friend Will Owen, who illustrated Jacobs's stories in the *Strand Magazine*, he spent much time in coastal inns, gaining fresh ideas from the longshoremen and sailors he met there.

In all he published about twenty volumes of short stories, the most **popular** of which, after his earliest successes, were " Light Freights " (1901), " The Lady of the Barge " (1902), " Sailors' Knots " (1909), " Deep Waters " (1919), and " Sea Whispers " (1926). He also wrote a number of one-act plays, such as *Establishing Relations* and *Dixon's Return*, and various stories, including " Beauty and the Barge," and in another vein, " The Monkey's Paw," were successfully dramatised in collaboration with Louis N. Parker. Jacobs invented an entirely new form of humorous narrative, excelling in compression and understatement. He married, in 1900, Agnes Eleanor Williams, and had two sons and three daughters.

6. **The Right Hon. Reginald McKenna**, statesman and banker, was born into an Irish Roman Catholic family on July 6, 1863, and was educated at King's College, London, and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself in the Mathematical Tripos and as an oarsman. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1887, and practised until he entered Parliament at the General Election of 1895 as Liberal member for North Monmouthshire, representing that constituency until 1918, when he was defeated by a Labour candidate in the newly created division of Pontypool. During the discussions on the Education Bill of 1902 he joined the band of young Opposition members, led by Mr. Lloyd George, and after Mr. Chamberlain had announced his fiscal reform policy McKenna devoted much energy into organising the Free Trade Union. In 1905 he became Financial Secretary to the Treasury in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government, and two years later succeeded Mr. Birrell at the Board of Education, and was sworn a member of the Privy Council. One of his first measures was to establish a distinct department of the Board to deal with all grades of education in Wales and Monmouthshire. In April, 1908, he became First Lord of the Admiralty, and soon proved his ability as a statesman. In the face of much opposition he carried through a building programme of eight Dreadnoughts instead of the original six. After three years at the Admiralty he became, in 1911, Home Secretary, holding that office through a critical period which included the introduction of the Welsh Church Bill, the suffragist campaign, and the passing of the Criminal Justice Administration Act and the Mental Deficiency Act. In 1915 he followed Mr. Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer. In his first Budget speech in 1916 he laid down the principle that " We never borrow a pound without making provision in advance by new taxation sufficient to cover both interest and a liberal sinking fund." During his tenure of office he had to finance the foreign purchases of Great Britain and the Allies, as well as to provide for the shipment of large quantities of gold to the United States and the negotiation of private loans in the American market. He also introduced the excess profits tax and developed the war savings movement, started under Mr. Lloyd George, with immense success. When he was left out of the Coalition Government at the end of 1916, he went to the Midland Bank, on the invitation of Sir Edward Holden, whom he succeeded as chairman in 1919, retaining the post up to the time of his death. His annual speech at the Bank's general meeting came to be regarded as one of the outstanding events of the banking year. As a member of the Macmillan Committee on Finance and Industry he signed the report which appeared in 1931 just before the abandonment of the gold standard. He was chairman of the Committee of Experts appointed by the Reparation Commission in January, 1924, to inquire into the extent of German capital holdings in foreign countries. In 1928 he published many of his speeches on monetary matters under the title " Post-War Banking Policy." He became a member of the Council and of the Finance Committee of the Royal College of Music in May, 1927 ; honorary treasurer in 1938 ; and was appointed a vice-president in 1943. He married, in 1908, Pamela, daughter of Sir Herbert and Lady Jekyll, and had two sons.

11. **Surgeon Rear-Admiral Sir William Ireland de Courcy Wheeler**, consulting surgeon to the Royal Navy in Scotland, was born in Dublin on May 8, 1879,

son of a past president of the Royal College of Surgeons, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and at Berne. During the war, 1914-18, he served as a lieutenant-colonel, R.A.M.C., and was appointed a member of the War Office Council of Consultants in 1917. Later he was a member of the Advisory Council to the Ministry of Pensions on Artificial Limbs, and of the War Office Tetanus Committee. In the war which began in 1939 he became consulting surgeon to the Royal Navy in Scotland, with the rank of Surgeon Rear-Admiral. After a successful career in Ireland, where he had been president of the Royal College of Surgeons, he came to London, where he was equally successful. He was chairman of the Council and president of the Metropolitan Counties branch of the B.M.A. and inspector of hospitals for the King Edward Hospital Fund. He was also well known in North America, being a past president and an honorary member of the Post-Graduate Assembly of North America; vice-president of the Surgical Section, B.M.A., at Winnipeg, 1930, and an honorary member of the American College of Surgeons. He was on the consulting editorial staff of the *American Journal of Surgery, Gynecology and Obstetrics*, and was a member of the American Editors' Association. In 1909 he married Elsie, daughter of the Right Hon. Alexander Shaw (later Lord Craigmyle), and had one son and one daughter.

16. **Mrs. Arthur Strong** (Eugenie Sellers), archseologist and historian, who spent most of her girlhood in Central France, was educated at Girton College, Cambridge, where she obtained honours in the Classical Tripos. Later she worked in Germany under Fiirtwangler, whose "Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik" she translated and published in England in 1895. In 1896 she published, with Miss K. Jex Blake, a commentary with translation of the elder Pliny's chapters on the history of art, and a year later lectured in Rome at the Museo delle Terme. She had already been a University Extension Lecturer and a demonstrator at the British Museum on Greek sculpture. On the death of her husband in 1904, she succeeded him as librarian and keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth. About the same period she turned to the study of Roman art, defending it with much vigour against the then popular study of Greece, publishing a translation of Wickhoff's "Roman Art" (1900) and an original work entitled "Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine" (1908). In 1909 she was appointed Assistant Director of the British School at Rome, under Dr. Thomas Ashby. She delivered, in 1913, the Norton Lectures for the Archaeological Institute of America, which were afterwards published as "Apotheosis and After Life" (1916), and in 1920 the Rhmd Lectures on Roman Painting at Edinburgh. In 1923 appeared her little book on the Chiesa Nuova, and a new edition in Italian of her work on Roman sculpture in the imperial period. Five years later came a catalogue of Lord Melchett's collection of Greek and Roman antiques, and her long-expected volume on Roman art from its earliest beginnings to the time of Justinian, issued simultaneously in English, French, and Italian. On retiring from the British School in 1925 many tributes were paid to her work. She was made a C.B.E. in 1927, and a life fellowship at Girton was founded for her benefit by a group of friends. In 1935 she represented the University of Cambridge at the opening of the University City of Rome. Mrs. Strong, who died in Rome, where she had lived for many years, married, in 1897, S. Arthur Strong, Orientalist and librarian of the House of Lords and of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth.

18. **Harry Morley**, an artist distinguished for his versatility in subject, style, and medium, was born at Leicester in 1881, son of a hosiery manufacturer, and received his art training, mainly architectural, at the Leicester School of Art and at the Royal College of Art, London, under Professor Pite. In 1908 he won both the travelling scholarship in architecture of that college and the Owen Jones Studentship of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He began to exhibit at the Royal Academy in 1909, and was elected an associate in 1936. He was represented at the Tate Gallery by a painting of "Apollo and Marsyas," a Chantrey Bequest purchase of 1924, and in many municipal permanent collec-

tions. Two of his most original compositions were " The Miracle at Cana " and " The Death of Hyacinth." He was a member of the Royal Society of Painters in Water-Colours (becoming vice-president in 1937) ; of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers, and of the Royal Society of Portrait Painters. He was a keen supporter of the Art Workers' Guild, of which he was Master in 1936. In 1931 he was appointed to the Faculty of Engraving of the British School at Rome. In 1911 he married Lihās Helen Swain, and had two daughters.

21. The Right Hon. Sir Howard Kingsley Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer since 1940, was born in London in 1881, son of the Rev. Arthur Wood, Wesleyan minister, and after being educated at the Central Foundation Boys' School, London, served articles with a solicitor and was admitted in 1903. In due course he became senior partner in the City firm of solicitors, Kingsley Wood, Williams, & Murphy. His political career began, in 1911, when he was elected to the London County Council, representing Woolwich, and he continued to serve on that body until he entered national politics in 1918. From 1916 to 1919 he was chairman of the Faculty of Insurance, becoming president, first in 1920 and again in 1922 and 1923. In 1917 he presented to the Food Controller a memorial recommending that all bread should be sold by weight, and a year later another memorial proposing the establishment of a Ministry of Health, which Mr. Lloyd George adopted. At the " khaki " election he was returned as Conservative member of Parliament for the West Woolwich Division. When the Ministry of Health was set up, Wood became Parliamentary Private Secretary to the first Minister, Dr. (later Lord) Addison, and in 1920 he introduced the Shop Hours Act. When the Coalition broke up in 1922 he remained out of office (owing, it was said, to his loyalty to Mr. Lloyd George) until 1924, when Mr. Baldwin appointed him once more Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health. While there he sponsored the Summer Time Bill and collaborated with Neville Chamberlain in putting through the De-Rating Bill. He was one of those chiefly responsible for the formation of the National Government in 1931, and in the election of that year his majority, which had previously gone down to 332, rose to nearly twelve thousand. After a short period as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, he was appointed Postmaster-General. In that office he was a great success, improving the service by many innovations. He visited Sweden in August, 1933, to examine the working of that country's telephone service, and soon after his return was given a seat in the Cabinet. In addition to his ministerial duties he acted as chairman of the National Government Propaganda Committee. After the election of 1935 he became Minister of Health. In 1937 he visited Prague, and he made other journeys to inspect housing schemes, thus obtaining data which, as he said, would not have come to him at his desk. In February, 1938, he was made Grand Master of the Primrose League, and in the following May was transferred to the post of Secretary of State for Air, where he was responsible for the Empire Air Training scheme in Canada. In April, 1940, as Lord Privy Seal, he became chairman of the Home Policy Committee and of the Food Policy Committee. When Mr. Churchill formed his Government a month later Wood was again advanced, this time to Chancellorship of the Exchequer, in which post he introduced three war Budgets which may be described as historical in their magnitude and scope. In 1941 he started a series of annual White Papers on the Sources of War Finances and National Income and Expenditure. He also introduced a system of deferred tax credits to temper the effect of reductions in income-tax allowances which had been made to curtail purchasing power and avoid the dangers of inflation. The scheme was later extended to industry by providing that 20 per cent, of the 100 per cent, excess profits tax should be refunded after the war. On the day of his death he was to have announced the adoption of a " pay-as-you-earn " income-tax scheme for manual workers. Retaining the religious faith of his father, he was treasurer of Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London. He was knighted in 1919 and sworn a member of the Privy Council in 1928. He married Agnes, daughter of Henry Fawcett, but had no children.

27. Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Altham Altham, specialist in military Intelligence, was born at Wilton on April 13, 1856, son of Major W. S. Altham, his mother being a daughter of Moulton Barrett (and sister of Elizabeth Barrett Browning). From Winchester he went to Christ Church, Oxford, but soon left to enter Sandhurst. He was gazetted lieutenant in the 1st Battalion, The Royal Scots, in 1876, becoming adjutant two years later. With his regiment he went to the Cape in 1884, serving in Sir Charles Warren's bloodless Bechuanaland expedition. Promoted captain in 1885, he passed into the Staff College in 1888. He was again adjutant from 1891 to 1893, when he was appointed D.A.A.G., North-Western District. He got his majority in 1895, and in the following year went to the Cape again as assistant military secretary and A.D.C. to Lord Rosmead, Governor and Commander-in-Chief. In 1897 he was appointed to the staff of the Intelligence branch at the Headquarters of the Army in London, and while there compiled a manual designed to form the basis of operations in the impending war with the Boer Republics. When the war began he joined Sir George White's staff in Natal, and after the relief of Lady Smith was employed on the staff in the Transvaal and in the Orange River Colony. In 1900 he returned to London to resume his work in the Intelligence branch, being promoted lieutenant-colonel in November of that year, and reaching the rank of substantive colonel in 1903. After leaving the War Office he contributed military articles to the Press, writing principally on the Russo-Japanese War. In 1906 he again went to the Cape on his appointment as chief staff officer, Cape Colony District, becoming Brigadier-General, General Staff, South Africa, in June, 1907. In March, 1908, he was made Brigadier-General in charge of Administration, Northern Command, remaining at York until 1910, when he was promoted major-general. In 1911 he went to Salisbury in charge of Administration, and was there when the war, 1914-18, began. In 1915 he was sent to the Dardanelles as Inspector-General of Communications, M.E.F. After the evacuation of the peninsula he commanded the Levant base at Alexandria. He was appointed I.G.C., Egypt, in 1916, and moved to Cairo, but returned home in October. On being promoted lieutenant-general in 1917 he went to India as Quarter Master-General. Retiring in 1920, he went to live at Winchester, where he took much interest in local affairs. He was made K.C.B. in 1916, and created K.C.L.E. in 1919. He married, in 1880, Georgina Emily, daughter of W. Macpherson Nicol, of Inverness, and had two sons and one daughter.

30. Johan Ludwig Mowinckel, three times Prime Minister of Norway, was born into a family of merchants at Bergen in 1871. After studying in Germany, England, and France, he entered the shipping industry, establishing one of the largest companies in Norway. He began his public career in local politics, and at the age of 32 was elected Lord Mayor of Bergen. Four years later he entered the Storting, of which he remained a member until his death. His first office, in 1921, was that of Minister of Trade, but in the following year he took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retaining that office, he first became Prime Minister in 1924, and was in power again from 1928 to 1931, and from 1933 to 1935. He was a member of the Inter-parliamentary Union, 1915-24; of the Nobel Committee since 1925; chairman of the board of the Norvic Association for many years; and a member of the League of Nations Council. When the Germans invaded Norway on April 9, 1940, and the Nygaardsvold Labour Government was formed, Mowinckel was chosen as representative of the Liberal Party. He resigned in 1942 in order to take over the chairmanship of the Consultative Committee of the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission in New York, where, after being taken severely ill in Stockholm, he died.

OCTOBER

1. The Earl of Plymouth (the Right Hon. Ivor Miles Windsor-Clive) was born on February 4, 1889, second son of the first Earl, and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. He then joined the Worcestershire Yeomanry,

serving with them throughout the war, 1914-18, first as a regimental officer, and then on the Staff. He entered public life by way of the London County Council, representing West St. Pancras from 1913 to 1919. Turning to national politics, he became private secretary to Mr. (later Lord) Bridgeman, Home Secretary, and in 1922 was elected, unopposed, Conservative member of Parliament for the Ludlow Division of Shropshire, but on the death of his father a year later he succeeded to the title, his elder brother having died in 1908. In 1923 he became Lord-Lieutenant of Glamorganshire, and in 1924 Captain of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-At-Arms and Chief Whip in the House of Lords. Four years later he was transferred to the post of Under-Secretary of State for the Dominions, holding the office for only a few months as the Baldwin Government was defeated in 1929. When Mr. Ramsay MacDonald formed his Government in 1931 the Earl became Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, but as the result of the split on the Eree Trade question and the resignation of the Liberal Ministers he was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, where he remained until 1936, when he went to the Foreign Office as Parliamentary Under-Secretary, resigning in May, 1939, on account of ill-health. Meanwhile, he had been chairman of the International Committee for Non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War. Besides being Lord-Lieutenant of Glamorganshire he was Hon. Air Commodore of the County of Glamorgan Squadron of the Anti-Aircraft Force. In 1925 he became a Knight of Justice of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and was made a Grand Cross of the Order a few years later. In 1943 he succeeded Lord Scarborough as Sub-Prior. In 1921 he married Irene Corona Chartens, daughter of the Earl of Wemyss and March, and had three sons and three daughters.

7. **Lord Meston** (James Scorgie Meston), statesman who played an influential part in shaping the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, was born on June 12, 1865, son of James Meston, Registrar for the parish of Old Machar, Aberdeen, and educated at Aberdeen Grammar School, the University of Aberdeen, and Balliol College, Oxford, after which he passed the I.C.S. examination in 1883, being posted to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In 1897 Sir Anthony (Lord) MacDonnell selected him to be Director of Land Records and Agriculture, and two years later made him Secretary to Government, with a seat on the provincial legislature. Early in 1905 he went on deputation to South Africa to advise the Governments of Cape Colony and the Transvaal on Civil Service reform. In 1907 he was appointed officiating secretary to the Financial Department of the Government of India, being confirmed in the office in the following year, when he acted for a few months as a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy; first in the military financial branch, and then in the ordinary branch. In 1912 he returned to the United Provinces, succeeding Sir John Hewett as Lieutenant-Governor. In 1918 he resigned this post on his appointment as Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but came to London in 1919 to represent the Government of India and to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee which considered the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. He was also chairman of the Committee which studied the changes in financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments necessitated by the reforms. When in November, 1919, he resigned owing to failing eyesight he was raised to the peerage as Lord Meston of Agra and of Dunottar, Kincardine, one of the very few men raised to the peerage for exclusively Indian service. A staunch Liberal, he was president of the Liberal Party organisation, and chairman of the National Liberal Club. In 1928 he was elected Chancellor of Aberdeen University, and in 1935 was admitted to the freedom of his native city. He published, in 1931, "Nationhood for India," based on lectures given in America. He was made K.C.S.L. in 1911, and received the Volunteer Decoration in 1914. Lord Meston married, in 1891, Jeame, daughter of James M'Donald, and had two sons. His elder son having died in boyhood, he was succeeded by his second son, the Hon. Dougall Meston, born in 1894.

11. Sir William Guy Granet, railway manager, was born on October 13, 1867, and educated at Rugby and Balliol College, Oxford. After a period in business at Genoa, he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1893, and practised on the Northern Circuit. In 1900 he succeeded Sir Henry Oakley as secretary of the Railway Companies Association, and in 1905 he was appointed assistant general manager of the Midland Railway, becoming general manager in the following year. He retired from that position in 1918, but continued his connexion with the company as a director. He was also chairman of the London Midland and Scottish Railway, 1924-27, his term in office covering the difficult period which followed the amalgamation of the Midland with the London and North-Western and other lines under the Railways Act of 1921. In 1933 he was chairman of the Commission which went to South Africa to report on the Union's railways. On retiring from the chairmanship of the L.M.S. he retained his seat on the board, and he was also a director of the Central Argentine Railway, Associated Electrical Industries, Carpet Trades, Lloyds Bank, and *The Times* Publishing Company. For a number of years he was a member of the firm of Higgmson & Company, merchant bankers. During the war, 1914-18, he was Controller of Import Restrictions, Deputy Director of Military Railways at the War Office under Sir Eric Geddes, Director-General of Movements and Railways, a member of the Army Council, chairman of the British and Allied Provisions Commission, and he represented the Ministry of Food in the United States and Canada. Later he served on the National Economy (Geddes) Committee. From 1911 to 1914 he was a member of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service. He was knighted in 1911 and became G.B.E. in 1923. He married Florence Julia, daughter of Lord Selby, and had one daughter.

14. Sir Michael Ernest Sadler, educationist of distinction, Master of University College, Oxford, 1923-34, Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, 1911-23, was born at Barnsley on July 3, 1861, son of Dr. M. T. Sadler and nephew of M. T. Sadler, the Conservative factory reformer. Educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Oxford, he distinguished himself in the Classical schools, and was also president of the Union. In 1885 he succeeded Sir Arthur Acland as secretary of the Oxford University Extension Committee. A year later he became steward, and in 1890 a Student, of Christ Church, but in 1895 he left Oxford on his appointment as Director of Special Inquiries and Reports in the Board of Education, remaining there until 1903, when he became Professor of the History and Administration of Education, in the Victoria University of Manchester, a post specially created for him. Eight years later he was invited to become Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University. At that time the University was little known; when he left it twelve years later it had grown into a great institution. He was president of the Commission on Calcutta University in 1917, spending eighteen months in India, and he played a large part in preparing the monumental report on Indian education which was issued soon after his return. From 1915 to 1922 he was the first chairman of the Teachers' Registration Council, one of the very large number of educational bodies with which he was associated. He returned to Oxford in 1923 as Master of University College, retiring in 1934. The Society of the Friends of the Bodleian largely owed its inception to him, as did also the Oxford Preservation Trust. In recognition of his services to Indian education he was created K.C.S.I. in 1919. He was twice married, first to Mary, daughter of C. Harvey, of Yorkshire, who died in 1931, and secondly, in 1934, to Eva Margaret, daughter of E. Gilpin. By his first marriage he had one son, the writer known as Michael Sadleir.

15. Dr. Edwyn Robert Bevan, classical scholar and historian, was born on February 15, 1870, seventh son of the sixteen children of R. C. L. Bevan, banker, and was educated at New College, Oxford, of which he later became an honorary Fellow. After travelling in India he worked at the British School in Athens, and took part in the excavations at Alexandria in 1895. During the war, 1914-18, he was engaged in the Propaganda Department, the Department of Information,

and in the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office. From 1922 to 1933 he was Lecturer on Hellenistic History and Literature at King's College, London, a post for which he was well fitted, as he had made an early reputation with his "House of Seleucus" (1902) and other studies in the history, religion, and philosophy* of the pre-Christian and post-Christian East. His writings included "Jerusalem under the High Priests" (1904), "Stoics and Sceptics" (1913), "The Land of the Two Rivers" (1917), "Hellenism and Christianity" (1921), "The Hellenistic Age" (1924), "Later Greek Religion" (1927), "Sibyls and Seers" (1928), "A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty" (1928), and "Holy Images" (1940). In 1932 he wrote the volume on Christianity for the Home University Library, a volume which reached a wide public, and in 1938 published "Symbolism and Belief," the subject of his Gifford Lectures. He translated into English verse the *Prometheus Bound* of Æschylus and the poems of Leonidas of Tarentum, and in 1942 published a collection of his own poems, "The Hope of the Dawn." Dr. Bevan was an honorary D.Litt., Oxford, and LL.D., St. Andrews. He married, in 1896, the Hon. Mary Waldegrave, daughter of Baron Radstock, and had two daughters.

21. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Alfred Dudley Pickman Rogers Pound, First Sea Lord of the Admiralty and Chief of the Naval Staff, 1939-43, was born on August 29, 1877, son of A. J. Pound and Elizabeth Pickman Rogers, of Boston, U.S.A. In 1891 he entered H.M.S. *Britannia* as a naval cadet, and two years later went to sea as a midshipman. He became a sub-lieutenant in 1896 and lieutenant in 1898, when he was appointed Flag-Lieutenant to Rear-Admiral J. W. Brackenbury of the Channel Squadron. A year later he specialised in torpedo, serving as a torpedo lieutenant in several flagships. As a commander from 1911 to 1913 he was executive officer of H.M.S. *Superb* of the 1st Battle Squadron, Home Fleet. After fifteen months on the staff of the Royal Naval War College at Portsmouth he returned to the Home Fleet in April, 1914. On his promotion to captain in December of that year he was appointed additional Naval Assistant to the First Sea Lord, Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher. In October, 1915, he took command of H.M.S. *Colossus*, and in the Battle of Jutland his ship was twice hit. From November, 1917, to July, 1919, he was Director of Operations (Home) at the Admiralty. In 1920-22 he commanded the battle cruiser *Repulse*, and from then until 1925 was Director of Plans at the Admiralty. For the next two years he was Chief of Staff to Admiral Sir Roger Keyes, Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean. He was promoted to rear-admiral on March 1, 1936, and in the following year was selected as Assistant Chief of the Naval Staff, with a seat on the Board of Admiralty. In May, 1929, he hoisted his flag in H.M.S. *Hood* as commander of the Battle Cruiser Squadron, and during the next two years was promoted to vice-admiral. He was a member of the Disarmament Conference which opened at Geneva in February, 1932. In the following August he returned to the Admiralty as Second Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Personnel, holding that post until September, 1935, when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, in succession to Admiral Sir William Fisher. Before he was due to assume command at the end of October a crisis arose out of the Italian war on Abyssinia, and when it was decided to retain Fisher, Pound became his Chief-of-Staff. When Fisher left for home in 1936 Pound was made Commander-in-Chief. In December, 1938, owing to the death of Admiral Sir Roger Backhouse, he was recalled from the Mediterranean, taking up his duties at the Admiralty on June 12, 1939, and he remained First Sea Lord until October, 1943, when a break-down in health caused him to retire. For his services during the war of 1914-18 he was created C.B., and he also received the 3rd class of the Japanese Order of the Rising Sun as well as the insignia of Officer of the French Legion of Honour. He was made K.C.B. in 1933, G.C.V.O. in 1937, and G.C.B. in 1939, in which year he was promoted Admiral of the Fleet. In 1908 he married Bessie, daughter of Dr. Whitehead of Ventnor, Isle of Wight, and had two sons and a daughter. After a funeral service in Westminster Abbey his body was cremated, the ashes being scattered at sea, as were those of his wife, who died in

July. The double ceremony was said to have been unprecedented in the annals of naval burials at sea.

22. **Admiral Sir William Reginald Hall** was born in 1870, son of Captain W. H. Hall, the first D.N.I., and went to sea at the age of 10 on his father's ship, H.M.S. *Flamingo*. Entering the *Britannia* in 1883, he became a lieutenant in 1890. He specialised as a gunnery officer, and was promoted commander in 1901 and captain in 1905, when he was appointed Inspecting Captain of Mechanical Training Establishments. In 1907 he commanded the training cruiser *Cornwall*. From 1911 to 1913 he was Naval Assistant to the Controller of the Navy, going to sea again in the latter year as commander of the new battle cruiser *Queen Mary*, in which he introduced the modern disciplinary methods, including the red, white, and blue three-watch system which was afterwards adopted throughout the service. He was also responsible for the first chapel to be built in a man-of-war, and for many innovations for the comfort of all ratings. Two months after the war began in 1914 he was made Director of Naval Intelligence, an office he filled with great skill and distinction. In 1917 he was promoted rear-admiral, becoming vice-admiral on the retired list in 1922, and admiral in 1926. Relinquishing the post of D.N.I., at his own request in 1919 he went into politics, being elected Conservative member of Parliament for the West Derby Division of Liverpool. In 1923 he succeeded Lord Younger as Principal Agent of the Conservative Party, holding that office until the Government was defeated in the election of December, 1923, when he himself lost his seat. He re-entered Parliament in 1925 as member for Eastbourne, but retired at the General Election of 1929 on account of ill-health. He was made C.B. in 1915 and K.C.M.G. in 1918. In 1894 he married Ethel, daughter of Sir William Abney, and had two sons and one daughter.

26. **Sir Aurel Stein**, famous as an Asiatic explorer, was born in Budapest of Jewish parents on November 26, 1862, and after attending schools in Budapest and Dresden, proceeded to the Universities of Vienna and Tübingen. In 1885 he came to London to continue his studies in Oriental languages and antiquities, for which he had a natural aptitude. In 1888 he accepted an appointment in India as principal of the Oriental College at Lahore and registrar of the Punjab University, and while in India prepared himself by field work and study for his journeys into the heart of Asia. In 1899 Stein became a naturalised Englishman, and was appointed to the Educational Service of the Government of India. A year later he was given an opportunity to carry out his long-chenshed plan of archaeological exploration in Chinese Turkestan, particularly in the region of Khotan. The expedition brought Stein's name prominently into notice; the Royal Geographical Society awarded him its Back Grant, and his detailed account of the expedition, "Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan," became a standard book of travel. The official report, "Ancient Khotan," did not appear until 1907, by which time he was engaged on another expedition under the joint auspices of the Government of India and the British Museum. During 1906-8 he travelled the whole length of Chinese Turkestan, as well as in China and Tibet. Before the end of the journey his feet became so frost-bitten that all the toes on his right foot had to be amputated. The expedition, both geographically and archaeologically, was a great success, and on his return he received many honours, including the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. A general account of the expedition was published in two volumes under the title, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," while the official report, a monumental work in five volumes, was called "Serindia." After being transferred to the Archaeological Survey he devoted two years to exploration and research in Chinese Turkestan and Russian Turkestan, finally returning to India in 1916 after travelling nearly 11,000 miles and accumulating 182 cases of archaeological specimens. Among his later publications were "On Alexander's Track to the Indus" (1929), "A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from the Tun-Huang" (1931), "An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia" (1931), "On Ancient Central Asian Tracks" (1935), "Archaeological

Reconnaissance in South-East Iran " (1937), and " On Old Routes of Western Iran " (1940). Sir Aurel Stein, who was made a K.C.I.E. in 1912, continued his explorations and travels until he was over eighty, and died in Kabul, Afghanistan.

30. **Sir Henry Strakosch**, a distinguished authority on international economics and finance, was born on May 9, 1871, and began his business career in 1891, when he joined the Anglo-Austrian Bank in Lombard Street. In a short time he became foreign exchange manager, but in 1895 gave up banking for South African mining and finance, entering the Union Corporation (Goerz & Company), a Rand mining controlling house, in 1896. During the war, 1914-18, he became known in connexion with the gold question and the Inchcape inquiry into the problem of gold and paper currency. In 1919 he was invited to advise the Government of the Union of South Africa on the question of currency and banking, and his recommendations were embodied in the Currency and Banking Act of 1920, which brought into being the first central bank in any of the British dominions. The main portion of his report was published in English and Dutch under the title, " The South African Currency and Exchange Problem." He represented the Union of South Africa at the International Financial Conference at Brussels, where he was appointed a member of the Currency and Exchange Committee. As a result of the conference the Council of the League of Nations set up the Economic and Financial Committee of the Financial Section, of which he became chairman. He was financial adviser of the South African Government at the Assemblies of the League, at the Genoa Conference, and at the Imperial Conference of 1923, and he was delegate for South Africa at the League Assemblies of 1923 and 1924. He attended as delegate for India the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa in 1932 and the Monetary and Economic Conference of 1933. He also played an influential part on the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency in 1925, drafting the section of the report which brought about the creation of the Reserve Bank to take over from the Government the control of the currency, and to which the Gold Standard Reserve was transferred. At the end of 1930 he was selected as financial expert of the India Council in Whitehall, on which he served for thirteen years. Since 1942 he had been honorary financial consultant to the Secretary of State for India. He was chairman of the Union Corporation and of the *Economist* Newspaper Limited. He was created a knight in 1921, K.B.E. in 1924, and was advanced to G.B.E. in 1927. In 1941 he married Mrs. Mabel Elizabeth Vincent Temperley. He left a fortune of 2,454,521?., and among his legacies there were included 20,000Z. to the Rt. Hon. Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill " as a token of friendship and gratitude for his and his wife's great kindness and hospitality"; 10,000Z. to Field-Marshal Smuts, P.C.; 5,000Z. to Viscount Simon; and 2,500Z. each to the Rt. Hon. Brendan Bracken, M.P., Sir Otto E. Niemeyer, and Sir Findlater Stewart, G.C.B.

31. **Max Bernhardt**, theatrical producer of eminence, was born at Baden, near Vienna, in September, 1873, and at the age of 17 began to study acting. He soon became famous at the Deutsches Theater, Berlin, for his portrayal of old men. In 1904 he became Director of the Neues Theater, returning to the Deutsches Theater as director in 1905, and there he earned for the German stage an international reputation. Besides Shakespeare, in which he specialised, his activities included the production of plays by Æschylus, Wedekind, Sophocles, Tasso, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Schiller, Mörike, Stenndberg, and Calderon. A great showman, he often bewildered his older contemporaries by the range of his sympathies. He was attracted by any idea, method, or personality which might serve his purpose—to increase and widen the appeal of the stage by every possible means. From 1906 onwards he directed the little, intimate *Kammerspielhaus*, which he used as an annex to the Deutsches Theater. He also desired to establish a drama in which the spectator might be caught up in the action of the play, and to this end produced *The Miracle*, a medieval pageant, at Olympia, London, in 1911. Soon afterwards came (*Edipus Rex*, in which Martin Harvey and Lilian

McCarthy appeared at Covent Garden. Another production in the same vein was the wordless play *Sumurun*, in which the device of a raised path through and above the heads of the audience in the stalls was used with striking effect. He did more than any other producer to raise the standard of production by increasing mechanical resources, but insisted that they should be used with imagination and intelligence. His capacity and originality as a theatrical producer amounted almost to genius, and though he had an international reputation, was the inspirer of the Salzburg Festival, and responsible for the world-renowned performances of *Everyman*, yet because he was a Jew the Nazi barbarians drove him from Germany in 1933. He came to England, where among other things he supervised an open-air production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by the O.U.D.S. at Oxford. While there he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. For several years he lived in New York where, at the time of his death, he was engaged on a production of *La Belle Helene*. He married the Austrian actress Helene Thimig.

NOVEMBER

6. **Sir Robert Alexander Falconer**, President of the University of Toronto, 1907-32, was born at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, on February 10, 1867, son of the Rev. Dr. A. Falconer, and educated at Queen's Royal College, Trinidad, and at the Universities of London and Edinburgh. He also studied at Leipzig, Berlin, and Marburg. He was ordained as a minister of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and in 1902 became Professor of New Testament Greek at Pine Hill Presbyterian College, Halifax, Nova Scotia, of which he was subsequently appointed Principal. After remaining there for fifteen years he received a call, at the unusually early age of 40, to be President of the University of Toronto. He took office at a time of great changes in the constitution of the University, but he proved equal to the responsibility, and under his guidance the organisation was welded into a harmonious and highly efficient whole. In 1925 he came to England to deliver the Sir George Watson Lectures on American history. Falconer, who had served as President of the Royal Society of Canada and of the Royal Canadian Institute, was made C.M.G. in 1911, and advanced to K.C.M.G. in 1917. In 1897 he married Sophie, daughter of the Rev. James Gandier of Toronto, and had two sons.

13. **Horace William Brindley Joseph**, a notable Oxford "philosopher, was born in 1867, son of the Rev. Alexander Joseph, vicar of St. John's, Chatham, and was educated at Winchester College, whence he passed with a scholarship to New College, Oxford, and there he distinguished himself in the Classical Schools. In 1891 he was elected to a tutorial Fellowship at his College. Except for a year's travel in India and the Far East, he lived in college for twenty-eight years until his marriage. His publications included "Introduction to Logic" (1906); "Justice and Wages" (1923); the Herbert Spencer Lecture on "The Concept of Evolution" (1924); "Some Problems in Ethics" (1930); "Essays in Ancient and Modern Philosophy" (1935); and a number of papers contributed to *Mind*, the *Hibbert Journal*, and other periodicals. His approach to philosophical problems was almost always by way of criticism and an endeavour to eliminate confused thinking, and he enforced the impression that philosophy was a technical subject requiring an elaborate training. In 1919 he married Margaret Bridges, daughter of the Poet Laureate.

14. **Francis Sidney Marvin**, Staff Inspector under the Board of Education, was born in London on August 6, 1863, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Oxford. After working for some time in elementary schools he became, in 1890, one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, first in Lancashire and then in West Cornwall, Cumberland, Westmorland, and West Ham. In 1903 he was appointed Divisional Inspector and Inspector of Training Colleges in Yorkshire, moving to the East Central Division in 1914. Eventually he

became Staff Inspector, retiring in 1924. From 1915 onwards he organised courses and lectures for teachers and others in modern languages, history, and pedagogics. During the session of 1929-30 he held the Chair of Modern History in the Egyptian University. After producing versions of the Iliad and the Odyssey early in the century, his first notable historical book came out in 1913 as "The Living Past : a Sketch of Western Progress," in which he traced in some 250 octavo pages the progress of Western Europe from prehistoric times to the present day. Later appeared "The Century of Hope" and a number of treatises under his general editorship, including "Recent Developments of European Thought," "Science and Civilisation", and "Art and Civilisation." A Positivist himself, he wrote books on Auguste Comte and "The New Vision of Man." He married, in 1904, Edith Mary Beverell, and had two sons.

17. Brigadier-General Sir William Thomas Francis Horwood, Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, 1920-28, was born in November, 1868. At the age of 20 he obtained a commission in the 5th Lancers, and from 1902 to 1904 was Brigade-Major in the 24th Field Artillery. He then entered the War Office, where he was engaged on administrative duties until 1910, when he became Chief of the police of the London and North-Eastern Railway. On the outbreak of war in 1914 he returned to the War Office, and was appointed D.A.A.G. Later he acted as Provost Marshal at British G.H.Q. in France, where he remained for three years. He was seven times mentioned in dispatches ; gained the D.S.O. in 1917 ; and received the Croix de Guerre from both France and Belgium. Soon after the Armistice he became Assistant Commissioner at Scotland Yard, being made Commissioner eighteen months later. During his term of office he introduced a number of important changes in police technique, probably the best known being the "Flying Squad" to cope with the increasing number of thieves who made use of motor-cars. Made C.B. in 1919, he was advanced to K.C.B. in 1921, and created G.B.E. on his retirement in 1928. He married Violet, daughter of Lieutenant-General J. G. Fife, and had one daughter.

20. Sir Edward Bagnall Poulton, Professor of Zoology at Oxford University, 1893-1933, was born at Reading on January 27, 1856, son of an architect. By the time that he was elected a scholar in Natural Science at Jesus College, Oxford, he had investigated several of the pleistocene deposits of the southern counties of England. After studying under Professor Rolleston, he took a First Class in Natural Science, and was appointed Demonstrator in the University department of Zoology. One of his numerous achievements was the embryological investigation of *Ornithorhynchus*, the Australian duck-bill, which resulted in the discovery of teeth in the immature stages of that animal. After being demonstrator in the Museum and tutor and lecturer in Keble and Jesus Colleges, he was appointed Hope Professor of Zoology in 1893, holding the post until he retired forty years later. In the course of time he came to be recognised as one of the foremost advocates and exponents of the pure and unmixed doctrine of organic evolution by natural selection, as it was first proclaimed by Darwin. His publications included a volume on the "Colours of Animals," which became a standard work ; a large number of memoirs, lectures, and addresses, and a life of Viriamu Jones. He also wrote an interesting memoir of his second son, Ronald Poulton-Palmer, who was killed in the war, 1914-18. He was elected F.R.S. in 1889, served several times as vice-president, and was a member of the Council of the Royal Society. He had also been President of the Linnean Society, the International Entomological Congress, and the British Association, and in 1933 he was elected honorary life President of the Entomological Society of London. He was knighted in 1935 and received many honorary degrees at home and abroad. In 1881 he married a daughter of George Palmer, M.P. for Reading, and had two sons and three daughters.

DECEMBER

1. His Honour Sir Edward Abbott Parry, County Court Judge, 1894-1927, but perhaps better remembered as an author, was born in London into a well-known Welsh family on October 2, 1863. His father was one of the last of the Serjeants-at-Law; his grandfather, J. H. Parry, barrister, became a leader of the Welsh literary movement, and his great-grandfather had been rector of Llanferres. He was educated at King's College School, leaving on the death of his father and mother, who died within a day of each other in 1880. In 1885 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, and joined the Northern Circuit. He was appointed a County Court Judge in 1894, presiding over courts in the North Cheshire and Manchester districts, and becoming a prominent figure in the legal, civic, and social life of Manchester. In July, 1898, he nearly lost his life when he was shot at and severely wounded in Court by a bailiff, whose certificate he had cancelled. In 1911 he was appointed to Circuit 48, and held courts at Lambeth, Bromley, Dartford, Gravesend, Maidstone, and Tunbridge Wells. He was chairman of the West Kent Appeal Tribunal in 1916, Industrial Unrest Commissioner, N.W. Area, in 1917, and President of the Pensions Appeal Tribunal, 1917-18. The first of his numerous writings, "Letters of Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple," appeared in 1887. Others included "What the Judge Saw" (1912), a volume of reminiscences; "Law and the Poor" (1914), of which it was said that every member of Parliament ought to pass an examination in it before receiving his salary; "What the Judge Thought" (1922), in which he suggested the establishment of a law ministry and the co-ordination of all courts, civil and criminal; "The Drama of the Law" (1924), in which he sketched notorious murderers; "The Overbury Mystery" (1925), a first-rate murder story, based on the fate of Sir Thomas Overbury; "The Gospel and the Law" (1928); "The Bloody Assize" (1929); and, in 1932, "My Own Way: An Autobiography." He also wrote alone or in collaboration several plays, one of the best being *What the Butler Saw*, produced at Wyndham's Theatre in 1905. Sir Edward, who was knighted on his retirement in 1927, was twice married; first to Helen, daughter of Thomas Hart, who died in 1932; and secondly, in 1936, to Ellen Ann Page.

2. E. M. Delafield (Mrs. Arthur Dashwood), who won fame as a writer of fiction marked by a quiet humour, was Esme Elizabeth Monica, born in 1880, daughter of Count Henri de la Pasture, of Llandogo, Monmouthshire. Her mother was the novelist, Mrs. de la Pasture. Her pen name "Delafield" was a loose translation of her French surname. While engaged on V.A.D. work during the war, 1914-18, she wrote her first novel, "Zella Sees Herself." For some time before the end of the war she was employed by the Ministry of National Service in the South-Western Region. On her marriage she accompanied her husband to the Malay States, where they spent two years, after which they settled in Devonshire, where she became a magistrate. Continuing her literary work, she published "The War Workers," "The Pelicans," "Consequences," and a number of other books before she attracted critical attention with "Jill" (1926). In 1928 came "The Way Things Are," the history of a normal woman in search of an ideal lover, and in 1929 "First Love." But her most popular work was her "Diary of a Provincial Lady" (1931, which was expanded into several sequels. She also wrote "Straw Without Bricks" (1937), describing a visit to Soviet Russia, and "Ladies and Gentlemen in Victorian Fiction"—social scenes from the minor Victorian novelists. Outstanding among a number of plays were *To See Ourselves*, a popular success, and *The Glass Wall*, a more serious study, which failed to draw. She was a regular contributor to *Punch* and other periodicals. In 1919 she married Major Arthur Paul Dashwood, son of Sir George Dashwood, sixth baronet, and had one son and one daughter.

6* Sir Herbert John Maynard, who had a distinguished career as a Civil Servant in the Punjab (he came to be known as "the brains of the Punjab"),

and afterwards gained repute as a student of the Russian agrarian and economic system, was born on July 12, 1865, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Oxford, where he gained a First Class in Modern History. Passing into the I.C.S. in 1883, he went to the Punjab, and from deputy commissionerships he became Counsellor to the Raja of Mandi, and then Judicial Secretary to Government. For five years from 1910 he was divisional Commissioner successively of Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi, and Jullundhr. In 1916 he became Financial Commissioner, and following the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in 1921, was Finance Minister of the Governor's Executive Council. For a time he was Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. Soon after his retirement from India in 1926 he joined the Labour Party and three times stood unsuccessfully for Parliament. A close student of the U.S.S.R., which he visited on several occasions, he wrote "Russia in Flux" (1941), and "The Russian Peasant" (1942). Maynard married, in 1896, Alfreda Horner, daughter of Richard Eppes, of Appomattox City Point, Virginia, and had a son and three daughters.

11. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Arthur Herbert, Governor of Bengal since 1939, was born in 1895, son of Sir Arthur Herbert, G.C.V.O., and educated at Wellington College and Harvard University. In 1916 he received a commission in the Royal Horse Guards, and for two years saw active service on the Western Front, where he was wounded. After eighteen years he retired from the Army and became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Monmouthshire Militia, R.E. (Supplementary Reserve), and honorary Colonel of the 2nd Battalion, The Monmouthshire Regiment. At a by-election in 1934 he entered Parliament as Conservative member for the Monmouth Division, and three years later was made Parliamentary private secretary to the Under-Secretary for India, Lord Stanley. In the summer of 1939 he was chosen to succeed Lord Bradbourne as Governor of Bengal, reaching Calcutta two months after the war had begun. He was taken seriously ill in August, 1943, and resigned on October 22. Holding office at a time of exceptional difficulty, the strain must have undermined his not too robust constitution and hastened his untimely death. In 1924 he married Lady Mary Theresa Fox-Strange ways, daughter of the sixth Earl of Ilchester, and had one son.

— **Henry Forbes Witherby**, one of the foremost British ornithologists, was born on October 7, 1875, son of H. F. Witherby, R.B.A., and after leaving school entered the family publishing concern. For many years he devoted all the time he could spare from business to the study of ornithology, becoming an authority on the birds of Britain and of Spain, which country he visited on several occasions. He also travelled in Russian Lapland, Algeria, the White Nile, and Persia. His speciality was plumages, including those characteristics which differentiate geographical races within a species. Eventually he sold to the British Museum (Natural History) the valuable collection of skins which he had acquired and presented the proceeds to the British Trust for Ornithology as a capital endowment. In 1909 he founded and conducted the principal British scheme for ringing wild birds as a means of investigating their movements. He was editor of *British Birds*, which he founded in 1907, and of "A Handlist of British Birds" (1912), as well as the "Practical Handbook of British Birds" (1919-24) and its five-volume successor, "The Handbook of British Birds" (1938-41)—all being acclaimed as standard works of high merit. He was chairman of the British Ornithologists' Club (1924-27), and President of the British Ornithologists' Union (1933-38), receiving in the latter year the Union's highest and rarely bestowed award, the Godman-Salvin Medal in gold, as "a signal honour for distinguished ornithological work." During the War, 1914-18, Witherby served as a lieutenant, R.N.V.R.; was mentioned in dispatches; and was made an M.B.E. (Military Division). In 1904 he married Lilian, daughter of the Rev. S. Gillson, and had two sons and three daughters.

14. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William Frederick Travers O'Connor was born on July 30, 1870, son of a land agent of County Meath. From Charterhouse he entered Woolwich in 1888, joining the 14th Field Battery, R.A., at Shorncliffe in 1890. Four years later he went to India to serve in a mountain battery stationed near Darjeeling, where he began to interest himself in the geography, history, and people of the country. In 1897 he was special correspondent in Malakand of the *Allahabad Pioneer*. Two years later he was appointed inspecting officer of the Kashmir Imperial Service Artillery, stationed in an isolated post at Gilgit, near the borders of Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan. There he studied Russian and other languages, and made himself acquainted with the history of Central Asia. In 1903 he was chosen as secretary and interpreter to Sir Francis Younghusband's mission to Tibet, in the course of which he was severely wounded. In two books of autobiography, "On the Frontier and Beyond" (1931), and "Things Mortal" (1940), he left an account of the expedition, one of the results of which was his appointment as the first British trade agent at Gyangtse. Later he was selected to take the young Maharajkumar of Sikkim on a world tour. After the Anglo-Russian Convention he was appointed, in 1909, Consul for the Persian districts of Seistan and Kain. Three years later he was transferred to Shiraz, capital of the province of Fars, and was there at the beginning of war in 1914. In November, 1915, the Consulate was surrounded and taken by an armed gang, O'Connor and others being kept in captivity until an exchange of prisoners was negotiated in August, 1916. Early in 1918 he was sent by the Minister of Information to Vladivostok, but returned to India in time to hear the Armistice announced at Delhi, and to take up an appointment as British Resident in Nepal. He negotiated and signed, in December, 1923, the new treaty between Great Britain and Nepal, under which the title of the British representative was changed to envoy, and later to minister plenipotentiary, when a Nepalese legation was established in London. After his retirement in 1925 he again travelled in many parts of the world. In addition to his books, the first of which, "Folk Tales from Tibet," appeared in 1906, he wrote the words and music of the songs, "The Old House," "Quietude," and "One Hundred Years Ago." Within a few hours of his death his paper in memory of Sir Francis Younghusband was read to a meeting of the India Society, presided over by Lord Zetland. O'Connor, who was C.S.I., C.L.E., and C.V.O., was unmarried.

17. Robert Peel Glanville Blatchford, well-known Socialist pioneer and editor of the *Clarion*, was born at Maidstone on March 17, 1851, son of an actor who died when he was two years old. He had no formal schooling, being taught by his mother, an actress of half-Italian blood, as they travelled about the country. In 1862 the family settled in Halifax, and at 14 Robert was apprenticed to a brush-maker. Six years later he ran away and joined the 103rd Regiment, The Dublin Fusiliers. Before returning to civil life in 1877 he had reached the rank of sergeant. In 1880 he married Sarah Crossley, and soon afterwards began to write some of his first short stories. In 1885 he joined the London staff of *Bel's Life*, but a year later went to Manchester on the *Sunday Chronicle*, making his mark with soldier sketches and a series of articles on the Manchester slums. He became a Socialist in 1889, and in 1891, after standing for Parliament, left the *Chronicle* on account of his views. With his brother, A. M. Thompson, and E. F. Fay, he borrowed capital and launched a weekly journal, the *Clarion*, which he edited for over thirty years. After a precarious beginning, the paper was firmly established by the success of "Merrie England," a plain account of Socialism written by Blatchford in the form of letters addressed to an imaginary working man. These were reprinted in book form in 1894 and sold at prices varying from five shillings to one penny. After the death of his wife in 1921 he became a convinced Spiritualist. It was claimed for Blatchford that by means of the *Clarion*, "Merrie England," and other writings (usually signed "Nunquam") he made more converts to Socialism than any other advocate of his day. But he angered many of his friends by his seemingly Imperialistic support of the

South African and the 1914-18 wars. For many years he had warned Britain of Germany's plans for War. In 1931 he wrote his autobiography, " My Eighty Years."

22. **Alfred Sidgwick**, logician of rare distinction and originality, was born at Skipton in 1850, and was educated at Rugby and Lincoln College, Oxford. For a time he was connected with Owens College, Manchester, and was elected a Fellow of the Old Victorian University in 1882. His publications included ⁴⁴Fallacies " (1883), "Distinction and the Criticism of Belief" (1892), " The Process of Argument " (1893), " The Use of Words in Reasoning " (1901), " The Application of Logic " (1910), and " Elementary Logic " (1914). He helped to revive the discovery of Protagoras, that doubt is the stimulus to thought, and that genuine thinking is a problem-solving occupation. In 1883 he married Miss Cecilly Ullman, a novelist, who became known and appreciated first as Mrs. Andrew Dean, and later as Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick.

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